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*Oliver Cromwell.*

*Drawn and Engraved by W. Bond, from a half length Portrait, Painted by Walker, in 1655, in the Poſſeſſion of Oliver Cromwell Esq.r*

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# MEMOIRS

OF THE

# PROTECTOR, OLIVER CROMWELL,

AND OF HIS SONS,

## RICHARD AND HENRY.

ILLUSTRATED BY

*ORIGINAL LETTERS, AND OTHER FAMILY PAPERS.*

BY OLIVER CROMWELL, ESQ.

A DESCENDANT OF THE FAMILY.

WITH PORTRAITS FROM ORIGINAL PICTURES.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN,
PATERNOSTER-ROW.

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# INTRODUCTION.

It has been the singular ill fortune of Oliver Cromwell and of his family, that his character hath been left exclusively in the hands of his enemies. The short interval between his death and the Restoration, and the unsettled state of the nation in the intermediate time, left no opportunity for a faithful and impartial history of that extraordinary man. From that time to the present, his memory hath been abused and vilified without any allowance for the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed: his name alone is to this day deemed by many a sufficient description of every thing that is ambitious, hypocritical, and tyrannical: he has been held forth as a composition of every bad quality, without one virtue to counterbalance them. The particular views of all those who took a part in the troubles of the times in which he acted, were frustrated by his ascendancy, and however differing in other respects, they have united in blackening his memory: every trifling or ridiculous story of the supposed irregularities of his youth, and of the imagined tricks and childish follies even of his very infancy, have been eagerly sought for, and, without examination, credited against him. An opinion that his character hath not met with fair treatment, and a hope to place it in the light in which it is conceived it is justly entitled to stand, have given rise to this work; not begun with any view to its publication, but as the amusement of the Writer's leisure hours. To accomplish this object, it became necessary to refer to the history of those eventful and arduous times in which Cromwell lived and acted; and the perusal of the several contemporary histories of those transactions has led to the idea of attempting a short but correct narrative of the principal transactions of those times, by

bringing together those histories, and comparing them with each other; and thence endeavouring to produce one, freed from the partialities and prejudices of all parties.

With this view, and under these impressions, it becomes proper to commence this work from the accession of King Charles the First.

Lord Clarendon, in the introduction to his History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, says, that he shall not lead any man farther back than the beginning of the present reign of King Charles the First; because that he is not so sharp-sighted as those who have discovered this rebellion contriving from, if not before, the death of Queen Elizabeth, and fomented by several princes and great ministers of state in Christendom, to the time it brake out. Neither doth he look back so far as he doth, in this history, because he believes the design to have been even so long then since formed; but that by viewing the tempers, disposition, and habit at that time, of the court and of the country, we may discern the minds of men prepared, of some to act and of others to suffer all that had since happened: the pride of this man, and the popularity of that, the levity of one, and the morosity of another; the excess of the court in the greatest want, and the parsimony and retention of the country in the greatest plenty: the spirit of craft and subtilty in some, and the unpolished integrity of others, too much despising craft or art, and contributing jointly to this mass of confusion now before us. His Lordship accordingly commences his history from the death of King James.

Yet Lord Clarendon must have better known the history of his country, than to be ignorant of the discontents of the last, and of the four preceding reigns of Queen Elizabeth, Queen Mary, King Edward the Sixth, and of Henry the Eighth: and those of the last reign in particular, were evidently leading to an open rupture between the King and his subjects. But a faithful narrative of those times does not seem to have been His Lordship's principal object; his work is, under the title of a history, an attempted defence or palliation of all the King's measures, in

order to prove his subjects' opposition to them, to be an unprovoked rebellion. He consequently endeavours to keep out of sight, all the provocations the people had experienced in the preceding reigns, which would have accounted for the ill humour in which they were found upon the accession of King Charles; meaning, by the above (otherwise unintelligible) flourish, to have it understood, that the discontents began with his reign, and originated in the whim, and caprice, and craft, and subtilty of the moment, without any sufficient previous cause. Indeed, it is expressly stated in the preface to the above history, that it was begun by the express command of the king, (Charles the First,) who having a desire that an account of the calamities God was pleased to inflict on the unhappy part of his reign, should be reported to posterity by some worthy, honest, and knowing man, thought he could not appoint any one more adorned with such qualifications than this writer. The history, therefore, thus commanded to be written, he (the King) must have expected to be a defence or extenuation of his measures, rather than an impartial history, and in this light it must be considered.

Mr. Hume, in a short account of the eminent writers of those times, at the conclusion of the history of the commonwealth, observes, that this age afforded great materials for history, but did not produce any accomplished historian. Lord Clarendon, however, says he, will always be esteemed an entertaining writer; even independent of our curiosity to know the facts which he relates: — that his style is prolix and redundant, and suffocates us by the length of its periods; but it discovers imagination and sentiment, and pleases us, at the same time that we disapprove of it: that he is more partial in appearance than in reality, for he seems perpetually anxious to apologise for the king, but that his apologies are often well grounded: that he is less partial in his relation of facts, than in his account of characters: that he was too honest a man to falsify the former, but that his affections were easily capable, unknown to himself, of disguising the latter: that an air of probity and goodness runs through the whole work,

as these qualities did in reality embellish the whole life of the author.

The correctness or incorrectness of these observations will be seen in the intended progress through his work, and its comparison with the other histories of those times.

Bishop Burnet, in his History of his Own Times, says, he does not intend prosecuting the history of the wars: that Rushworth's collections contain many excellent materials; and that the first volume of the Earl of Clarendon's history, gives a faithful representation of the beginnings of the troubles, though writ in favour of the court, and full of the best excuses that such ill things were capable of.

Mrs. Hutchinson, who was a daughter of Sir Allen Apsley, Lieutenant of the Tower of London to King James and King Charles the First, in her life of her husband, Colonel Hutchinson, forcibly describes the treatment of the nonconformists of those reigns. She says, that the payment of civil obedience to the King and the laws of the land satisfied not; that if any durst dispute his impositions in the worship of God, he was presently reckoned amongst the seditious and disturbers of the public peace, and accordingly persecuted. Thus, adds she, "the two factions in those days grew to great heights and enmities, one against the other, while the papist wanted not industry and subtilty to blow the coals between them."

Mr. Hume, observing upon the alteration of public opinion which Europe, especially England, had about this period undergone, and was undergoing, says,— In England the love of freedom, which, unless checked, flourishes extremely in all liberal natures, acquired new force, and was regulated by more enlarged views, suitably to that cultivated understanding which became every day more common amongst men of birth and education. A familiar acquaintance with the precious remains of antiquity, excited in every generous breast a passion for a limited constitution, and begat an emulation of those manly virtues which the Greek and Roman authors, by such animating examples as well as pathetic expressions, recommend to us. That King James thought all

legal power to be centered in his own person, by an hereditary and a divine right; and this opinion might have proved dangerous, if not fatal, to liberty, had not the firmness of the persuasion, and its seeming evidence, induced him to trust solely to his right, without making the smallest provision, either of force or politics, in order to support it. That such were the opposite dispositions of parliament and Prince at the commencement of the Scottish line; dispositions just beginning to exist and to appear in the parliament, but thoroughly established and openly avowed on the part of the Prince.

That the King (James) was a foreigner, and ignorant of the arts of popularity; the people were soured by religious prejudices, and tenacious of their money; and in that situation it is no wonder that, during his whole reign, we scarcely find one interval of mutual confidence and friendship between Prince and parliament.

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# MEMOIRS

OF

# OLIVER CROMWELL,

AND OF

## HIS SONS RICHARD AND HENRY.

## CHAPTER I.

*The accession of King Charles the First. — First parliament — dissolved. — Second parliament — dissolved. — Third parliament — dissolved.* 1628. *5 Cha.*

KING Charles the First's reign commenced on the 27th of March, 1625, the day of his father's death, at the age of twenty-five years, being born at Dumferling in Scotland, in the year 1600, and baptised by a presbyterian minister of that country, according to Neal's History of the Puritans; who adds, that in his youth he was of a weakly constitution and stammering speech, and suspected to be of a perverse nature. When his father, says the same writer, came to the English crown, he took him from his Scotch tutor, and placed him under those that gave him an early aversion to that kirk into which he had been baptised, and to those doctrines of Christianity for which he had the greatest veneration.

Mrs. Hutchinson, in her life of her husband, Colonel Hutchinson, relating the accession of the king upon the death of his father, says the face of the court was much changed in the change of the King; for that King Charles was temperate, chaste, and serious, so that the fools and bawds, mimics and catamites of the former court grew out of fashion; and the nobility and courtiers, who did not quite

abandon their debaucheries, had yet that reverence to the King to retire into corners to practise them. That men of learning and ingenuity in all arts were in esteem, and received encouragement from the King, who was a most excellent judge, and a great lover of paintings, carvings, gravings, and many other ingenuities, less offensive than the bawdry and profane abusive wit which was the only exercise of the other court. That he married a papist, a French lady, of a haughty spirit, and a great wit and beauty, to whom he became a most uxorious husband.

The only contemporary writers of the history of this reign of any note, are Lord Clarendon, Mr. Whitelock, Mr. Rushworth, General Ludlow, and Mr. May. Lord Clarendon's history of the rebellion and civil wars is avowedly on the part of royalty; having been undertaken by the king's express command. Whitelock and Rushworth took the Parliament-side; as did Ludlow, who was a decided republican. Mr. May wrote also on the part of the Parliament, his history of the three first years of the Long Parliament, and a breviary of the history of the same parliament, which is continued to the death of the King. The editor of the last edition of that work, in his preface, gives a quotation from a letter of Bishop Warburton to Dr. Hurd, in favour of it: he says it is an extraordinary performance, little known, written with great temper, good sense, and spirit, and has the qualities of a regular composition. And in a subsequent letter, he says it is a just composition, according to the rules of history; that it is written with much judgment, penetration, manliness, and spirit, and with a candour that will greatly increase your esteem, when you understand that he wrote by the order of his masters the Parliament. The opinion of the first Lord Chatham is also given in favour of this work in a letter to his nephew, afterwards Lord Camelford, then a young man, and a student at Cambridge. He says, "I desired you some time since to read Lord Clarendon's History of the Civil Wars. I have lately read a much honester and more instructive book of the same period of history: it is the History of the Parliament, by Thomas May, Esq."

But Lord Clarendon, in his usual bitter mode of expressing himself of those who espoused the Parliament cause, says of Mr. May, (after speaking favourably of his parts and learning,) "that he was cherished by many persons of honour, and very acceptable in all places; yet, (to show that pride and envy have their influences upon the narrowest minds, and having the greatest semblance of humility,) though he had received much countenance, and a very considerable donative from the King, upon His Majesty's refusal to give him a small pension, which he had designed and promised to another very ingenious person, whose qualities he thought inferior to his own, he fell from his duty and all his former friends, and prostituted himself to the vile office of celebrating the infamous acts of those who were in rebellion against the King; which he did so meanly, that he seemed to all men to have lost his wits, when he left his honesty; and so, shortly after, died miserable and neglected, and deserves to be forgotten."

With such bitterness and contempt does his Lordship express himself of all those who were in opposition to the King's measures.

Mrs. Hutchinson's Life of Colonel Hutchinson will be found useful and valuable, so far as it goes.

Whitelock and Rushworth must be deemed impartial historians: they state facts with few observations: indeed their works are more in the nature of diaries or journals, than histories; particularly Whitelock's. The preface, by the publisher of this work of Whitelock, says that the author never intended it to be printed, nor meant otherwise by it, than as a book for his memory and private use; yet that such was his relation to the public, so eminent his station, and so much was he upon the stage during all the time of action, that the particulars of his diary go very far towards a perfect history of those times. Rushworth, in his preface to his historical collections, says, that his business in this work was to render a faithful account of several traverses of state, and of the most important passages in debate between the respective advocates for prerogative and liberty. He deems himself

not unqualified for the work; for that he began early to take in characters, (short-hand writing,) speeches and passages at conferences in Parliament, and from the King's own mouth when he spake to both houses; and had been upon the stage continually, and an eye and ear witness of the greatest transactions; employed in and trusted with affairs of weightiest concernment; privy, also, both to the debates in Parliament, and to the most secret results of councils of war in times of action; which he mentions without ostentation, only to prove himself qualified to report to posterity what would rather be their wonder, at first, than their belief.

General Ludlow's memoirs were written by him after his escape from England into Switzerland, upon the Restoration, (he having been one of the King's judges,) during his exile in that country, where he resided more than thirty years, and there died, in the year 1693, at the age of seventy-three. The preface to these memoirs describes him as descended of an ancient and worthy family originally known in Shropshire, and thence transplanted into the county of Wilts; and that his father, Sir Henry Ludlow, was chosen to represent that county, where he possessed a good estate, in the Parliament which began 3d November, 1640, being the Long Parliament. That upon his death General Ludlow succeeded him in the same representation. He is described, in the preface to a re-publication of these memoirs, as having had a learned education in the university of Oxford.

Rushworth observes, that the king, in his father's life-time, was linked to the Duke of Buckingham, and continued to receive him into an admired intimacy and dearness, making him partaker in all his counsels and cares, and chief conductor of his affairs, — an example, adds he, rare in this nation, to be the favourite of two succeeding princes.

That the public state of religion, and the steering of church-matters, had an early inspection and consultation in the cabinet council. Bishop Laud, who, in King James's life-time, had delivered to the duke a little book about doctrinal puritanism, now also delivered to him a schedule, wherein the names of ecclesias-

tical persons were written under the letters O. and P., the letter O. standing for Orthodox, and P. for Puritans; for that the duke had commanded that he should thus digest the names of eminent persons, to be presented to the king under that partition.

He then relates the King's marriage with Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry the Fourth of France, by Mary, his second wife, who was the daughter of Francis of Medicis, Great Duke of Tuscany, and she (Henrietta Maria) was also the sister of Louis the Thirteenth, the then reigning king. And that she being a Roman catholic, private articles were agreed upon in favour of the papists of this kingdom, which he gives at length.

That on the 18th of June (1625), the Parliament met, when the King made a speech from the throne, in which he declares, that the main reason of calling it was to mind them of the great engagements for the recovery of the palatinate, imposed on him by the late king his father, and by themselves; also to inform them that the succeeding treaties and alliances, the armies sent into the Low Countries, the repairing of the forts, and the fortifying of Ireland, did all meet in one centre — the palatinate; and that the subsidies granted in the last parliament were therein already spent, together with as much more of the king's own revenue. He says, that all Europe being this day as the pool of Bethesda, the first stirring of the waters must be laid hold on. Therefore the King desires them to bestow this meeting on him, or rather on their actions, and that the next should be theirs, as soon and as long as they pleased, for domestic business. He then recommends supplies or subsidies, and unanimity and harmony, and attention to the King's honour and reputation.

Sir Thomas Crew, knight and serjeant at law, was chosen Speaker, who had been so in the last parliament of the late king. Various debates arose amongst them, some insisting upon the redress of grievances not redressed by the late king; others for an account of the application of the last subsidies granted for the recovery of the palatinate; others for the putting the laws into execution against priests and jesuits, and such as resorted to ambas-

sadors' houses, and the questioning Mr. Richard Montagu respecting his book, entitled, Appeal to Cæsar, which they alleged was contrived and published to put a jealousy between the King and his subjects, and as an encouragement to popery. Others said, that since the King began to reign, the grievances were few or none; and recommended a course to sweeten all things between the King and his people, and to express their duty to him by giving a supply, and therewith to offer nothing but a petition for religion, that religion and subsidies might go hand in hand; and a petition concerning religion, and against popish recusants, was accordingly presented to the king.

It appears that the Commons were displeased by the king's taking the business of Montagu out of their hands, upon pretence of his being his chaplain; but to take away all occasion of disgust at the entrance of his reign, they voted him two subsidies, as the first fruits of their love. Nevertheless, Lord Conway, secretary of state, informed the Parliament, that the necessities of the present affairs were not thereby satisfied; that the late king was provoked beyond his nature to undertake a war for the recovery of his children's ancient patrimony; that the charges of this war amounted to 700,000l. a-year. He also informed the Houses of the King's assurance of his intended real performance of every particular of their petition respecting religion.

On account of the plague in London, the Parliament was adjourned to Oxford.

During this recess, the Vantguard, the principal ship of the royal navy, and seven merchant ships of great burden and strength, were lent to the King of France, to be employed, as it afterwards appeared, in the siege of Rochel, defended by a garrison of the reformed religion, the protestants of France. The mariners refused the service, the protestants of France petitioned the King against the measure; but he persisted in it, and Pennington, the admiral of the fleet, so far obeyed the King's order, as to put his own ship, the Vantguard, into the French King's possession, and came to Oxford, where the Parliament was re-assembled; but was supposed to have been there concealed until the Parliament was dissolved.

Rushworth proceeds: — The Parliament assembled at Oxford; they soon heard of the above transaction, which, he says, greatly exasperated them against the Duke of Buckingham.

The grievances insisted on were, the mis-spending of the public treasure, the neglect of guarding the seas; the Turks, in consequence, landing in the Western parts, and carrying away captive the inhabitants. The Commons appointed a committee to consider of secret affairs, and to examine the application of the three subsidies given to the late King for the recovery of the palatinate; and they prepared to assault the Duke. They also summoned the forenamed Mr. Montagu to appear before them, to answer respecting his book.

On the 4th of August, the Lords and Commons were commanded to attend the King in Christchurch-hall; when the King first addressed them in a speech of some length, and then, by his direction, two of his ministers; declaring the then present state of affairs, and enumerating the several sums that would be wanting for the exigencies of the state, to a large amount.

The Commons fell into high debates: it was asserted that the treasury was mis-employed; that evil counsels guided the King's designs; that the necessities arose through imprudence; that they had need to petition the King for a strait and better counsel to manage his affairs; and that it was not usual to grant subsidies upon subsidies in one parliament, and no grievances redressed. There were many reflections upon the Duke of Buckingham's miscarriages, and respecting Montagu. They at length resolved, that religion should have the first place in these debates; and, next, the kingdom's safety; and then, supplies: and many grievances were insisted on and enumerated; and that the government of the present affairs, and to look into the King's estate, were necessary, the doing which, they agreed, was no capitulation with His Majesty, but an ordinary parliamentary course, without which the commonwealth could never supply the King, nor indeed subsist.

In the further debate upon the desired further supply, it was replied to those who pressed it, that necessity was a dangerous

counsellor, and was a continual argument for supplies in all parliaments; that those counsellors who had put the King and kingdom into such a necessity and hazard, ought to answer for it, whosoever they might be; that if the state of things would not admit of a redress of grievances, surely there was not so much occasion for money; that to give subsidy upon subsidy in one parliament, was not usual. In conclusion, a declaration was proposed, and assented to without a negative, — That they, the Commons of this realm, abundantly comforted in His Majesty's late gracious answer touching religion, and his message for the care of their health, did solemnly protest and vow, that they were all resolved, and would ever continue most loyal and obedient subjects, and would be ready in convenient time, and in a parliamentary way, freely and dutifully to do their utmost endeavours to discover and reform the abuses and grievances of the state, and also to afford all necessary supply to His Majesty, upon his present and all other his just occasions and designs. Beseeching his Majesty to rest assured of their true and hearty affections, and to esteem the same to be the greatest worldly reputation and security that a just king can have; and to account all such as slanderers of the people's affections, and enemies to the commonwealth, that should dare to say to the contrary.

Notwithstanding this declaration, the King, says Rushworth, perceiving the House resolved against supply, without redress of grievances; and in their debates to reflect upon some great persons near him, dissolved the Parliament on the 12th August, 1625.

Mr. May, in the introduction to his history of the nearly three first years of the Long Parliament, (after giving a short sketch of the reign of Queen Elizabeth,) describes King James as a wise and learned prince, of disposition merciful and gracious, excellently grounded in that religion which he professed, a prince of whom England conceived wonderful hope, and received with great joy and triumph. But that he did not begin where his predecessor left, proceeding rather in a contrary way: "Of the reasons for which," says he, (Mr. May) "I will not presume to deliver my opinion."

He (Mr. May) then refers to the same King's peace with Spain, at the beginning of his reign, which had been brought very low by Queen Elizabeth, and had been nearer to ruin, in all probability, had she lived a few years longer; that the estates of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, those useful confederates to England, began to be despised by the English court, under a vain shadow, instead of a reason, that they were an ill example for a monarch to cherish; that then began secret treaties to pass betwixt Rome and the court of England; care to be taken about reconciliation of religions; the rigour of penal laws against the Papists (notwithstanding that odious plot of the gunpowder-treason) was abated; the pomp of prelacy and multitude of ceremonies encreased daily in the Church of England; and according to that, were all civil affairs managed, both at home and abroad.

Neither (continues the same writer) was it easy for the King (James) to turn himself out of that way, when he was entered into it; so that at last the Papists began by degrees to be admitted nearer to him, in service and conversation. That he was exceedingly desirous to match the Prince, his son, to the Infanta of Spain; about which many and long treaties passed, wherein not only the Spaniard, but the Pope, made many present advantages of the King's earnest desires, and many ways deluded him, as it appeared plainly by his own letters to his ambassadors there, since then found and published.

That thus the King was by degrees brought, not only to forsake, but to oppose his own interest, both in civil and religious affairs. And that from thence flowed a further mischief; for that the King (being loth, perchance, that the whole people should take notice of those ways in which he trod) grew extremely disaffected to parliaments, calling them for nothing but to supply his expenses, dissolving them when they began to meddle with state-affairs, and divers times imprisoning the members for speeches made in parliament, against the fundamental privileges of that high court.

That Parliaments being thus despised and abused, projects against the laws were found out to supply the King's expenses,

which were not small; and the King (whether to avoid the envy of those things, or the trouble of them) did in a manner put off all business of government from himself, into the hands of a young favourite, the Duke of Buckingham, whom he had raised from a knight's fourth son to that great height, and entrusted him with the chief offices of the kingdom; besides the great power which he had, by that extraordinary favour, of conferring all places and preferments, both in church and state.

The Duke, (continues Mr. May) not long before the death of King James, was grown into extraordinary favour and intireness with the Prince, whom he afterwards swayed no less than he had before his father, like an unhappy vapour exhaled from the earth to so great an height, as to cloud not only the setting but the rising sun.

King Charles, (continues the same writer,) with great hopes and expectations of his people, and no less high expressions of love and duty from all in general, began his reign. That they wondered to see him suddenly linked in such an entire friendship with the Duke of Buckingham; for that extraordinary favourites do usually eclipse and much depress the heir-apparent of a crown, or else they are conceived so to do; and, upon that reason, hated and ruined by the succeeding prince. In which kind all ancient and modern stories are full of examples.

The King was most unfortunate in retaining, as his favourites and advisers, the Duke of Buckingham and Bishop Laud, of whose unfitness for his counsellors it is enough to find them capable of poisoning his mind, at the very outset of his reign, against a large proportion of his subjects, by delivering, as before related, the schedule or list, invidiously dividing them into two classes, orthodox and puritan; thus prejudicing his young and inexperienced mind against all those that had opposed his father's arbitrary measures, and that were likely to oppose the same measures in the new reign, should they be continued.

His (the King's) marriage with a Roman Catholic, and his indulgence of those of that religion, by his engagements upon his

marriage in their favour, appear to have created in the nation apprehensions of their increasing influence through her.

Mr. May says, that the King's protection of the Duke of Buckingham against the Parliament occasioned the dissolution of that Parliament, after two subsidies had been given, and before the kingdom had received relief in any one grievance.

This dissolution, says Rushworth, having stopped the act of subsidies, the King endeavoured to draw supplies from the people by forced loans; and those who refused to lend were summoned before the Council, and many committed to prison, or otherwise punished.

Nevertheless, that, being pressed by his necessities, and the cry of the nation against grievances, he found himself under a necessity of summoning a second Parliament, which met on the 6th of February in the same year (1625), and about the same time determined upon the celebration of his coronation; previous to which he compelled many persons, of certain qualifications, to receive the order of knighthood, which raised a large sum of money, but caused much discontent.

Sir Heneage Finch was chosen Speaker. The Commons proceeded to consider of grievances, which they enumerated, and, amongst others, of their charge against the Duke of Buckingham; for the ground whereof Sir Thomas Wentworth (afterwards Lord Strafford), Mr. Noy (afterwards Attorney-General), and others, were of opinion that common fame was sufficient; and the House accordingly so resolved, and then voted a supply of three subsidies and three fifteens, the act for which to be brought in, as soon as grievances should be redressed.

The King endeavoured to protect the Duke of Buckingham against this charge, telling the Commons that he would not allow any of his servants to be questioned amongst them. He vindicates the Duke; and adds, that the proceedings against him did directly wound the honour and judgment of himself and of his late father.

Some strong proceedings about this time also ensued between the King and the House of Lords, who claimed the release of

the Earl of Arundel from his imprisonment in the Tower of London by the King's order, in the time of parliament; the Lords deeming it a high breach of privilege: but the firm determined conduct of the House obliged the King to release him, and permit his return to parliament.

This (second) parliament was suddenly dissolved by the King in great displeasure, on the 15th June (1626) following its commencement.

The King then proceeded, in various ways, by forced loans, benevolences, compositions with Popish recusants, and otherwise, to raise supplies from his subjects. Many refused to subscribe to the loans, and the refusers of high rank were bound over by recognisance to appear at the council-table; and many of them were committed to prison, and the common sort were enrolled in different companies of soldiers. Amongst the refusers of high rank were Sir Thomas Wentworth and Sir Harbottle Grimston. Rushworth says, that those gentlemen who stood committed for refusal to contribute to the loans, were appointed to several confinements out of their own counties; several of whom he names, and, amongst others, the fore-mentioned Sir Thomas Wentworth (afterwards Earl of Strafford), and Sir Harbottle Grimston; and that many of them were afterwards sent for, and committed to several prisons.

Rushworth adds, that Dr. Sibthorpe and Dr. Mainwaring, in their sermons in support and advancement of the loans, openly and explicitly declared in favour of the subjects' obligation to passive obedience and non-resistance; and, instancing the case of a sovereign's command against the laws of God, or of nature, or of an impossibility, he, Dr. Sibthorpe, says, here the subject must patiently undergo the punishment of disobedience, and so yield a passive, where they cannot yield an active, obedience. That the king's command in imposing loans and taxes, without consent of Parliament, did oblige the subjects' conscience, upon pain of eternal damnation. And they advance, in these sermons, several other equally high and offensive doctrines, more fully mentioned in Rushworth. Dr. Mainwaring, continues Rush-

worth, preached two of these sermons before the king. All these sermons were licensed by the Bishop of London (Laud), and for which, there is no reason to doubt, both of them were soon afterwards preferred by the King; and Dr. Montague, for his Appello Cæsarem, which had been censured by the Commons, and called in by the King's proclamation, was appointed Bishop of Chichester.

Rushworth adds, that about this time it was discovered that the King was providing, by payment of a large sum of money, for the bringing to England a considerable body of German troops, which, upon its discovery, was otherwise disposed of.

The difficulty of obtaining money by loans and otherwise, without the assistance of parliament, obliged the King to call a (third) parliament, which met on the 17th March (1627).

Sir John Finch was chosen Speaker. The Commons immediately entered upon grievances, and were not disposed to grant supplies until they should be redressed. Some of these grievances were the billeting of soldiers, loans by benevolence and privy seal, and the imprisoning certain gentlemen who refused to lend upon that account, who, afterwards bringing their *habeas corpus*, were notwithstanding remanded to prison. The violations of the liberties of the people, since the end of the last session, were taken into consideration by the Commons, who also, in the course of their debates concerning religion, entered into a vow, declaratory of their belief in the articles of religion of Queen Elizabeth, and their rejection of the Jesuits and Arminians, and of all others differing from these articles.

Upon the subject of grievances, Sir Francis Seymour (says Rushworth) first spoke. — This, says he, is the great council of the kingdom, and here (if not here alone) His Majesty may see, as in a true glass, the state of the kingdom. We are called hither by His Majesty's writs to give him faithful counsel, such as may stand with his honour; but this we must do without flattery. We are sent here by the Commons to discharge that trust reposed in us, by delivering up their just grievances, and this we must do without fear. For my own part I shall shun both these, and

speak my conscience with as much duty to His Majesty as any man; but not neglecting the public, in which His Majesty and the commonwealth have an interest. But how can we show our affections, while we retain our fears? Or how can we think of giving subsidies, till we know whether we have any thing to give? For if His Majesty be persuaded by any to take from his subjects what he will, and where it pleaseth him, I would gladly know what we have to give? It is true, it is ill with those subjects that shall give laws to their princes, and as ill with those princes who shall use force with those laws: that this hath been done, appeareth by the billeting of soldiers; a thing no way advantageous to His Majesty's service, but a burthen to the commonwealth. This also appeareth by the last levy of money against an act of parliament. And, referring to the illegality of the loans, and to the imprisonment of divers gentlemen on those accounts, he says, — To countenance these proceedings, hath it not been preached, or rather prated, in our pulpits, that all we have is the King's: *jure divino*, say these time-servers: they forsake their own function, and turn ignorant statesmen. We see how easy it is for a prince, how just and good soever, to be abused, in regard he must see with other men's eyes, and hear with other men's ears. In another place, he says, when, against a parliamentary law, the subject shall have taken from him his goods against his will, and his liberty against the laws of the land, shall it be accounted want of duty in us to stand upon our privileges, hereditary to us, and confirmed by so many acts of parliament?

Sir Thomas Wentworth followed. — This debate, says he, carries a double aspect towards the sovereign and the subject; though both be innocent, both are injured, and both to be cured. Surely, (in the greatest humility I speak it,) these illegal ways are punishments and marks of indignation: the raising of loans, strengthened by commission, with unheard-of instructions and oaths, the billeting of soldiers by the lieutenants and deputy-lieutenants, have been as if they could have persuaded Christian princes, yea, worlds, that the right of empires had been, to take away by strong hands; and they have endea-

voured, as far as possible for them, to do it. This hath not been done by the King, (under the pleasing shade of whose crown I hope we shall ever gather the fruits of justice,) but by projectors, who have extended the prerogative of the King beyond the just symmetry which maketh a sweet harmony of the whole. They have brought the crown into greater want than ever, by anticipating the revenues: and can the shepherd be thus smitten and the sheep not scattered? They have introduced a privy-council, ravishing at once the spheres of all ancient government; imprisoning us without either bail or bond. They have taken from us — what shall I say? (indeed, what have they left us?) — all means of supplying the King, and ingratiating ourselves with him; taking up the root of all property, which, if it be not seasonably set again into the ground by His Majesty's own hands, we shall have, instead of beauty, baldness. To the making of those whole I shall apply myself, and propound a remedy to all these diseases. By one and the same thing have King and people been hurt, and by the same must they be cured. To vindicate, what? new things? No; our ancient vital liberties: by reinforcing our ancient laws made by our ancestors; by setting forth such a character of them, as no licentious spirit shall dare to enter upon them. And shall we think this is a way to break a parliament? No; our desires are modest and just. I speak truly, both for the interest of King and people: if we enjoy not these, it will be impossible for us to relieve them; therefore, let us never fear they shall not be accepted by his goodness; wherefore I shall shortly descend to my motions, consisting of four parts; two of which have relation to our persons, two to the propriety of our goods. For our persons;—first, the freedom of them from imprisonment: secondly, from employment abroad, contrary to the ancient customs. For our goods;—that no levies be made but by parliament: secondly, no billeting of soldiers. It is most necessary that these be resolved, that the subject may be secured in both.

Sir Benjamin Rudyard stood up as moderator. — This, says he, is the crisis of parliaments; we shall know by this if parliaments live or die. It is fit we be wise: His Majesty begins to us with affection, proclaiming that he will rely on his people's love.

Preservation is natural: we are not now on the *bene esse*, but on the *esse*. Be sure England is ours, and then prune it. Is it no small matter that we had provoked two most potent kings? We have united them, and have betrayed ourselves more than our enemies could. Men and brethren, what shall we do? Is there no balm in Gilead? If the King draw one way, the Parliament another, we must all sink. I desire the House to avoid all contestations: the hearts of kings are great: it is comely that kings have the better of their subjects. Give the King leave to come off. I believe His Majesty expects but the occasion: it is lawful, and it is our duty to advise His Majesty; but the way is, to take a right course to attain the right end, which I think may be thus: by trusting the King, and to breed a trust in him; by giving him a large supply, according to his wants; by prostrating our grievances humbly at his feet, from thence they will have the best way to his heart: that is done in duty to His Majesty. Let us all labour to get the King on our side; and this may be no hard matter, considering the near subsistence between the King and his people.

Sir Edward Cook. — I am absolutely to give supply to His Majesty, yet with some caution. To tell you of foreign dangers and inbred evils, I will not do it: the state is declining to a consumption, yet not incurable. I fear not foreign enemies, God send us peace at home. For this disease I will propound remedies: I will seek nothing out of mine own head; but from my heart, and out of acts of parliament. I am not able to fly at all grievances, but only at loans. Let us not flatter ourselves: who will give subsidies, if the king may impose what he will, and if, after parliament the King may inhance what he pleaseth? I know the King will not do it: I know he is a religious King, free from personal vices; but he deals with other men's hands, and sees with other men's eyes. Will any give a subsidy, that may be taxed after parliament at pleasure? The king cannot tax any by way of loans. I differ from those who would have this of loans go amongst grievances: I would have it go alone. Loans against the will of the subject are against reason and the franchises of the land, and they desire restitution. What a word is that franchise!

The lord may tax his villein high or low; but it is against the franchise of the land for freemen to be taxed, but by their consent in parliament. Franchise is a French word, and in Latin it is *libertas.* In *Magna Charta* it is provided, that *nullus liber homo capiatur, vel imprisonetur aut disseisietur de libero tenemento suo, &c. nisi per legale judicium parium suorum vel per legem terræ;* which charter hath been confirmed by good kings above thirty times.

Sir John Cook, Secretary of State, on behalf of the King. — He was for redress of grievances, so as supplies took the precedency. His desire was to re-unite the King and the state. He allowed that illegal courses had been taken, and that the redress must be by laws and punishments. But this day, and the two next, says Rushworth, produced no resolution; the time being spent in a general opening of grievances from all parts of the kingdom.

Sir Thomas Wentworth, speaking upon certain propositions sent by the King to the Houses, said, — I cannot forget that duty I owe to my country; and, unless we be secured in our liberties, we cannot give. I speak not this to make diversions, but to the end that, giving, I may give cheerfully. As to the propositions to be considered of, I incline to decline them, and to look upon the state of our country, whether it be fit to give or no. Are we come to an end for our country's liberties? Have we trenched on the rates of the deputy-lieutenants? Are we secured for time future? — And the House, waving the debate of the propositions, and proceeding with grievances by confinement and designation for foreign employment, Sir Thomas Wentworth said, — If any man owes a man a displeasure, and shall procure him to be put into foreign employment, it will be a matter of high concernment to the subject. We know the honour and justice of the king; but we know not what his ministers, or the mediation of ambassadors may do, to work their own wrath. Upon the subject of the supply, he proposed a middle way; namely, that when we set down the time, we be sure the subjects' liberties go hand in hand together. Then to resolve of the time, but not report it to the

House till we have a ground, and a bill for our liberties. This is the way to come off fairly, and to prevent jealousies.

The King, wishing the House to rest on his royal word for the performance of those things that were intended to be inserted in the petition of right then in contemplation, Sir Thomas Wentworth concluded the debate thereon.—That never House of parliament trusted more in the goodness of their king for their own private, than the present; but we are ambitious that His Majesty's goodness may remain to posterity, and we are accountable to a public trust; and therefore, seeing there hath been a public violation of the laws by his ministers, nothing will satisfy him (Sir Thomas) but a public amends: and our desire to vindicate the subjects' right by bill, is no more than are laid down in former laws, with some modest provision for instruction, performance, and execution. Which, says Rushworth, so well agreed with the sense of the House, that they made it the subject of a message to be delivered by the Speaker to His Majesty.

In this debate, some were for letting the petition of right rest upon a reliance on the King's word; but Sir Edward Cook's reasons to the contrary, prevailed.—Was it ever known, said he, that general words were a sufficient satisfaction to particular grievances? When grievances be, the Parliament was to redress them. Did ever Parliament rely on messages? They put up petitions of their grievances, and the King answered them: the King's answer was very gracious; but what was the law of the realm,—that was the question? That he put no diffidence in His Majesty: the King must speak by a record and in particulars, and not in generals. Did they ever know the King's message come into a bill of subsidies? All succeeding kings would say, Ye must trust me, as well as you did my predecessors, and trust my messages; but messages of love never came into a parliament. Let us put up a petition of right: not that I distrust the King, but that we cannot take his trust, but in a parliamentary way.

On Thursday, the 8th of May, the petition of right was finished by the Commons. And then they fixed the time for payment of the supplies.

Upon debate of a letter from the King, endeavouring to render unnecessary the petition of right, Sir Thomas Wentworth said it was a letter of grace, but that the people would only like of that which should be done in a parliamentary way; besides that the debate of it would spend much time, neither was it directed to the House of Commons; and that the petition of right would clear all mistakes. For, said he, some give out as if the House went about to pinch the King's prerogative. The further debate of this letter occupied several days.

The Lords propounded, at a conference, the following addition to be made to the petition:—"We present this our humble petition to Your Majesty, with the care, not only of preserving our own liberties, but with due regard to leave entire that sovereign power wherewith Your Majesty is trusted for the protection, safety, and happiness of the people."

In the debate upon this proposed addition, several members expressed their disapprobation, and, amongst others, Sir Thomas Wentworth. If, says he, we do admit of this addition, we shall leave the subject worse than we found him, and we shall have little thanks for our labour when we come home. Let us leave all power to His Majesty to punish malefactors; but these laws are not acquainted with sovereign power. We desire no new thing; nor do we offer to trench upon His Majesty's prerogative: we may not recede from this petition, either in part, or in whole. To add a saving is not safe: doubtful words may beget ill construction; and the words are not only doubtful words, but words unknown to us, and never used in any act or petition before.

At a conference of the Lords and Commons, 26th of same May, the Lord Keeper declared that the Lords had unanimously agreed with the Commons, *in omnibus*, and had voted that they would join with them in their petition of right. And, says Rushworth, the Lords and Commons being happily accorded, the petition was read in the House two several times together. Then it was voted upon question, and that it should be engrossed and read the third time, and the House to sit in the afternoon till it should be engrossed and read, and ordered to be presented to the

King; to which there was not a negative voice. And on the 28th of the same month it was agreed, at a conference upon the manner of its delivery, that no addition or preface be used to the King, but that it be preferred to His Majesty by command of the Lords and Commons, and that His Majesty be desired, that, to the content of his people, he would be pleased to give his gracious answer in Parliament.

The King came to the House, 2d June. He said he came to perform his duty. He thought none could think it long, since he had not taken so many days in answering the petition, as they had spent weeks in framing it. That he came thither to show them, that, as well in formal things as in essential, he desired to give them as much content as in him lay. After a short speech by the Lord Keeper, the petition was read. The King's answer was: — The King willeth that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm, and that the statutes be put in due execution, that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppressions contrary to their just rights and liberties; to the preservation whereof he holds himself in conscience as well obliged, as of his prerogative.

On Tuesday, 3d June, the King's answer was read in the House of Commons, and seemed too scant, in regard of so much expense of time and labour as had been employed in preparing the petition.

At length the King gave this answer to the petition, "*Soit droit fait come il est desire*," with which both Houses were perfectly satisfied; and ordered that the grand committees for religion, trade, grievances, and courts of justice, should sit no longer; but that the House of Commons proceed only in the consideration of grievances of most moment.

They then took into consideration the grievances of the nation, and prepared, and presented to the King a remonstrance against the Duke of Buckingham, as the grand cause of them.

The King, being displeased with the Parliament's proceedings, came suddenly to the House, and ended the sessions, and prorogued the Parliament to the 20th of October then next. It was

afterwards prorogued to the 20th January following. Subsequently to which, Rushworth states many transactions' and, amongst others, the assassination of the Duke of Buckingham by Felton.

On the above 20th January (1628), the Parliament re-assembled. They took into consideration the violation of the people's liberties since the end of the last sessions, contrary to the petition of right, several instances whereof were given.

In a question upon a point of privilege, on the commissioners of the customs taking the goods of Mr. Rolles, a member of the House, under, as they alleged, a commission under the Great Seal and warrants, in the apprehension that his privilege did not extend beyond his person, Mr. Selden said, If there be any near the King that doth misrepresent our actions, let the curse light on them, not on us; and believe it, it is high time to vindicate ourselves in this case, else it is in vain for us to sit here. And it was resolved that the privilege extended to goods as well as person.

The Speaker having refused to put a question proposed to the House, alleging that he was so commanded by the King, was severely reprimanded by Mr. Selden. The House, in heat, adjourned to the Wednesday next, when they were again adjourned to Monday, the 2d of March, when the House again urging the Speaker, he still refused, alleging the King's command to put no question, and to adjourn to the 10th of the same month; whereupon he was held in the chair by some of the members (the House foreseeing a dissolution), till the House came to the following resolutions: — That whosoever should bring in innovation of religion, or by favour or countenance seem to extend, or introduce popery or arminianism, or other opinions disagreeing from the truth and orthodox church, should be reputed a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth. That whosoever should advise the taking and levying the subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not granted by Parliament, or should be an actor or instrument therein, should be reputed an innovator in the government, and a capital enemy to the kingdom. Any merchant or person voluntarily yielding or paying the same to be reputed a betrayer of the liberties of England.

Hereupon the King sent for the serjeant of the House, but he was detained, the door being locked; he then sent the gentleman-usher of the Lords' House, who was refused admittance till these resolutions were read; and then, in much confusion, the House was adjourned to the 10th of March, 1628.

On that day the King dissolved the Parliament, in a speech addressed to the Lords, (the Commons not being called,) imputing the necessity of this measure to the undutiful and seditious carriage of the Commons.

The day following, warrants were directed from the council to Mr. Denzil Holles, Sir Miles Hobart, Sir John Elliot, Sir Peter Hayman, Mr. Selden, Mr. Coriton, Mr. Walter Long, and Mr. Valentine, commanding their personal appearance on the morrow. Mr. Holles, Sir John Elliot, Mr. Coriton, and Mr. Valentine, appearing, and refusing to answer out of Parliament what was said and done in Parliament, were committed close prisoners to the Tower, and warrants were given for the sealing up of the studies of Mr. Holles, Mr. Selden, and Sir John Elliot. Mr. Long and Mr. Stroud, not then, nor sometime after appearing, a proclamation was issued for the apprehending of them.

Mr. May mentions the grant of the petition of right to have been to the great rejoicing of the people. But he adds, that it proved immediately to be no relief to them; for that, the parliament dissolved, the king acted over the same things which formerly he had done; and that grant, says he, instead of fortifying the kingdom's liberty, made it appear to be more defenceless than before, seeing that laws themselves were no bar against the King's will, which he instances in the forced loans; imprisonment for their non-payment; the raising of money by privy seals; commission for squeezing the subject by way of excise; billeting soldiers, and the design to enslave the nation by a force of German horse, and many other things of the like nature. That the affairs of state which concerned confederates abroad, had been managed with as much disadvantage and infelicity to them, as dishonour to the English nation, and prejudice to the cause of religion itself. That peace was made with Spain without consent

of parliament, by which all hope was utterly lost of re-establishing the King's nearest kindred in their just dominion, and the protestant religion much weakened in Germany. What counsels (continues Mr. May) had then influence upon the court of England, might be the amazement of a wise man to consider; and the plain truth must needs seem a paradox to posterity, as that the protestant religion, both at home and abroad, should suffer much by the government of two kings, of whom the former in his own person wrote more learnedly in defence of it, and the latter in his own person lived more conformably to the rules of it, than any of their contemporary princes in Europe. But, says he, the civil affairs of state were too ill managed to protect, or, at least, to propagate, true religion; or else the neglect of religion was the cause that civil affairs were blessed with no more honour and prosperity. That the right ways of Queen Elizabeth, who advanced both, had been long ago forsaken, and the deviation grew daily further and more fatal to the kingdom, which appeared in a direct contrariety to all particulars of her reign. Titles of honour were made more honourable by her, in being conferred sparingly, and therefore, probably, upon great desert; which afterwards were become of less esteem, by being not only too frequently conferred, but put to open sale, and made too often the purchase of mechanics, or the reward of vicious persons. That at the death of the Duke, the people were possessed of an unusual joy, which they openly testified by such expressions as indeed were not thought fit or decent by wise men, upon so tragical and sad an accident. That these joys and hopes lasted not long, for in the same year, after the Duke's death, another (the third) parliament was dissolved, and then the privileges of that high court were more broken than ever before. Referring to the imprisonment and fining of the forenamed members of the House of Commons for matters done in parliament, he (Mr. May) adds, that the people from that time were deprived of the hope of parliament, and all things so managed by public officers, as if never such a day of account were to come. He then enumerates some of the chief grievances of the subject, like-

wise some vices of the nation in general, (that the reader might the better judge of the causes of succeeding troubles,) during the space of seven or eight years after the dissolution of that parliament, and then gives some account of the several dispositions of the people of England, and their different censures of the King's government during those years.

Lord Clarendon begins his history with the mention of King James's death. Leaving, he says, his son King Charles engaged in a war with Spain, but unprovided with money to manage it, though it was undertaken with the consent and advice of Parliament; the people being naturally enough inclined to the war, (having surfeited with the uninterrupted pleasures and plenty of twenty-two years' peace, and sufficiently inflamed against the Spaniards,) but quickly weary of the charge of it. And that, therefore, after an unprosperous and chargeable attempt, in a voyage by sea, upon Cadiz, and an unsuccessful and more unfortunate one upon France, at the isle of Rhee, (for that some difference had likewise, about this same time, begotten a war with that prince,) a general peace was shortly concluded with both kingdoms. The exchequer being so exhausted with the debts of King James, the bounty of His Majesty that then was (who, upon his first access to the crown, gave many costly instances of his favour to many persons near him,) and the charge of the war upon Spain and France, that both the known and casual revenue being anticipated, the necessary subsistence of the household was unprovided for; and the King on the sudden driven to those streights for his own support, that many ways were resorted to, and inconveniences submitted to, for supply, — as selling the crown-lands; creating peers for money; and many other particulars, which no access of power or plenty since could repair.

His Lordship, referring to the dissolution of these three first parliaments, attributes the people's apprehension of the future discontinuance of parliaments, and that no more would be held, to the King's prohibition, at the dissolution of the last of them, of his subjects to prescribe any time to him for parliaments, or to speak thereof; and censures in strong terms those unreason-

able, unskilful, and precipitate dissolutions. The king and his people, says he, parting at those sad seasons, with no other respect and charity one towards the other than persons who never meant to meet but in their own defence; in which the king had always the disadvantage to harbour those about him who, with their utmost industry, false information, and malice, improved the faults and infirmities of the court to the people, and again, as much as in them lay, rendered the people suspected, if not odious, to the king. He expresses his surprise at those counsels which persuaded to the courses then taken, the habits and tempers of men's minds being at that time well disposed to the public aids, which were only discredited by the jealousies entertained by the people, from the manner of the prosecution thereof, that they were other and worse than in truth they were.

He does not deny, that there were, in all those parliaments, especially in that of the fourth year, several passages and distempered speeches of particular persons, not fit for the dignity and honour of those places, and unsuitable to the reverence due to his majesty and his councils. But that he was not aware of any formed act of either house (for that neither the remonstrance or votes of the last day were such) that was not agreeable to the wisdom and justice of great courts upon those extraordinary occasions; and that whoever considered the acts of power, and injustice of some of the ministers in those intervals of parliament, would not be much scandalised at the warmth and vivacity of those meetings. He describes the intended grant of five subsidies in the second parliament, (how contemptible soever in respect of the pressures then every day imposed,) as a proportion greater than ever before granted; and adds, that that meeting having been, upon very unpopular and unplausible reasons, immediately dissolved, those subsidies were exacted throughout the kingdom with the same rigour as if they had been granted by act of parliament, — referring to the imprisonment of divers gentlemen (as he describes them) of prime quality. And could it, he adds, be imagined, that those men would meet again in a free conven-

tion of parliament, without a sharp expostulation and inquisition into their own right, and the power that had imposed thereon? And yet that all those provocations, and many others, almost of as large an extent, produced no other resentment than the Petition of Right, (of no prejudice to the crown,) which was likewise purchased at the price of five subsidies more; and that, in a very short time after the supply granted, that parliament was likewise, with strange circumstances of passion, dissolved.

His lordship imputes the abrupt and unkind breaking off of the two first parliaments to the Duke of Buckingham, and of the third, principally to the Lord Weston, then lord high treasurer of England, and that, at a time when some accusations were ready to be preferred against them. He then describes the duke's rapid rise upon the fall of Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, the late king's former favourite. That the duke disposed of all the graces of the king, in conferring all the honours, and all the offices of the three kingdoms, without a rival; in dispensing whereof he was guided more by the rules of appetite than of judgment, and so exalted almost all his own numerous family and dependants, whose greatest merit was their alliance to him, and which equally offended the ancient nobility and the people of all conditions, who saw the flowers of the crown every day fading and withered, whilst the demesnes and revenue thereof were sacrificed to the enriching a private family scarce ever heard of before in the nation; and the expenses of the court so vast and unlimited, that they had a sad prospect of that poverty and necessity which afterwards befel the crown, almost to the ruin of it. He adds, that his greatness was owing to no other advantage or recommendation than the beauty and gracefulness of his person; and that King James, of all wise men living, was the most delighted and taken with handsome persons and fine clothes.

Referring to grievances, he says, that, at every dissolution, such as had given any offence were imprisoned or disgraced; new projects were every day set on foot for money, which served only to offend and incense the people, and brought little supplies to

the king's occasions, yet raised a great stock for expostulation, murmur, and complaint; and many persons of the best quality and condition under the peerage were committed to several prisons, with circumstances unusual and unheard of, for refusing to pay money by those extraordinary ways. — That supplemental acts of state were, in the absence of parliament, made to supply defects of law; obsolete laws were revived, and rigorously executed. That the king received a vast sum of money upon the law of knighthood, which, though it had a foundation in right, yet, in the circumstances of proceeding, was very grievous. And no less unjust projects of all kinds, many ridiculous, many scandalous, all very grievous, were set on foot; and finally, for a spring and magazine that should have no bottom, ship-money, which was afterwards disputed by Mr. Hampden. His lordship then refers to the proceedings of the Council-table and Star-chamber, in enlarging their jurisdictions to a vast extent, holding for honourable that which pleased, and for just that which profited; the Council-table, by proclamation, enjoining to the people what was not enjoined by the law, and prohibiting that which was not prohibited; and the Star-chamber censuring the breach and disobedience to those proclamations, by very great fines and imprisonments; so that any disrespect to any acts of state, or to the persons of statesmen, was in no time more penal, and those foundations of right by which men valued their security, to the apprehension and understanding of wise men, never more in danger to be destroyed. And that the damage and mischief to the crown and state were inexpressible, from the deserved reproach and infamy that attended the judges, by the use made of them in this (ship-money) and like acts of power, there being no possibility to preserve the dignity, reverence, and estimation of the laws themselves, but by the integrity and innocence of the judges.

## CHAPTER II.

*The king's coronation in Scotland. — Publication of the book of sports. — Reformation in the church of Scotland begun. — Proceedings in the Star-chamber against Mr. Prynn. — Also against Drs. Bastwick and Burton, and their sentences. — Mr. Hampden's case of ship-money, and judgment against him. — Articles of conciliation between the king and Scotland. — Fourth parliament. — Petitions of grievances. — Parliament dissolved. — Forced loans attempted. — Scotch commence hostilities. — Seizure of the bullion in the Mint. — The English army defeated by the Scots. — Great council of peers at York. — Treaty with Scotland.*

In the following April (1629) Laud, bishop of London, was elected by the university of Oxford its chancellor, on the death of the Earl of Pembroke.

The king prosecuted in the Star-chamber, with great severity, the committed members of the House of Commons. Rushworth observes, that the discontents of the common people, upon this dissolution of parliament, were heightened against the powerful men of the court, and the king's most inward counsellors, Laud, and the lord-treasurer Weston.

The king wanting money, adopted various illegal, violent means to procure it.

The bishop says in his diary, in part given by Rushworth, that he had a serious offer again made him to be a cardinal, with which he had acquainted the king, but that somewhat dwelt within him which would not suffer that, till Rome were other than it is. He adds, that he was translated, September 19. to the archbishoprick of Canterbury.

Rushworth relates the king's coronation in Scotland, and the archbishop's haughty behaviour upon that occasion. The king then began to interfere with his subjects of Scotland upon the

subject of religion, and hastily, and in great heat, dissolved their parliament, and returns to England.

In 1633 the book of sports was published, and the king's declaration, allowing certain sports and pastimes on Sundays after evening prayers, and enjoining the bishops of the several dioceses to constrain the papists and puritans to conform thereto, or leave the country. The effects of the declaration, Rushworth observes, were, that many ministers who were very conformable to the church of England, refusing to read the declaration publicly in their churches, were suspended, and others silenced from preaching. Whitelock observes, that this proceeding was not very pleasing to many who were no puritans.

The archbishop having advised the king to a reformation in the church of Scotland, began with the royal chapel there, in certain articles sent in his majesty's name, with a letter to command obedience. This was declared to be for a pattern of the intended reformation, to all cathedrals, chapels, and parish churches in Scotland. He procured the king's signature to a common prayer-book for the use of the church of Scotland, and ordered the bishops of Scotland to compile certain canons for its government, which were to be imposed by regal and episcopal authority, without the consent of the Scots' parliament, or of a general assembly.

Thomas Lord Viscount Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, (late Sir Thomas Wentworth, and who was now gone over to the king's party,) lord-deputy of Ireland, advises the king concerning a parliament in Ireland, and the immediate appointment of a committee, to consider all the bills intended in a parliament to have been called in Lord Falkland's time; such as should be beneficial to make them ready, and such as might be prejudicial to the crown to be laid aside. This might be quickened, or otherwise, as the Parliament should proceed warmer or cooler in his majesty's supplies. That he would endeavour the lower house should be so composed, as that neither the recusants, nor the protestants, should appear considerably more one than the other, holding them as much as might be upon equal balance, for they would prove thus easier to govern than if either party were abso-

lute. Then would I, says he, in private discourse show the recusant that the contribution ending in December then next, if the army were not supplied some other way before, of the twelve pence a Sunday, must of necessity be exacted upon them. I would show the protestant, that your majesty must not let go the 20,000l. contribution, nor yet discontent the other in matters of religion, till the army were some way else certainly provided for; and convince them both, that the present quarterly payments were not so burthensome as they pretended them to be, and that by the graces, they have had already more benefit than their money came to: thus poising one by the other, which, single, might prove more unhappy to deal with. That he would endeavour to make as many captains and officers burgesses as possible, who having immediate dependence upon the crown, may almost sway the business betwixt the two parties which way they please. That in the higher house his majesty, he trusted, would have the bishops wholly for him. That the titular lords, rather than come over themselves, would put their proxies into such safe hands as might be thought of; and that in the rest, his majesty had such an interest from duty to the crown, and obnoxiousness in themselves, that he did not apprehend any difficulty with them.

Rushworth then gives the proceedings in the Star-chamber against William Prynn, Esq. and others, for a libel, entitled Histrio Mastrix, against plays, masks, dancing, &c. knowing that the queen, lords of the council, and others, were present at these amusements. They were found guilty, and the book condemned to be burnt; Mr. Prynn to be degraded from his profession of a barrister; and otherwise, to stand in the pillory twice; to lose both his ears, and to pay a fine of 5000l. to the king, and perpetual imprisonment.

At a subsequent time Mr. Prynn was again prosecuted for libels, and also Dr. Bastwick and Dr. Burton, when they were heavily fined, and Mr. Prynn sentenced to lose the remainder, if any, of his ears; and the others to lose their ears.

Money being still wanted, ship-money was advised, and writs were issued directing the providing of ships for the navy, and assessing certain sums in lieu of the ships that should not be so provided, to be paid to the treasurer of the navy.

Rushworth then mentions the archbishop's project for imposing the English liturgy and discipline upon the English companies, and upon the regiments in foreign parts, and upon the companies of merchants residing there, and upon the churches of foreigners residing in England. The archbishop, in opposition to all the remonstrances of these foreigners, persisted in the measure, by which the foreign churches were molested and disquieted several years together, and some of their ministers, and many of their congregations, deserted the kingdom. Also an information in the Star-chamber against a considerable number of persons of quality for residing in town, contrary to the king's proclamation.

In the first year of this reign, he says, no hackney-coaches stood in the street, but at their stables, and they were sent to, to come abroad by those who had occasion for them; and there were not more than twenty of these coaches. The judges constantly rode on horseback in all weathers. The lawyers pleaded in ruffs: falling bands came afterwards in fashion.

That the enforcement of the service-book of common prayer upon Scotland was pursued by the archbishop with great vehemence, and as strongly resisted. And gives a particular narrative of the proceedings.

In 1637, Mr. Hampden's case of ship-money was argued before all the judges. Mr. Hampden had refused to pay the tax laid upon him towards finding a ship of war; but, upon the opinion of a majority of the judges, judgment was given against him for twenty shillings, the amount of his assessment.

Judge Croke, Whitelock says, resolved to deliver his opinion for the king, and accordingly had prepared his argument; but a few days before, upon discourse with some of his nearest relations, and most serious thoughts thereon, and being heartened by his

lady, who was a very good and pious woman, and who requested him to do nothing against his conscience, from fear of any danger or prejudice to him or his family, assuring him that she would be contented to suffer want, or any misery with him, rather than be an occasion for him to do, or say any thing against his judgment and his conscience; he suddenly altered his purposes and arguments; and, contrary to expectation, argued and declared his opinion against the king.

The archbishop, in his diary of 1638, observes, that the tumults in Scotland about the service-book had continued increasing, and had brought that kingdom in danger.

The king, by a circular letter, dated 26th January, 1638, referring to the disturbed state of Scotland, and stating that many of the people had been seduced by ill-designing persons, and that great and considerable forces were raised and assembled in such sort, as he had reason to take into consideration the defence and safety of the realm of England.—And that he had directed a considerable army to be forthwith levied, with which he had determined to repair to the northern parts of his realm, to make resistance against any invasion that might happen.—He requires the nobility to attend him and his standard at the city of York, on the first of April then next, in such equipage, and with such forces of horse, as their birth and interest in the public safety obliged them unto. And the archbishop wrote to the clergy to prevail on them to contribute freely to the war.

This dispute, says Whitelock, with Scotland, was the fountain from whence our ensuing troubles did spring.

The king consented to the petition of the Scotch to appoint some few persons about him to hear their humble desires, and to make known to them his pleasure, so that all misstatings might be speedily removed, and the kingdom kept in peace and happiness; and meetings were accordingly had, and articles finally agreed on, which his majesty and the Scotch deputies signed on Tuesday, June 18., and, a few days afterwards, both armies were disbanded.

This year (1640), says Rushworth, begins with warlike preparations for a second expedition against the Scots. The Irish parliament gave to the king four subsidies towards the war, and a promise of a larger supply, if found necessary.

Sir Thomas Finch, lord keeper of the great seal, was created Lord Finch, of Fordwick, in the county of Kent. And on Monday, the 13th April, the fourth parliament met at Westminster. Then follow, in Rushworth, the names of the members of the House of Commons, and the places they represented, amounting in number to 502. The king came to the House, and spoke as follows:—That never was there a king that had a greater and more weighty cause to call his people together than himself. That he would not trouble them with the particulars, having instructed the lord keeper to address them; who, in a most flattering speech to the king, and sufficiently humiliating to the two Houses, amongst other expressions of a similar nature, observes, that his majesty's kingly resolutions are seated in the ark of his sacred breast, and it were a presumption of too high a nature for any Uzzah, uncalled, to touch it; yet that his majesty was then pleased to lay by the shining beams of majesty, as Phœbus did to Phæton, that the distance between sovereignty and subjection should not bar them of that filial freedom of access to his person and counsels; only let us beware how, with the son of Clymene, we aim at the guiding of the chariot, as if that were the only testimony of fatherly affection: and let us ever remember, that though the king sometimes lays by the beams and rays of majesty, he never lays by majesty itself.

He then enters upon the troubled state of Scotland, and accuses the Scots' leaders of having addressed themselves to foreign states, and treated with them to deliver themselves up to their protection and power. That his majesty, to avoid a manifest and apparent mischief threatened to this and his other kingdoms, had resolved, by the means of a powerful army, to reduce Scotland to just and modest conditions of obedience: that the charge of such an army had been thoroughly advised, and must needs amount to a

very great sum, such as could not be imagined to be found in his coffers; he, therefore, calls upon them for subsidies to carry on this war. The Commons chose Mr. Serjeant Glanville their speaker.

Several petitions were presented by the knights of the shires for Middlesex, Hertford, &c. Mr. Arthur Capel delivered in the first from the county of Hertford, complaining of ship-money, projects, monopolies, the star-chamber, high-commission courts, &c., setting forth the grievances of the people by the church and state; and several of the members delivered their sense of the present state of affairs; amongst others, Mr. (afterwards Sir Harbottle) Grimston, Sir Benjamin Rudyard, and others, whose speeches are given at length in Rushworth.

The House had daily warm debates upon the precedency of supply or grievances; but the king, impatient of the delay of the supplies, in much displeasure dissolved the parliament, on the 5th of May following its commencement.

The day following some members were imprisoned. The Lord Brook's study, cabinets, and pockets were searched for papers. Henry Bellasis, knight of the shire for the county of York, and Sir John Hotham, were called before the council and examined concerning some particulars respecting the king's service, and of passages in parliament, and not giving satisfactory answers, were committed to the Fleet prison.

The council for the king's present supply required the aldermen of London to give in the names of such citizens as were able to lend to the amount of 200,000l., which they refusing, were committed to prison, and the attorney-general directed to proceed against them in the Star-chamber; also against the lord mayor and sheriffs of London for their neglect to execute the process for the ship-money; and against the sheriff of Suffolk, for a similar neglect.

Towards the latter end of July, and beginning of August, the Scots were active in raising forces, and imposed a tenth penny upon every man's rents towards the maintenance of their

army to march into England; and, preparatory thereto, their general, Leslie, besieged and took Edinburgh castle.

The king's necessities, continues Rushworth, being great, he ordered the seizure of the bullion in the mint at the Tower, which had been brought from beyond sea, to be coined, which greatly alarmed the Spanish merchants and others, who immediately addressed the king, declaring that this proceeding would for ever thereafter hinder the bringing it in; and would prove to his great prejudice, not only by the loss of the coinage of the bullion, but in his reputation, his faith being pledged for the freedom of merchants to bring it in, and freely to remove it. The owners of the bullion at length consented to the king's having 40,000l., being a third part of it, upon his security.

August 20. The king began his journey towards York, in some haste, upon information that the Scots were ready to enter the kingdom, which they accordingly did on the 20th of the same month. And the king published a proclamation, summoning all holding of him by grand serjeanty, escuage, or knight's service, to do their services against the Scots according to their tenures: also for the levying and payment of the arrears of ship-money. Commissions of array were also issued to the lords-lieutenants of the several counties.

In a skirmish between the English and Scots armies near Newcastle, on the 28th August, the English army was defeated, and obliged to retreat to Durham, leaving Newcastle without soldiers, of which the Scots took immediate possession.

On the 4th September, a petition was presented to the king from the commissioners of the late parliament in Scotland, after his army had retreated into Yorkshire, accounting for their proceedings, and entreating him to consider their pressing grievances, and to provide for the repair of their wrongs and losses; and, through a parliament, to settle a firm and durable peace. The king answered, that when he should have advised with an intended meeting which had been summoned of the peers of his kingdom of England, in the city of York, on the 24th of the then month, they should receive an answer to their petition; but that

he expected and commanded that they should advance no further with their army.

On the 24th September, the council of peers assembled at York, which his majesty opened by a speech, stating, That upon sudden invasions, when the dangers were near and instant, it had been the custom of his predecessors to assemble the great council of the peers, and by their advice and assistance to give a timely remedy to such evils, which could not admit a delay so long as must of necessity be allowed for the assembling of the parliament. And that he had resolved to call a parliament, to meet on the 3d November then next.—That there were two points wherein he should desire their advice, which were the chief cause of their meeting: First, what answer to give to the rebels' petition? Second; how his army should be kept on foot and maintained until the supplies of Parliament might be had? For that so long as the Scots' army remained in England, he thought no man would counsel him to disband his. His Majesty then ordered the petition of the Scots, and other papers and proceedings in the business of Scotland, to be laid before the council, who finally determined, that certain of themselves should be sent as commissioners to treat with commissioners to be appointed by the Scots, to meet at Northallerton. The place of meeting was afterwards changed to Rippon, where the commissioners met, and proceeded upon the treaty; but the time of meeting of the ensuing Parliament of England approaching, the further proceedings were adjourned to London, and a cessation of arms was agreed on.

Lord Clarendon gives the following account of the king's proceedings, in his attempt to force a liturgy upon Scotland. After relating the king's first journey thither, and his coronation there, he proceeds:—The king was always the most punctual observer of all decency in his devotion, and the strictest promoter of the ceremonies of the church, as believing, in his soul, the Church of England to be instituted the nearest to the practice of the apostles, and the best, for the propagation and advancement of the Christian religion, of any church in the world. And on the other side,

though no man was more averse from the Romish church than he was, nor better understood the motives of their separation from us and animosity against us; he had the highest dislike and prejudice to that part of his own subjects who were against the government of the church established, and did always look upon them as a very dangerous and seditious people, who would, under pretence of conscience, which kept them from submitting to the spiritual jurisdiction, take the first opportunity they could find or make, to withdraw themselves from their temporal subjection: and that, therefore, he had, with the utmost vigilance, caused that temper and disposition to be watched, and provided against in England; and if it were then in truth there, it lurked with wonderful secrecy:—that in Scotland, indeed, it covered the whole nation; so that though there were bishops in name, the whole jurisdiction and they themselves, were subject to an assembly which was purely presbyterian; no form of religion in practice, no liturgy, nor the least appearance of any beauty of holiness. He then refers to the late king's intention to introduce the liturgy of the Church of England into Scotland, had he lived:—that the king his son, who, with his father's other virtues, inherited that zeal for religion, proposed nothing more to himself, than to unite his three kingdoms in one form of God's worship and public devotions: and there being then so great a serenity in all his dominions, there was great reason to believe that in this journey into Scotland to be crowned, he carried with him the resolution to finish that important business in the church at the same time:—that to that end, the then Bishop of London, Dr. Laud, attended his majesty throughout that whole journey, which, as he was dean of the chapel, he was not obliged to do, and no doubt would have been excused from, if that design had not been in view; to accomplish which, he was no less solicitous than the king himself, nor the king the less solicitous for his advice:—that the introduction of the liturgy of the Church of England having been objected to for various reasons, the king ordered the framing such a liturgy as should be likely to be most acceptable to Scotland; and then returned to England, without ever having proposed, or made the

least approach in public towards any alteration in the church. It had been happy, adds his lordship, had there been nothing done then that had any reference to that affair; and that, since it was not ready, nothing had been transacted to promote it, which accidentally alienated the affections of the people from it; and what was done was imputed to the bishop, who was like enough to be guilty of it; since he did really believe that nothing more contributed to the benefit and advancement of the church than the promotion of churchmen to places of the greatest honour, and offices of the highest trust: — that this opinion, and the prosecution of it, (though his integrity was unquestionable, and his zeal as great for the good and honour of the state as for the advancement and security of the church,) was the unhappy foundation of his own ruin, and of the prejudice towards the church, the malice against it, and almost the destruction of it: — that upon the death of Abbot, he, Laud, was appointed archbishop of Canterbury. He was a man, says his lordship, of great parts, and very exemplary virtues, allayed and discredited by some natural infirmities, the greatest of which was (besides a hasty, sharp way of expressing himself,) that he believed innocence of heart, and integrity of manners, was a guard strong enough to secure any man in his voyage through this world, in what company soever he travelled, and through what ways soever he was to pass: and sure no man was ever better supplied with that provision: — that when he came into authority, it may be he retained too keen a memory of those who had so unjustly and uncharitably persecuted him before, and I doubt, says his lordship, was so far transported with the same passions he had reason to complain of in his adversaries, that as they accused him of popery because he had some doctrinal opinions which they liked not, though they were nothing allied to popery, so he entertained too much prejudice to some persons, as if they were enemies to the discipline of the church, because they concurred with Calvin in some doctrinal points, when they abhorred his discipline, and reverenced the government of the church, and prayed for the peace of it, with as much zeal and fervency as any in the kingdom: — that in the end of September,

1633, he was invested in the title, power, and jurisdiction of Archbishop of Canterbury, and was without a rival in church or state; and Dr. Juxon was, by his influence with the king, appointed to succeed him as Bishop of London. And that it was now a time of great ease and tranquillity; and the archbishop's heart was set upon the advancement of the church, in which he well knew he had the king's full concurrence, which he thought would be too powerful for any opposition, and that he should need no other assistance. His lordship adds, that though the nation generally was without any ill talent to the church, either in doctrine or discipline, yet they were not without a jealousy that popery was not enough discountenanced, and were very averse from admitting any thing they had not been used to, which they called innovation, and were easily persuaded that any thing of that kind was but to please the papists.

The archbishop, proceeds his lordship, was a man of great courage and resolution; and being most assured within himself that he proposed no end in all his actions but what was pious and just, he never studied the easiest way to those ends. He courted persons too little, nor cared to make his designs and purposes appear as candid as they were, by showing them in any other dress than their own natural beauty, though perhaps in too rough a manner; and did not consider enough what men said, or were like to say of him; if the faults and vices were fit to be looked into and discovered, let the persons be who they would that were guilty of them, they were sure to find no connivance of favour from him. He intended the discipline of the church should be felt, as well as spoken of; and that it should be applied to the greatest and most splendid transgressors, as well as to the punishment of smaller offences and meaner offenders.

His lordship then mentions the prosecution in the Star-chamber of Mr. Prynn, Dr. Bastwick, and Mr. Burton, for libels against the government of the church by bishops, which, says he, they had published to corrupt the people, with circumstances very scandalous, and in language very scurrilous and impudent, which all men thought deserved exemplary punishment; yet, adds he,

when they were all sentenced, and for the execution of that sentence brought out to be punished as common and signal rogues, exposed upon scaffolds to have their ears cut off, and their faces and foreheads branded with hot irons, (as the poorest and most mechanic malefactors used to be when they were not able to redeem themselves by any fine for their trespasses, or to satisfy any damages for the scandals they had raised against the good name and reputation of others,) men began no more to consider their manners, but the men; and each profession, with anger and indignation enough, thought their education, and degrees, and quality, would have secured them from such infamous judgments, and treasured up wrath for time to come.

His lordship then relates, that the remissness of Archbishop Laud's predecessor, Archbishop Abbot, and of other bishops who, by his example, had introduced, or at least connived at, a negligence that gave great scandal to the church, and no doubt offended many pious men: this was, the little care the people took of the churches, and the parsons as little of the chancels, that, instead of beautifying or adorning them, they rarely provided against the falling of many of them, and suffered them to be kept so indecently and slovenly, that they would not have endured it in the ordinary offices of their own houses; the rain and the wind to infest them, and the sacraments themselves to be administered, only when the people were inclined to receive them. That this profane liberty and uncleanliness the archbishop resolved to reform with all expedition, requiring the other bishops to concur with him in so pious a work, which was sure very grateful to all men of devotion; yet, adds he, I know not how, the prosecution of it with too much affectation of expense, it may be, or with too much passion between the ministers and the parishioners, raised an evil spirit towards the church, which the enemies of it took much advantage of, as soon as they had an opportunity to make the worst use of it: that the removal of the communion-table out of the body of the church, where it had used to stand, and to be applied to all uses, and fixing it to one place in the upper end of the chancel, which frequently made necessary the

purchase of a new table: the inclosing it with a rail of joiners' work, and thereby fencing it from the approach of dogs and all servile uses; the obliging all persons to come up to those rails to receive the sacrament, how acceptable soever to grave and intelligent persons, who loved order and decency, yet introduced first murmurings among the people, upon the charge and expense of it; and if the minister were not a man of discretion and reputation, to compose and reconcile those indispositions, as too frequently he was not, and rather inflamed and increased the distemper, it begot suits and appeals at law: that the opinion that there was no necessity of doing any thing, and the complaint that there was too much done, brought the power and jurisdiction that imposed the doing it to be called in question, contradicted, and opposed. Then the manner, and gesture, and posture in the celebration of it, brought in new disputes, and administered new subjects of offence, according to the custom of the place and humour of the people; and the terms altar, adoration, and genuflexion, and other expressions, for the more perspicuous carrying on those disputations. New books were written for and against this new practice, with the same earnestness and contention for victory, as if the life of Christianity had been at stake. Besides, that there was not an equal concurrence in the prosecution of this matter amongst the bishops themselves; some of them proceeding more remissly in it, and some not only neglecting to direct any thing to be done towards it, but restraining those who had a mind to it from meddling in it. And this again produced as inconvenient disputes, when the subordinate clergy would take upon them, not only without the direction of the diocesans, but expressly against their injunctions, to make those alterations and reformations themselves, and by their own authority.

That the archbishop, guided purely by his zeal and reverence for the place of God's service, and by the canons and injunctions of the church, with the custom observed in the King's chapel, and in most cathedral churches, without considering the long intermission and discontinuance in many other places, prosecuted

this affair more passionately than was fit for the season, and had prejudice against those who, out of fear or foresight, or not understanding the thing, had not the same warmth to promote it. The bishops who had been preferred by his favour, or hoped to be so, were at least as solicitous to bring it to pass in their several dioceses: and some of them, with more passion and less circumspection than they had his example for, or than he approved, persecuting those who opposed them very fiercely, and sometimes unwarrantably, which was kept in remembrance; whilst other bishops, not so many in number, or so valuable in weight, who had not been so beholden to him, nor had hope of being so, were enough contented to give perfunctory orders for the doing it, and to see the execution of those orders not minded, and not the less pleased to find that the prejudice of that transaction reflected solely upon the archbishop.

That upon the death of the Duke of Portland, high-treasurer of England, the archbishop was appointed one of the commissioners of the treasury; in which office, with his natural earnestness and warmth, he made it his principal care to improve and advance the king's revenue, by his manner of doing which he created himself many enemies. That Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London, was appointed to succeed the Duke of Portland in his office of high-treasurer; a man so unknown, that his name was scarce heard of in the kingdom; who had been, within two years before, but a private chaplain to the king, and the president of a poor college in Oxford. This, says his lordship, did inflame more men than were angry before, and no doubt did not only sharpen the edge of envy and malice against the archbishop, (who was the known architect of this new fabric,) but most unjustly indisposed many towards the church itself, which they looked upon as the gulf ready to swallow all the great offices, there being others in view of that robe, who were ambitious enough to expect the rest. In the meantime the archbishop himself was infinitely pleased with what was done, and unhappily believed he had provided a stronger support for the church, and never abated any thing of his severity and rigour towards men of all conditions; or in the sharpness of

his language and expressions, which was so natural to him, that he could not debate any thing without some commotion, when the argument was not of moment, nor bear contradiction in debate, even in the council, where all men were equally free, with that patience and temper that was necessary, of which they who wished him not well took many advantages, and would therefore contradict him, that he might be transported with some incident passion, which, upon a short recollection, he was always sorry for, and would most readily and heartily make acknowledgments.

Whatsoever was the cause, adds his lordship, this excellent man, who stood not upon the advantage-ground before, from the time of his promotion to the archbishopric, or rather from that of his being commissioner of the treasury, exceedingly provoked or underwent the envy, and reproach, and malice of men of all qualities and conditions, who agreed in nothing else.

His lordship then enters upon the affairs of Scotland after the king's return from thence; giving an account of the ill-reception of the canons and liturgy formed for that kingdom, and continuing his account of those affairs to the time of the king's declaration of his resolution to raise an army.

That the king, being apprehensive of the intention of the Scots to invade England, but having no means of resisting it, resolved to call a Parliament; but that it might appear that the court was not apprehensive of what the Parliament would or could do, and that it was convened by his majesty's grace and inclination, and not from any motive of necessity, it had proceeded in all respects in the same unpopular ways it had done. Ship-money was levied with the same severity, and the same rigour used in the ecclesiastical courts, without the least compliance with the humour of any man, which looked like steadiness; and, if it were then well pursued, degenerated too soon afterwards.

His lordship, referring to the dissolution of the last Parliament, (of the 13th of the preceding April, 1640, and which was dissolved on the 5th May following,) observes, that there could not a greater damp have seized upon the spirits of the whole nation, than this dissolution caused; and men had much of the misery

in view which shortly after fell out. That it could never be hoped that more sober and dispassionate men would ever meet together in that place, or fewer who brought ill purposes with them; nor could any man imagine what offence they had given, which put the king upon that resolution. That the king was soon afterwards sorry for what he had done; but finding he could not recal it, he fell roundly to find out all expedients for the raising of money, in which he had so wonderful success, that in less than three weeks, by the voluntary loans of the lords of the council, and of private gentlemen about the city, 300,000l. were paid into the exchequer, at His Majesty's disposal, and an army was raised.

That the burden of the state affairs lay principally upon the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Strafford, and the Lord Cottington, who, with some others, made up the committee of state, (which was reproachfully afterwards called the Junto, and enviously then, in the court, the Cabinet Council,) who were, upon all occasions, to meet when the secretaries received any extraordinary intelligence, or were to make any extraordinary dispatch, or as often otherwise as was thought fit; whereas the body of the council observed set days and hours for their meetings, and came not together unless specially summoned.

But that the weight and the envy of all great matters rested upon the three first. The archbishop, besides the sole disposal of whatsoever concerned the church, which was an invidious province, having been, from the death of the Earl of Portland, when he became a commissioner of the treasury, more engaged in the civil business than he might desire to be, and, throughout the whole business, passionately concerned for the church of Scotland, and so conversant in those transactions: by all which means, besides that he had usually about him an uncourtly quickness, if not sharpness, and did not sufficiently value what men said or thought of him, a more than ordinary prejudice and uncharitableness was contracted against him; to which the new canons, and the circumstances in making them, made no small addition.

That the Earl of Strafford had, for the space of almost six years, entirely governed Ireland, where he had been compelled, upon reasons of state, to exercise many acts of power; and had indulged some to his own appetite and passion, as in the cases of the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Mountnorris; the first of which was *satis pro imperio*, but the latter, if it had not concerned a person notoriously unbeloved, and so the more unpitied, would have been thought the most extravagant piece of sovereignty that, in a time of peace, had been ever executed by any subject. That he was a man of too high and severe a deportment, and too great a contemner of ceremony, to have many friends at court, and therefore could not but have enemies enough: and, particularly, he had an enemy more terrible than all the other, and like to be more fatal, the whole Scots nation, provoked by the declaration he had procured of Ireland, and some high carriage and expressions of his against them in that kingdom.

That the Lord Cottington, though he was a very wise man, yet, having spent the greatest part of his life in Spain, and so, having been always subject to the unpopular imputation of being of the Spanish faction, was better skilled to make his master great abroad than gracious at home; and being chancellor of the exchequer from the time of the dissolution of the Parliament in the fourth year, had his hand in many hard shifts for money, and had the disadvantage of being suspected, at least, as a favourer of the Papists, by which he was in great umbrage with the people: he had also, as chancellor of the exchequer, raised the revenue of that court to the king, to be much greater than it had ever been before his administration; by which husbandry all the rich families of England, of noblemen and gentlemen, were exceedingly incensed, and even indevoted to the crown; looking upon what the law had intended for their preservation, to be now applied to their destruction.

His lordship, after giving an account of the meeting in September, of the great council at York, and of the king's declaration to that council of his intention to call a Parliament to assemble the 3d of November, and of the proceedings in the

treaty at Rippon with the Scots, and the adjournment of it to London, observes, that it was strange, and had somewhat of a judgment from Heaven in it, that all the industry and learning of the late years had been bestowed in finding out, and evincing that, in case of necessity, any extraordinary way for supply was lawful; and upon that ground had proceeded when there was no necessity; and that now, when the necessity was apparent, money must be levied in the ordinary course of Parliament, which was then more extraordinary than the other had been, as York must be defended from an enemy within twenty-five miles of it, by money to be given at London six weeks after, and to be gathered within six months. That it had been only the season and evidence of necessity that had been questioned, and the view of it, in a perspective state, at a distance that no eyes could reach, denied to be ground enough for an imposition; but that it was never denied, that, when an enemy had actually invaded the kingdom, and so the necessity both seen and felt, all mens' goods are the goods of the public, to be applied to the public safety, and as carefully to be repaired by the public stock.

His lordship's long, laboured character of the archbishop, and attempt to gloss over his proceedings and conduct, in order to place them in the most favourable light, amount at last to no more than this: that, even in his lordship's own opinion, he was one of the most unfit men that could have been found to have the direction of the king's counsels at that very critical time. A wise and moderate minister might have then prevented all the mischief that afterwards happened, by checking the ill-judged and ill-fated attempt of the king to bring all his subjects to one form of worship. He would have represented to him the danger and folly of such an attempt, instead of hurrying him on to those violent measures, that terminated, as might have been foreseen, in an insurrection in Scotland, and brought a Scots army into England. The archbishop's character may be gathered from Lord Clarendon's own account, (disguised as it is attempted to be in his favour,) to be that of a hasty, impetuous, unforgiving, implacable man: the violence of whose

temper appears to have actuated all his proceedings, both in church and state. In rectifying the abuses he supposed he had found in the churches, his lordship observes, that there was as much passion and contention about the placing the communion-table, and the manner and gesture and posture in the celebration of the sacrament, as if the life of christianity had been at stake. This his lordship calls reverence and zeal for the place of God's service. To the mistaken and intemperate exercise of this supposed reverence and zeal, or, rather, spirit of domination, rather than to the sectaries, must surely be attributed the after-dislike of the nation to the bishops and their power, and, finally, the fall of the hierarchy, and of the established religion. The accusation of his disposition to popery does not appear to be without foundation; and certainly the catholics did not think him averse to it, in the serious offers he acknowledges in the forementioned passage in his diary, they had repeatedly made him of a cardinal's hat, and which he does not appear to have absolutely refused. His lordship says, that the archbishop was a man of great courage and resolution: his apprehensions, arising from various dreams, do not denote him so to be; on the contrary, they give him the appearance of timidity and superstition. He mentions several of them in his diary, which are very frivolous and unmeaning, but he appears to rely on them. In noting one of these dreams of his father's appearance, he adds, I am not much moved with dreams, but thought fit to remember this. He had before remembered several others, very much in the same manner. He also mentions, that upon his going into his study, he found his own picture fallen down upon the face, and lying upon the floor, the string being broken by which it hanged: he adds, " I am almost every day threatened with my ruin in Parliament, God grant this to be no omen." These circumstances bear no marks of courage and resolution; they rather appear to be the natural consequences of a misgiving and an alarmed state of mind, upon beginning to feel the consequences of the difficulties and dangers into which he had brought his sovereign, and his country, and himself, by his evil and intemperate counsels. Archbishop Abbot, (who was se-

questered from his archbishopric for refusing to license Dr. Sibthorpe's sermon, entitled Apostolical Obedience,) in his narrative of these proceedings, to be found in Rushworth, describes Archbishop Laud, who succeeded him, as the only inward counsellor of Buckingham, sitting with him, sometimes privately, whole hours, and feeding his humour with malice and spight. He adds, that his life, at Oxford, was to pick quarrels in the lectures of the public readers, and to advertise them to the Bishop of Durham, that he might fill the ears of King James with discontents against the honest men that took pains in their places, and settled the truth (which he called puritanism) in their auditors.

Mrs. Hutchinson says, he was a man (she calls him fellow) of mean extraction, and of arrogant pride. Mr. Hume says of him: This man was virtuous, if severity of manners alone, and abstinence from pleasure, could deserve that name; that he was learned, if polemical knowledge could entitle him to that praise; that he was disinterested; but with unceasing industry he studied to exalt the priestly and prelatical character, which was his own; that his zeal was unrelenting in the cause of religion, that is, in imposing by rigorous measures his own tenets and pious ceremonies on the obstinate puritans, who had profanely dared to oppose him; that in prosecution of his holy purposes, he overlooked every human consideration; or, in other words, the heat and indiscretion of his temper made him neglect the views of prudence, and rules of good manners; that he was in this respect happy, that all his enemies were also imagined by him the declared enemies to loyalty and true piety, and that every exercise of his anger by that means became in his eyes a merit and a virtue. This, adds Mr. Hume, was the man who acquired so great an ascendant over Charles, and who led him, by the facility of his temper, into a conduct which proved so fatal to himself and to his kingdoms.

Instead of endeavouring to moderate the king's disposition to arbitrary power, he did his utmost to encrease it; and, encouraging the king in his fallacious wish, referred to by Lord Cla-

rendon, of uniting the three kingdoms in one form of God's worship, occasioned the war with Scotland, which, in its consequences, brought on the fate of the King, and the destruction of his government, both civil and ecclesiastical. It is not difficult to collect his character from Lord Clarendon, favourably as he is disposed towards him, and determined as he appears to be to palliate his failings, and put the most favourable construction upon his evil conduct. He speaks of him as unnecessarily attending the King to Scotland, being as solicitous to see accomplished the King's design as the King himself was. He describes him as a man of great parts, and very exemplary virtue; but that he had a hasty, sharp way of expressing himself, — strong resentments and dislikes — great courage and resolution, but a roughness of manners, and uncourtly quickness. Lord Strafford, another of the King's cabinet council, Lord Clarendon describes as of too high and severe a deportment, and too great a contemner of ceremony to have many friends at court, and therefore could not but have enemies enough. Mrs. Hutchinson says, that he as much outstripped all the rest in favour, as he did in abilities; being a man of deep policy, stern resolution, and ambitious zeal to keep up the glory of his own greatness; that, in the beginning of this reign, he had been a strong assertor of the liberties of the people, among whom he had gained himself an honourable reputation; and was dreadful to the court-party, who thereupon strewed snares in his way, and when they found a breach at his ambition, his soul was that way entered and captivated. Mr. Hume says of him (Lord Strafford), That, by his eminent talents and abilities, he merited all the confidence which his master reposed in him; — that his character was stately and austere, more fitted to procure esteem than love; his fidelity to the King was unshaken, but as he now employed all his counsels to support the prerogative, which he had formerly lent all his endeavours to diminish, his virtue seemed not to have been entirely pure,

but to have been susceptible of strong impressions from private interest and ambition.

Mr. May, speaking of Lord Strafford, says, The serious men groaned for a parliament; but that the great statesmen plied it the harder, to complete that work they had begun, of setting up prerogative above all laws.

That the Lord Wentworth (afterwards created Earl of Strafford), for his service of that kind, was then labouring to oppress Ireland, of which he was deputy; and to begin that work in a conquered kingdom, which was intended to be afterwards wrought by degrees in England; and that he, indeed, had gone very far, and was very prosperous in those ways of tyranny, though very much to the endamaging and setting back of that newly-established kingdom. That he was a man of great parts, of a deep reach, subtle wit, of spirit and industry to carry on his business, and such a conscience as was fit for that work he was designed to. That he understood the right way, and the liberty of his country, as well as any man; for which, in former parliaments, he stood up stiffly, and seemed an excellent patriot. That for those abilities he was soon taken off by the court, and raised in honour, to be employed in a contrary way — for enslaving of his country, which his ambition easily drew him to undertake.

Mrs. Hutchinson says that the King had another instigator of his own violent purpose, more powerful than all the rest, and that was the Queen, who, grown out of her childhood, began to turn her mind from those vain extravagances she lived in at first, to that which did less become her, and was more fatal to the kingdom. That this lady, being by her priests affected with the meritoriousness of advancing her own religion, whose principle it is to subvert all others, applied that way her great wit and parts, and the power her haughty spirit kept over her husband, who was enslaved in his affection only to her, though she had no more passion for him than what served to promote her designs. Mr. Hume says of her, that by her sense and spirit, as well as by her beauty, she justified the fondness of her husband; though it is allowed that, being somewhat of a passionate temper, she precipi-

tated him into hasty and imprudent measures. That her religion likewise, to which she was much addicted, must be regarded as a great misfortune, since it augmented the jealousy which prevailed against the court, and engaged her to procure for the catholics some indulgences which were generally distasteful to the nation.

## CHAPTER III.

*The fifth (Long) parliament, 3d Nov. 1640. — Numbers. — The King's speech. — Petitions on behalf of Mr. Prynn and others. — Grievances. — Money ordered for the maintenance of the English and Scotch armies. — Accusation of the Earl of Strafford. — Extrajudicial opinion of the judges censured. — Condemnation of the canons and constitutions of the clergy. — Scot's accusation of Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury. — Impeachment of the Lord Keeper Finch. — His escape. — Accusation of the judges. — Removal of images, &c. — Bill for triennial parliaments passed. — Sentences of Mr. Prynn, &c. reversed. — The Earl of Strafford's trial. — Act of attainder passes the Lords and Commons. — Protestation of the Lords and Commons, &c. — The King's assent to the bill of attainder. — Lord Strafford's execution. — Debates upon episcopal government. — Changes of the privy council. — Archbishop Laud's impeachment.*

On Tuesday the 3d of November, 1640, the parliament met at Westminster.

Then follow, in Rushworth, the names of the members of the House of Commons, and places they represented, amounting to the number of 497. The number of the last parliament was 502. The difference between the numbers appears to arise principally from the different number of members representing particular places.

The King, in a short speech, states the objects of their meeting, and refers to the lord keeper for the rest. He describes His Majesty as a king of exemplary piety and justice, of rare endowments and abilities of nature; and what he had acquired, depth of judgment, quickness of apprehension, unparalleled moderation in great councils and great affairs. He then speaks of the Queen as the mirror of virtue. He relates the proceedings in the affairs of Scotland since the last parliament, and concludes with desiring the Commons to choose their Speaker. They chose William Lenthall, Esq. a bencher of Lincoln's-Inn.

Petitions were presented on behalf of Prynn, Bastwick, Burton, Lilburn, Leighton, and Alexander Jennings, who were ordered to be brought to the bar of the house.

The first member, says Rushworth, that stood up to represent the grievances of his country, was Arthur Capel, Esq. knight of the shire for the county of Hertford, (afterwards lord Capel,) who presented a petition in the name of the freeholders of that county, setting forth the burden and oppression of the people during the long intermission of parliament, in their consciences, liberties, and properties, particularly in the heavy tax of ship-money. Similar petitions were also presented from the counties of York, Lincoln, and several other counties and boroughs.

Mr. Pym, one of the members for Tavistock, spoke at considerable length upon the subject of grievances, and concluded with proposing a conference with the Lords.

Mr. May observes, that though the King was thanked for his grace towards his English parliament, the desire of expelling the Scots was otherwise considered by the Houses: for that about a week after, it was ordered by the House of Commons, that 100,000l. should be paid to the two armies, to be levied rateably upon all the counties of England; and that, till it could be levied, the money to be taken up at interest. And the Scots' commissioners were allowed to come and exhibit their complaints, and dispute the business at London.

Many excellent speeches upon the subject of grievances were delivered by different members. Lord Digby concludes his speech by moving the appointment of a select committee, to draw, out of all that had been there represented, such a remonstrance as might be a faithful and lively representation to His Majesty of the deplorable state of the kingdom, and such as might happily discover unto his clear and excellent understanding, the pernicious authors of it. And being prepared, that they might repair to the Lords, and desire them to join in it.

So numerous, says Rushworth, were the complaints and petitions touching grievances, that the whole House was divided and subdivided into above forty committees, to hear and examine them: but the principal were reducible to these general heads; namely, committees concerning religion, innovations in the church, and grievances by ecclesiastical courts; concerning public

affairs in general, and particularly concerning Ireland and Scotland. Other committees, relating to ship-money, judges, and courts of justice; concerning popery, the popish hierarchy, the pope's nuncios, plots, and designs, &c.

Upon Lord Digby's above motion, a committee of twenty-four was appointed to draw, out of that which had been presented to the House, such a declaration as might be a faithful representation to the House of the state of the kingdom. Lord Digby, Sir Francis Seymour, Mr. Selden, Sir Harbottle Grimston, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Capel, were amongst the members of this committee.

Upon the 11th of November, at the instance of Mr. Pym, a committee was formed to consider of information received against the Earl of Strafford, supposed to be sufficient to charge him with high-treason. The committee reported that they found just cause for accusing him of high treason, and the House was moved to desire the lords that he might be sequestered from parliament, and committed. The House of Lords accordingly committed him to the custody of the gentleman usher of their house.

The House resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that the charge imposed upon the subject for the providing and furnishing of ships, and the assessments for raising money for that purpose, commonly called ship-money, were against the laws of the realm, the subject's right of property, and contrary to former resolutions in parliament, and to the petition of right. Also, that the extra-judicial opinions of the judges, published in the Star-chamber, and inrolled in the courts of Westminster, were against the laws of the realm, the right of property, and the liberty of the subject, and contrary to former resolutions in parliament, and to the petition of right. And a committee was appointed, amongst whom were Lord Falkland, Mr. Holles, and Mr. Hyde (afterwards Lord Clarendon), to go forthwith to the judges, to know how they were solicited or threatened, and in what manner, and by whom, to give any opinion or judgment concerning ship-money.

Mr. Secretary Windebank, instead of attending the House, as ordered, fled into France.

December 16. The House resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that the clergy of England, convened in a congregation or synod, or otherwise, had no power to make any constitutions, canons, or act whatsoever, in matter of doctrine, discipline, or otherwise, to bind the clergy or the laity of the land, without common consent in parliament. Also that those lately made contained matters contrary to the King's prerogative, to the fundamental laws of the realm, to the rights of parliament, to the property and liberty of the subject, and matters tending to sedition, and of dangerous consequence. And that the several grants of the benevolence or contribution granted to His Majesty by the clergy of the provinces of Canterbury and York, in their several late convocations or synods, were contrary to the laws, and ought not to bind the clergy.

The same day the Scots' commissioners accused the Archbishop of Canterbury, before the House of Commons, of alterations in matters of religion, pressed upon them without order, and against law; — a new book of canons and constitutions ecclesiastical, a liturgy, or book of common prayer. Accordingly, the next day he was voted to be a traitor, and Mr. Holles was sent to the Lords to accuse him of high treason, upon which he was committed to the gentleman usher of the black rod. The Bishop of Ely, Matthew Wren, was accused of setting up idolatry and superstition in divers places, and exercising and acting some things of that nature in his own person; and because the Commons had heard of his endeavour to escape out of the kingdom, he was obliged to give security for his appearance.

The House then proceeded to prepare an impeachment against the Lord Keeper Finch, and by his desire he was permitted to address the House in person; but immediately afterwards he was voted a traitor upon various charges; and the next day he was accused before the Lords. But he escaped into Holland, and the King deputed Sir Edward Littleton, lord chief justice of the common pleas, to sit as Speaker in the House of Lords.

The Commons sent a message to the Lords, that they had received informations of crimes of a very high nature against Sir

John Bramston, lord chief justice of the king's bench, Sir Humphrey Davenport, Justice Berkly, and Justice Crawley, who ordered them to find security for their appearance.

The cessation of arms with Scotland was renewed for a month longer.

Lord Falkland, with the assistance of Mr. Hyde, read the articles of impeachment of the Lord Keeper Finch.

Thursday, January 14. The thanks of the House of Commons were ordered to Mr. St. John and Mr. Whitelock, the Lord Falkland and Mr. Hyde, for the great service they had performed, to the honour of the House, and good of the commonwealth, in the transacting the business of the ship-money, and the other matters concerning the liberty and property of the subject, and the articles against the late lord keeper.

January 16. The Lords spiritual and temporal passed an order, that divine service be performed as appointed by the acts of parliament of the realm, and that all such as should disturb such order, should be severely punished according to law; and that the parsons, vicars, and curates in the several parishes should forbear to introduce any rites or ceremonies that might give offence, otherwise than those that were established by the laws of the land.

Certain conventiclers in Southwark having been this day brought before the House of Lords, did all deny the most material words charged against them; but they were contradicted upon oath: whereupon they received, for that time, an admonition from the House, and were enjoined to repair for the future to their parish churches to hear divine service; and that, in case of neglect, they should be severely punished.

January 23. It was ordered by the Commons, that commissions be sent into the several counties for the defacing, demolishing, and quite taking away all images, altars, or tables turned altarwise, crucifixes, superstitious pictures, monuments, and reliques of idolatry, out of all churches or chapels.

February 3. Order of 300,000l. to the Scots for their friendly assistance and relief, thought fit to be made towards their losses and necessities, and a month's further cessation agreed to.

February 13. A bill was brought in for abolishing superstition and idolatry, and for advancing the worship and service of God: it was read twice, and committed to a committee of the members, amongst whom were Mr. Cromwell, Lord Fairfax, Mr. Selden, Lord Falkland, Mr. Hyde, and Mr. Holles.

February 15. The Commons were sent for by the King to the house, when the King, after a speech, accusing them of delay in not attending to those things that concerned the strength of the kingdom, or the state, or his own particulars, passed the bill for triennial parliaments, which, says Rushworth, occasioned great joy; and both Houses waited on the King to thank him, and granted him two subsidies, in addition to the four before granted, for the maintenance of the King's army, and supply of the northern parts.

The sentence against Dr. Bastwick was reversed; also the judgment in the exchequer against Mr. Hampden, for ship-money. Also, soon afterwards, the sentences against Dr. Burton, Mr. Prynn, and Dr. Leighton.

March 22. (1640.) This day, says Rushworth, began the trial of the Earl of Strafford in Westminster-hall, which he gives at length from his short-hand characters, having been appointed to take down the proceedings. The King, Queen, and Prince were present in private.

Lord Strafford's counsel having been heard in his defence in point of law, the House took some days to consider of further proceedings; and, on the 19th April, they resolved that the endeavours of the Earl of Strafford to subvert the ancient and fundamental laws of the realm of England and Ireland, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government against law in both those kingdoms, was high treason. And a bill for that purpose was brought into the House; and, upon the question being put for passing it, 59 were against its passing, and 204 for it; whereupon it was ordered to be ingrossed and sent up to the Lords.

Mr. Hyde reported the case of the county of York, whereupon it was resolved that the commission and instructions, whereby the

president (Lord Strafford) and council of the north exercised a jurisdiction, was illegal, both in creation and execution; and that it was unprofitable to His Majesty, and inconvenient and grievous to his subjects in those parts. And Mr. Hyde was appointed to manage the conference thereon with the Lords.

Mr. Pym acquainted the House, that, according to the commands of the House, he had delivered to the House of Lords the bill of attainder (of Lord Strafford); and informed them, that the House was ready to justify the legality of the bill, if the Lords should desire a conference by a committee of both Houses, the sooner, and more public the way, the better, and the more agreeable to the desire of the House of Commons. The House of Lords appointed to hear the House of Commons in Westminster-hall, at eight o'clock on the Saturday morning, touching the matter of law; and Mr. Solicitor St. John was enjoined by the House of Commons to maintain the legal part of the bill, and Mr. Maynard and Mr. Glyn to assist him. The House of Lords postponed this conference to Thursday, the 29th April.

Mr. St. John's argument of law upon the bill is given at length in Rushworth.

Upon the close of this speech, the House adjourned. And on Saturday, May 1. the King sent for the House of Commons to the House of Lords, and made a speech in favour of the Earl of Strafford, in which he says, that he, having been present at the hearing of the whole of that cause, and that it now was come to pass that of necessity he must have part in that judgment, he must tell them that he could not, in his conscience, condemn him of high treason — that it was not fit for him to argue the business: a positive doctrine best comes out of the mouth of a prince; yet he must tell them three great truths, which he was sure nobody knew so well as him himself, — That he (Lord Strafford) never had an intention of bringing over the Irish army into England, nor ever was advised by any one so to do. Nor was there ever any debate before him (the King), either in public council or at private committees, of the disloyalty or disaffection of any of his English subjects nor had he ever any suspicion of them. Nor had he

ever been consulted by any to alter the least of any of the laws of England, much less to alter all the laws. He desired to be rightly understood, — that, in his conscience, he could not condemn him of high treason; yet, that he could not say he could clear him of misdemeanor: therefore he hoped they might find a way to satisfy justice and their own fears, and not to press upon his conscience. That, to satisfy his people, he would do great matters; but that no fear, no respect, should make him go against his conscience. That he must confess matter of misdemeanor; he was so clear in that, though he would not chalk out the way, he would tell them that he did think the Lord Strafford was not fit thereafter to serve him or the commonwealth in any place of trust; no, not so much as that of a constable. That therefore he left it to the Lords to find some way to bring him out of that great straight, and to keep themselves and the kingdom from such inconveniences. That certainly, he that thought him guilty of high treason, in his conscience might condemn him of misdemeanor.

Sunday, May 2. This day was solemnised at Whitehall the marriage of the young Prince of Orange and the Lady Mary, His Majesty's eldest daughter.

Mr. Pym informed the House of divers informations of desperate designs, both at home and abroad, against the parliament and the peace of the nation; and that there was an endeavour to disaffect the army, and to bring them up to London to overawe the parliament. Also a design upon the Tower, to endeavour the Earl of Strafford's escape. And that the French were drawing their forces to the coast; and there was reason to fear that their design was upon Portsmouth. And that divers persons of eminency about the King appeared to be deeply engaged in these plots. That it was necessary the ports should be stopped, and that His Majesty should be desired to command that no person attending upon the King, Queen, or Prince, should depart without leave of His Majesty, with the advice of his parliament.

The House fell into serious debate, and were generally of opinion, that it was necessary to enter into a common resolution for the common safety, and came to a determination of taking a protestation, which is given at length in Rushworth.

The Commons sent a message to the Lords, that they had just cause of suspicion of a secret practice to discontent the army with the proceedings of parliament, to engage them in some design of dangerous consequence to the state; and desiring the appointment of a select committee to take the examinations upon oath of the suspected persons, in the presence of some of the Commons; which examinations were afterwards taken. They also came to several resolutions for the security of the nation; in all which the Lords concurred. The Commons also desired the concurrence of the Lords to their protestation or resolution, upon the presentation whereof, Mr. Holles addressed the Lords in a long speech upon the grievances and dangerous state of the nation. The names of the Lords and Commons who signed this protestation are given in Rushworth. The number of Lords was 92, — of the Commons, 434. Amongst the peers were, the lord privy-seal, the lord great chamberlain, the lord high steward, the lord chamberlain, seventeen bishops, the chief justices of both courts, and several of the judges. Amongst the commons were, Lenthall the Speaker, Sir Harbottle Grimston, Mr. Arthur Capel, Sir Benjamin Rudyard, Lord Digby, Sir Ralph Hopton, Mr. Denzil Holles, Lord Falkland, O. Cromwell, Sir Orlando Bridgman, and Lord Monson. The names of those that were supposed to favour Lord Strafford were posted up in the Old Palace-Yard, in Westminster, with the title of Straffordians, betrayers of their country. The bill of attainder of the Earl of Strafford soon afterwards passed the House of Lords, without any alteration; and the Commons requested the Lords to move His Majesty for his consent to the bill; and accordingly a number of peers was sent to the King for that purpose, and also with the bill for the continuance of the then present parliament, enacting, that it should not be prorogued, or adjourned, or dissolved, but by act of parliament; nor the Houses of Peers or

Commons adjourned, but by themselves or their own order. The King, after advising with his privy-council, some of the judges and bishops, and others, and after much doubt and hesitation in his own mind, signed a commission to some of the Lords, authorizing them to give his assent to the bill of attainder, also to the above bill for continuing the present parliament; and which was accordingly given. And the earl was executed on the 12th of May.

The order of the House of Commons of the 20th of November, in which the parliament met, that none should sit in that House after the communion day, but those that had first received the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England, proves, if any proof was necessary, that they must be all then members of that church, or conforming thereto in this instance; and, consequently, could have no disposition to injure it. And this, as has been said, should silence those of His Lordship's admirers, who, through ignorance or ill-will, have represented the Long Parliament as in a plot, at its first sitting down, against the whole ecclesiastical establishment. They were apprehensive of a tendency towards popery in the innovations of the archbishop, and from the lenity generally shown to papists; and these abuses they generally opposed and endeavoured to correct, but they do not appear to have had, at that time, any designs against episcopacy.

Sir Harbottle Grimston, upon his motion for the impeachment of Archbishop Laud, speaks of him in the severest terms. Lord Falkland, in like manner, speaks of the Lord Keeper Finch, upon reading the articles of impeachment of him. Lord Digby speaks most forcibly and most ably in support of the bill for preventing inconveniences happening by the long intermission of parliaments. Also, in the debate respecting episcopal government, he is utterly against the abolition of episcopacy. But he proposes a committee to collect all grievances springing from the misgovernment of the church. And that there might be a standing committee of members of both Houses, who, with a certain number of learned ministers, to be nominated by the

House, might take into consideration all those grievances, and advise of the best way to settle peace and satisfaction to the government of the church, to the comfort of all good Christians, and of all good commonwealthsmen. Sir Benjamin Rudyard was also against the abolition of episcopacy, but for some reformation. Lord Falkland spoke upon the same subject, and to the same effect. Sir Harbottle Grimston proposes depriving the bishops of their temporal jurisdictions; he is against their sitting at the council-board; also their sitting in parliament; but he would have them, or some of them, always present, to give their advice in spiritual matters, when thereunto required by the Lords, as the judges do in temporal affairs. Also to suppress the high commission court. Lord Falkland delivers his opinion against ship-money, and severely censures the judges for their delivering their opinion and judgment in an extrajudicial manner; and he concludes by moving for a committee to prepare a charge against the Lord Keeper Finch, for tampering with the judges for these opinions. Sir Benjamin Rudyard spoke upon the subject of the proceedings of the last convocation, and the new canons, and moves for the suppression of them.

Upon the resolution of the House of Commons, of the 19th of April, that Lord Strafford was guilty of high treason, and the report of the bill of attainder, Lord Digby, one of the managers of the impeachment, addressed the House in a most eloquent and impressive speech, declarative of his opinion of the insufficiency of the evidence produced at the trial in proof of the charge of high treason. He, nevertheless, describes Lord Strafford as a name of hatred in the present age by his practices, and fit to be made a terror to future ages by his punishment. That he confidently believed him to be the most dangerous minister, the most insupportable to free subjects, that could be charactered: his practices in themselves as high, as tyrannical, as any subject ever ventured on, and the malignity of them hugely aggravated by those rare abilities of his, whereof God had given him the use, but the devil the application; to be that grand apostate of the commonwealth, who was not to expect pardon in this world

till he should be dispatched to the other. He concludes with advising the laying aside the bill of attainder, and adopting some other punishment saving life; — such as might secure the state from him, without endangering it as much by division concerning his punishment, as he had endangered it by his practices.

His Lordship was called upon to explain himself touching some passages in the above speech, which he did on the following day.

Lord Clarendon mentions the vote passed in the House of Commons, whilst the bill of attainder was depending in the House of Lords, for suppressing the court of York, in which the House of Lords had concurred; and in which proceeding His Lordship, then Mr. Hyde, describes himself to have taken an active part; and, in his speech in the conference with the Lords, as having stated that the powers in the commission appointing the court, and in the instructions attending it, were several times enlarged by Lord Strafford. He introduces this speech (given at large in Rushworth) by stating, that he was commanded by the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the House of Commons, to present to their Lordships a great and crying grievance, which, though it be complained of in the present pressures only by the northern parts, yet, by the logic and consequence of it, is the grievance of the whole kingdom. It is the court of the president and council of the north, or, as it is more usually called, the courts of York, which, by the spirit and ambition of the ministers trusted there, or by the natural inclination of courts to enlarge their own power and jurisdiction, had so prodigiously broken down the banks of the first channels in which it ran, as it had almost overwhelmed that country under the sea of arbitrary power, and involved the people in a labyrinth of distemper and oppression. He then proceeds to give the history of the foundation and erection of this court, and of the progress and growth of it. And concludes with requesting their Lordships' concurrence with the Commons in beseeching His Majesty, that the present commission may be revoked, and no more such granted.

Lord Clarendon affects to attribute the proceedings against Lord Strafford to revenge in some of the members, who had received some disobligation from him; but he is obliged reluctantly to acknowledge, that the motion for his impeachment was no sooner mentioned, than it found an universal approbation and consent from the whole House; nor was there, adds he, in all the debate, one person who offered to stop the torrent by any favourable testimony concerning the Earl's carriage, except Lord Falkland (who was well known to be far from any kindness for him), when the proposition was made for the present accusing him of high treason, modestly desired the House to consider whether it would not suit better with the gravity of their proceedings, first to digest many of those particulars which had been mentioned, by a committee, before they sent up to accuse him; declaring himself to be abundantly satisfied that there was enough to charge him.

It is remarkable, that Lord Strafford was of opinion, in the impeachment of the Duke of Buckingham, that common fame was sufficient ground of proceeding.

His Lordship says of Lord Strafford, that he was a man of great parts and extraordinary endowments of nature, not unadorned with some addition of art and learning; though that again was more improved and illustrated by the other; for he had a readiness of conception, and sharpness of expression, which made his learning thought more than in truth it was. That his first inclinations and addresses to the court were only to establish his greatness in the country, where he apprehended some acts of power from the Lord Savile, who had been his rival always there, and of late had strengthened himself by being made a privy-councillor and officer at court. But his first attempts were so prosperous, that he did not content himself with being secure from his power in the country, but rested not till he had bereaved his adversary of all power and place in court, and so sent him down a most abject, disconsolate old man to his country, where he was also to have the superintendancy over him, by getting himself made lord president of the north. That these

successes applied to a nature too elate and haughty of itself; and a quicker progress into the great employments and trust, made him more transported with disdain of other men, and more contemning the forms of business, than haply he would have been, if he had met with some interruptions in the beginning, and had passed in a more leisurely gradation to the office of a statesman. That he was of great observation, and a piercing judgment, both in things and persons; but his too good skill in persons made him judge the worse of things; for it was his misfortune to be in a time wherein very few wise men were equally employed with him, and scarce any whose faculties and abilities were equal to his; so that he relied wholly upon himself.

Lord Clarendon concludes a long-laboured character of Lord Strafford thus: — "In a word, the epitaph which Plutarch records that Scylla wrote for himself, might not be unfitly applied to him; 'That no man did ever exceed him either in doing good to his friends, or in doing mischief to his enemies;' for his acts of both kinds were notorious."

The real state of the case in Lord Strafford's instance appears to be, that his guilt in all, or most of the crimes with which he was charged, was very generally admitted, and even by Lord Clarendon himself; and that he deserved severe punishment: but certainly there were many that did think with Lord Digby, that it should not extend to the taking away his life. They did not think that the charge of high treason was proved to fall within the description of any of the specified treasons of 25 Ed. 3. c. 2. But the statute goes on to provide, that because many other like cases of treason might happen in time to come, which a man could not think nor declare at that present time, it was accorded, that if in any other case supposed treason, which was not above specified, did happen before any justices, the justices should tarry without any going to judgment of the treason, till the cause should be showed and declared before the King and his Parliament, whether it ought to be judged treason or other felony.

On the behalf of Lord Strafford, it was contended, that the offence with which he was charged was not treason within the

above specifications of treason. And that the above salvo providing for other cases of treason happening in time to come, had been repealed by subsequent statutes. This was denied on the part of the Commons. Their reasons assigned for this mode of proceeding by bill of attainder, were, (amongst others,) that if doubts of law arose, of great and general concernment, the parliament had been usually consulted thereon: that if the law were doubtful in this case, the parliament (where the old law is altered, and new laws made) was the fittest judge to clear the doubt: that they, the managers, proceeded this way to obviate those scruples and delays, which, through disuse of proceedings of this nature, might have arisen in the manner and way of proceedings since the statute of 1 Hen. 4. c. 17.: that they did not find any attainder of treason in parliament for near two hundred years, but by this way of bill; and that they knew that whatsoever could be done any other way, it might be done by this: and that private satisfaction to each man's conscience was sufficient, although no evidence had been given in: and that the proceeding by way of bill was not to decline the Lords' justice in a judicial way; it was to husband time, by silencing doubts: they conceived it to be the speediest and surest way.

Could any doubt remain of Lord Strafford's deserving punishment of some sort, or at least of the absolute necessity of removing him for ever from the King's counsels, it would surely be done away by the appearance of the paper which is given verbatim by Ludlow in his Memoirs, amongst the papers there mentioned to have been found in the King's cabinet, taken at the battle of Naseby; which is also given verbatim in Rushworth, but without mentioning Lord Strafford's name as the author. The paper, in Ludlow, is entitled "Propositions delivered to His Majesty by the Earl of Strafford, for securing of His Majesty's estate and bridling of parliaments, and for increase of his revenue much more than it is." For the purpose, as well of strengthening His Majesty's regal authorities against all opposition or practices of troublesome spirits, as to fortify his kingdom, he advises a fortress in every chief town and important place there-

of, whereby the countries were no less to be brought into subjection than the cities themselves, and consequently the whole kingdom; whereby His Majesty would have the power thereof in his own hands. Amongst other reasons for these suggestions, he says, that in policy it is a greater tie of the people by force and necessity, than merely by love and affection; for by the one the government resteth always secure, but, by the other, no longer than the people are well contented: that it forceth obstinate subjects to be no more presumptuous than it pleased His Majesty to permit them: that it is a sure remedy against rebellions and popular mutinies; and that His Majesty's government would be then secured by the people's mere subjection, and by their subjection the parliament must be forced consequently to alter their style, and to be conformable to the King's will and pleasure: for that their words imported nothing, when the power should be in His Majesty's own hands to do with them what he pleased; being indeed the chief purpóse of that discourse, and the secret intent thereof, fit to be concealed from any English, either counsellors of state or others. He then proceeds to point out the mode of accomplishing these propositions. He proposes the substance of an oath, whereby His Majesty's subjects were to acknowledge the King to be absolute King and monarch, who might by his proclamation make laws, or reverse any already made, without further consent of parliament, or need to call them, in such cases requiring: that the parliament in all matters (excepting causes to be sentenced, as the high court,) ought to be subject to His Majesty's will, to give the negative or affirmative conclusion, and not to be constrained by their impertinencies to any inconvenience appertaining to His Majesty's authority. He then proposes several ways of increasing the King's revenue, without the assistance of a parliament.

It is not surprising that the people should entertain the keenest feelings of resentment against Lord Strafford for his apostacy, when they must have remembered his foregiven several speeches in the third parliament against grievances, and in favour of the

liberty of the subject. He was then one of the great champions of the people.

Whether this mode of proceeding by attainder was or was not strictly legal, it was certainly very exceptionable; and should have been avoided in this instance, as it certainly had the appearance of creating a new description of treason for the purpose of reaching Lord Strafford, whose crimes, however great, did not appear to fall within the descriptions of any of the specified treasons of the statute. And the doctrine held in this case, of the power of parliament to declare any new treasons under the fore-mentioned proviso in that statute, was certainly a most dangerous one to the subject, putting the life of an obnoxious person into the hands of a majority of the two Houses, and of an arbitrary monarch. But it should be remembered that this mode of proceeding was not new to the country, or peculiar to this period; nevertheless it does not justify the practice. It would have been best to have tried Lord Strafford for high crimes and misdemeanours, of which he must have been convicted; and this would have been sufficient to have banished or imprisoned him perhaps for life, which Lord Clarendon says the King proposed, and which would have excluded him from the King's counsels, the great object of the Commons. But a majority of the House thought otherwise; and there is no reason to believe that they did not act according to their judgments, and agreeably to the conviction of their own consciences. Indeed Lord Clarendon describes the Earl of Bedford as expressing himself, in conference with him, as so well satisfied in his own mind, that he should have no scruple in voting for the attainder; but he disapproved the pressing the King for his assent, contrary to his own convictions.

The proviso, or clause before mentioned, as authorising the attainder, prohibits the judges adjudging or interpreting any act or thing to be treason, or the hearing or determining any treason, in any other manner than he or they should or ought to have done before the making of that act, and as if it had never been made; which proviso, Rushworth observes, in a note in the

margin, had occasioned the common discourse and opinion, that this judgment upon the Earl was enacted never to be drawn into precedent in Parliament, and consequently that the Parliament had been, as Sir Philip Warwick, in his Memoirs of the Reign of King Charles the First, expresses, forced to stigmatise their own bill with this proviso: whereas this clause expressly respects only the judges in their courts inferior to the Parliament: it certainly goes no farther leaving the power of judging of treasons not specified in the act 25 Ed. 3. where it was before the passing this act of attainder. Lord Clarendon endeavours to excuse the King's conduct in assenting to the bill of attainder, by the difficulties he then laboured under from the rage and fury of the people, and from other causes which he enumerates; but the King's way was clear; he should have hazarded his kingdom, even his life, upon the refusal of his assent to this bill, satisfied, as he was, of the innocence of Lord Strafford of the crime of high treason, though equally satisfied of his guilt in other respects.

Whitelock says, the chief motive of the King for this assent was said to be, the letter said to have been written by Lord Strafford to the King, wherein he (Lord Strafford) advises what was best for His Majesty to do in those straights, and to set his conscience at liberty; beseeching him, for prevention of such mischief as might happen by his refusal to pass the bill, to remove him out of the way, towards that blessed agreement which God, he trusted, should for ever establish betwixt him and his subjects. That his consent therein should more acquit His Majesty to God than all the world could do besides. That to a willing man there is no injury done.

By these passages, and by some private dealings, the King, continues Whitelock, was persuaded to sign a commission to three lords to pass the bill; and that he should ever be brought to it, was admired by most of his subjects, as well as by foreigners. And, adds he, after the signing this bill, the King sent Secretary Carlton to the Earl to acquaint him with what was done, and the motives of it, especially the Earl's consent, who seriously asked the Secretary whether His Majesty had passed the bill or not, as

not believing, without some astonishment, that the King would have done it. And that being again assured that it was passed, he rose from his chair, lift up his eyes to Heaven, laid his hand upon his heart, and said, " Put not your trust in Princes, nor in the sons of men, for in them there is no salvation."

This surprise expressed by Lord Strafford, it has been said, has the appearance of his expectation of a different effect to have been produced by his writing this letter than the King's assent to the bill, and affords reason to believe that the Earl would not have so written had he supposed this result.

Lord Clarendon, Mr. Hume, and even Mr. Whitelock, seem to have lost sight of the great mischiefs brought upon the King and kingdom by the evil counsels and conduct of Lord Strafford, in their admiration of his great ability and composure of mind in his defence before the Lords, and at his execution. But without meaning to derogate from His Lordship in these respects, it should be remembered that many have equalled him upon similar trying occasions ; and that this fortitude of His Lordship in this great extremity should not cause us to forget the great offences for which he suffered, and for which even Lord Digby says he must not expect to be pardoned in this world, till he should be dispatched to the other.

Lord Clarendon introduces his account of the changes which were made in the King's counsellors previous to the Lord Strafford's trial : — That there being no fear of the Archbishop or of Lord Strafford, or of any particular men who were likely to succeed them in favour, (all who had been active in the Court, or in any service for the King, being totally dispirited, and most of them disposed to any ill offices against him,) the great patriots thought they might be able to do their country better service, if they got the places and preferments of the Court for themselves, and so prevent the evil counsels which had used to spring from thence. He proceeds :— That the King having been advised that he could not give a more lively and demonstrable evidenee, and a more gracious instance of his intention, than by calling such persons to his counsels whom the people generally

thought most inclined to, and intent upon, a reformation of all those extravagances which former necessities, or occasions, or mistakes, had brought into the government of church or state; besides that this would be a good mean to preserve the dignity and just power of that board, which might otherwise, on the account of the late excess and violation, be more subject to inconvenient attempts for the future. Whereupon, says His Lordship, were sworn privy counsellors in one day, the Earl of Hertford, afterwards created a marquis, the Earl of Bedford, the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Bristol, the Lord Say, the Lord Savile, and the Lord Kimbolton, and soon after the Earl of Warwick; being all persons at that time very gracious to the people, or to the Scots (by whose election and discretionn, His Lordship adds, the people chose), and had all been in some umbrage at court, and most of them in disfavour there. That Oliver St. John was also made solicitor-general, His Majesty hoping, that, being a gentleman of honourable extraction, (if, Lord Clarendon ill-naturedly adds, he had been legitimate,) he would have been very useful in the present exigence to support his service in the House of Commons, where his authority was then very great; at least that he would be ashamed ever to appear in any thing that might prove prejudicial to the crown. And he adds, that he became immediately possessed of that office of great trust, and was so well qualified for it at that time by his fast and rooted malignity against the government, that he lost no credit with his party out of any apprehension or jealousy that he would change his side. And that he made good their confidence, not in the least degree abating his malignant spirit, or dissembling it; but, with the same obstinacy, opposed every thing which might advance the King's service, when he was his solicitor, as ever he had done before. This act, says he, the King did very cheerfully, heartily inclined to some of them as he had reason; and not apprehending any inconvenience by that act, from the others, whom he thought this light of his grace would reform, or at least restrain. He adds, in another place, that the great disservice to the King, in taking these lords into his council, soon appeared as to some of them;

for that instead of exercising themselves in their new provinces, and endeavouring to preserve and vindicate that jurisdiction, they looked upon themselves as preferred thither by their reputation in parliament, and not by the kindness and esteem of the King; and so resolved to keep up, principally, the greatness of that place to which they thought they owed their own greatness. And that therefore, when the King required the advice of his privy council, in those matters of the highest importance which were then every day incumbent on him, the new privy counsellors positively declared, that they ought not (that was, that nobody might) give His Majesty any advice, in matters depending in the two Houses, which was not agreeable to the sense of the Houses, which they called his great council, by whose wisdom he was entirely to guide himself. That as this doctrine was insipidly and perniciously urged by some, so it was supinely and stupidly submitted to by others; insomuch that the King in a moment found himself bereaved of all public assistance and advice, in a time when he needed it most; and his greatest and only business being prudently to weigh and consider what to consent to and what to deny, of such things as should be proposed to him by the two Houses, he was now told that he was only to be advised by them; which was as much as to say, that he must do whatsoever they desired of him. Whereas, adds Lord Clarendon, it is not only lawful for the privy council, but their duty, to give, faithfully and freely, their advice to the King, upon all matters concluded in parliament to which his royal assent is necessary, as well as upon any other subject whatsoever. Nay, adds he, a privy counsellor, as such, is bound to dissuade the King from consenting to that which is prejudicial to the crown, at least to make that prejudice manifest to him, though as a private person he could wish the matter consented to.

Here His Lordship (certainly unintentionally) eulogizes those whom he evidently intends to vilify. He could not have bestowed on these new ministers a higher encomium, than by describing them as remaining wholly unaltered by their new situations, unawed and unseduced by their necessarily frequent intercourse

with the King, or by the fear of disobliging him, or of losing their probably lucrative employs; and as steadily adhering to what they deemed the real united interests of the King and the nation. But His Lordship seems to think that the King's privy counsellors were to consider themselves retained advisers of the crown exclusively, and without regard to its connection with the people. So must Lord Strafford have thought when he had quitted the popular side, and went over to the King. Had he been as steady to his first opinions and repeated declarations as these new reprobated counsellors were, he might have influenced the King to measures that might, and probably would, have prevented much of that mischief that happened to him, in consequence of his and others' evil counsel.

His Lordship treats, in his usual way, the motion which he mentions to have been made by Mr. Pym for the protestation: he supposes ill designs in the movers and promoters of it; nevertheless is obliged to acknowledge, that it was taken by the Speaker, and all the members of the House of Commons then present, and also by all the members of the House of Lords, except two; but considers the Houses as having been imposed on.

The Archbishop, after the reading at the bar of the House of Lords the articles of his impeachment, and hearing Mr. Pym's speech thereon, was committed by the House to the Tower; but no further proceedings were had thereon until some time afterwards. Lord Clarendon observing, that he was persuaded, that at that time it was so laid aside without any thought of resuming it, hoping that his age and imprisonment would have quickly freed them from further trouble.

## CHAPTER IV.

*Bill for regulating the council-table, and for the abolition of the Star-chamber and High Commission Court. — Lord Digby called to the House of Lords. — Abolition of deans and chapters, &c. — Impeachment of the judges — Of Wren, Bishop of Norwich, and other bishops. — Treaty of peace with Scotland, concluded. — The King goes to Scotland. — Remonstrance of the state of the kingdom. — Address by Mr. Holles to the King, for a guard to the Parliament. — Impeachment of Lord Kimbolton, and the five members of the Commons. — The King goes to the House to demand the five members. — Retires to York. — The Parliament requires the possession of the army and navy. — Refused by the King. — Bill passed for the taking away the votes of the bishops in Parliament. — The King demands the possession of Hull — Refused. — The Parliament appoint Lord Fairfax to command the force in Yorkshire. — Ordinance for settling the militia put in execution. — Also the King's commission of array. Great seal carried to the King at York. — Order for bringing in plate, &c. — The King erects his standard at Nottingham. — Mr. Denzil Holles's speech upon his carrying up the impeachment of the absent lords. — Mr. Whitelock's speech upon the Commons' thoughts of raising an army.*

1641. Monday, May 17.—The House of Commons declared, that they approved of the affection of their brethren of Scotland, in their desire of a conformity in church-government between the two nations, and gave them thanks.

Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London, the lord treasurer, resigned his staff, and the office was committed to five commissioners.

June 7. — The Lords' House resuming the debate of episcopacy, voted for the bishops retaining their votes in parliament.

June 9. — A bill for regulating the council-table, and for taking away the Court of Star-chamber and the High Commission Court, was passed, and sent up to the Lords.

Lord Digby was this day called by writ to sit in the House of Lords.

June 14. — The Commons resolved upon the abolishment of deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, prebendaries, chaunters, canons and their officers, and their estates to be employed to the

advancement of learning and piety, and a recompense made to the sufferers by this abolishment.

June 22. — The King passed the bills for tonnage and poundage, and for the abolition of the Star-chamber and High Commission Courts.

July 9. — The articles of impeachment of the Lord Chief Baron Davenport, Baron Weston, and Baron Trevor, of high treason, and other great misdemeanours, were read in the House of Commons, and ordered to be sent to the Lords by Mr. Edward Hyde, (Lord Clarendon,) who spoke at great length at the bar of the House upon its delivery.

July 13. — Lord Digby's speech upon Lord Strafford's bill of attainder censured by the Commons, and ordered to be burnt by the common hangman.

Articles of impeachment of Dr. Matthew Wren, the late Bishop of Norwich, for various superstitious and offensive innovations in his diocese. Also of thirteen other bishops, for acting in the convocation in the year 1640, in making constitutions and canons ecclesiastical, and granting a benevolence to the King, contrary to the King's prerogative, to the laws of the realm, to the rights of parliament, and to the property and liberty of the subject.

The treaty of peace with Scotland being concluded, Rushworth gives it at length.

August 10. — The King, in a speech to both Houses, after passing some bills, takes his leave of both Houses upon his going to Scotland.

The great matter at this time in agitation was the Remonstrance of the state of the kingdom, which occasioned high debates. But it was carried by a few voices after a debate that continued from three o'clock in the afternoon till three o'clock the next morning; so that one said it looked like the verdict of a starved jury.

On the 25th November the King returned to London from Scotland.

He dismissed the guard that had been appointed by the Commons to attend the Houses, in apparent displeasure, assuring

them that if there should be occasion for a guard, he would order a sufficient one to secure his Parliament. The Commons thereupon assigned their reasons for desiring a guard, the substance of which was: The lurking of great numbers of disorderly, suspicious, and dangerous persons, especially Irish. — Jealousy conceived upon the discovery of a design in Scotland to surprise several of the nobility of that parliament, with intimation of the like being intended against divers persons of both Houses in England, which was the more credible from the former attempts to bring up the army to over-run and disturb this parliament. — From the conspiracy in Ireland, so secretly managed, that but for the providential discovery at Dublin, it had been executed in one day throughout that whole kingdom; and some of the conspirators had professed the like course was intended in England and Scotland. — From divers advices beyond the seas that there would be great alteration in religion, shortly, in these kingdoms, and that the necks of the parliaments, England and Scotland, should be broken. — From examinations taken of dangerous speeches of the popish and discontented party in this kingdom. From the secret meetings of the papists, and their frequent devotions for the prosperity of some great design.

December 1. The large Remonstrance and a petition were this day presented to the King at Hampton-Court, by a committee of the House of Commons; amongst whom were Lord Fairfax, Sir Ralph Hopton, and Sir Edward Deering. This Remonstrance contained two hundred and six articles; to which the King, after some consideration, gave his answer.

The Commons dismiss the guard that had been set about the Houses without their privity, which they declare to be a breach of privilege. They then complain of the King's interference in the debates in parliament, as an infringement of their privileges.

An address to the King, in the name of the Commons, by a committee, was verbally delivered by Mr. Denzil Holles, expressive of their apprehensions of mischievous designs and practices against the Parliament, and desiring a guard. The King expresses himself wholly ignorant of the grounds of their

apprehensions, and promises his protection; but, if this should not be satisfactory, he promises a guard, for which he would be responsible; but the House ordered halberds to be brought into the house for their own security.

January 3. The Attorney-General, Sir Edward Harbord, by the King's command, impeached, at the bar of the House of Lords, the Lord Kimbolton, Mr. Denzil Holles, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. John Pym, Mr. John Hampden, and Mr. William Stroud. The articles of impeachment, seven in number, were read. A committee was appointed of the Lords, to search for precedents and records touching the regularity of this accusation, and whether such an accusation might be brought into the house by the Attorney-general.

By the King's command, the serjeant-at-arms of the Lords' house demanded, at the bar of the house, the five impeached members, whom he was to arrest for high treason. The House ordered a committee to attend His Majesty, to assure him, that his message being a matter of great consequence, as concerning the privilege of parliament, they would take it into serious and immediate consideration, and would attend him in answer in all humility and duty; and that, in the mean time, the accused members should be ready to answer any legal charge.

January 4. The five accused members came into the house after dinner, to give their attendance *de die in diem*, according to its order; when the House was informed that the King was coming with a guard of military commanders and soldiers; whereupon the House required the five accused members to depart the house, to avoid confusion, should violence be used to remove them.

Then follows, in Rushworth, the account of the King going to the house to demand the five members.

January 5. The Commons (continues Rushworth) sent Mr. Fiennes with a message to the Lords, to give them notice of the King's coming yesterday, and that they conceived it a high and great breach of privilege; and to repeat their desire, that Their Lordships would join with them in a petition to the King, that

the parliament might have a guard as should be approved by His Majesty and both Houses; and also to inform them, that they had appointed a committee to sit at Guildhall, London; and had also appointed the committee for the Irish affairs to meet there.

The Commons, upon yesterday's business, resolved, That the King's coming to the House was a high breach of the privileges of parliament; and ordered that the House be adjourned to Tuesday next, at one o'clock in the afternoon; and a committee was named to sit at the Guildhall of the city of London to-morrow morning, at nine o'clock, which was empowered to consider and resolve of all things that might concern the good and safety of the city and kingdom, and particularly how their privileges might be vindicated, and persons secured; and to consider and determine upon the affairs and relief of Ireland, and to report their proceedings to the House. Amongst the names of the committee are, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Whitelock, Lord Falkland, Sir Ralph Hopton, Mr. Grimston, and Sir Benjamin Rudyard.

The House then adjourned to Tuesday, 11th January.

The same day, January 5., the King went into London with his usual attendance, and, in his way, some people cried aloud, "Privileges of parliament! Privileges of parliament!"

He informed the common council, that he was come to demand the accused members, whom he believed to be concealed in the city.

January 10. The King, with the Queen and their family, left Whitehall with the whole court, went to Hampton-court, and from thence afterwards, by degrees, to York; except the Queen and Princess of Orange, who went to Holland.

January 11. In the afternoon the House of Commons, according to adjournment, with the Lord Kimbolton and the five members, went by water, guarded, to Westminster.

The next day the King sent a message to the two Houses, that finding it disputable whether his proceedings against the above members were legal, and according to the privileges of

parliament, and being very desirous of giving satisfaction in these matters, he had waived his former proceedings; and that, when the public mind was more composed, he would proceed therein in an unquestionable way. But, soon afterwards, he wholly relinquished further proceedings, and offered a free pardon to the accused persons, and all other his subjects. The House sentenced Sir Edward Herbert, for the part he had taken in this business, to be committed to the Fleet during its pleasure, disabled and made him incapable of being a member, assistant, or pleader in either house of parliament, and of all offices, saving that of attorney-general, which he then held.

January 12. The Commons ordered two companies of the trained bands of the city to attend daily upon the House as a guard, under the command of Serjeant-major Skippon.

The King, by a message to the two Houses, desired them to state the particulars of those things they desired of him, and he would consider of them, and see whether, or how far, he ought to comply with their desires; so that, if the present distractions, which so apparently threatened the ruin of the kingdom, did not, by the blessing of Almighty God, end in a happy and blessed accommodation, His Majesty would be ready to call heaven and earth, God and man, to witness, that it had not failed on his part. In answer, the Commons assure His Majesty that they would take his propositions into immediate consideration; to enable them to do which, they desire the Peers to join them in beseeching him to raise up unto them a sure ground of safety and confidence, by putting the Tower, and other principal forts of the kingdom, and the whole militia thereof (the army and navy), into the hands of such persons as the parliament might confide in, and as should be recommended to His Majesty by both Houses. With this application the King refused to comply. The form of an ordinance of both Houses was then prepared for the assembling, training, and exercising, and putting in readiness, the militia (army) of the kingdom, and a list of the names of the persons recommended by the Commons to be trusted with it, consisting

of a considerable number of peers, and several aldermen and others, for the city of London.

The Houses, in another petition to the King upon this subject of the militia, tell him, that, should he persist in his refusal, the damages and disturbances of the kingdom were such as would endure no longer delay; and that they should be enforced, for the safety of the King and his kingdoms, to dispose of the militia by the authority of both Houses, in such manner as had been propounded to him. They request him to remove evil counsellors, and to continue his abode near London. The King, in his answer, persisting in his refusal, the House resolved that the King's answer was a denial to both Houses.

Rushworth says that, in these debates respecting the militia, some thought the power to be solely in the King; others, that it was in the parliament; and that, if the King should continue to refuse to order it according to their advice, they might by law do it without him; and this was moved to be now done. Mr. Whitelock, in his speech upon this occasion, considers the subject of this debate of the greatest concernment that ever came before the House. He conceives that the power of the militia is neither in the King nor in the Parliament only; but that, if the law had placed it any where, it was both in the King and Parliament; and that it was a wise institution of our law, not to settle this power any where, but rather to leave it *in dubio*, or *in nubibus*, that the people might be kept in ignorance thereof, as a thing not fit to be known, nor to be pryed into. That the power was not in the King only, appeared in this — that the power of money was not in him, but solely in the House; but that they must both agree, as the soldiers must be paid, or the power of the militia would be of little use. He therefore proposed the militia to be settled in such hands as the King and parliament should agree upon, and who, he hopes, will be more careful to keep the sword sheathed than to draw it. But the majority was for settling the militia by ordinance; which passed both Houses, and appoints the several lords therein named lieutenants of the several counties, and empowers them to assemble

His Majesty's subjects in their respective counties, and to train, exercise, and employ them for the suppression of all rebellions, insurrections, and invasions. Then follows, in Rushworth, the declaration of both Houses, presented to the King at Newmarket, of the causes of their fears. And then the King's speech to the committee of both Houses that delivered it, expressing his displeasure at its contents.

The Lords resolved in parliament, *nemine contradicente*, that the ordinance of the Lords and Commons in parliament, for the safety and defence of the kingdom and dominion of Wales, was not any way against the oath of allegiance: — that the several commissions granted under the great seal to the lieutenants of the several counties, were illegal and void: — that whoever should execute any power over the militia of the kingdom and dominion of Wales, by colour of any commission of lieutenancy, without consent of both Houses of parliament, should be accounted a disturber of the peace of the kingdom.

The King caused a proclamation to be issued, forbidding the rising, marching, muster, or exercise of any of his subjects under the authority of the above ordinance. Then follows a declaration of the Lords and Commons of the 27th of March, in answer to this proclamation, concluding with a declaration that the proclamation was void in law; and requiring obedience to the ordinance.

February 14. The King passed by commission the bills, the one for taking away the votes of the bishops in parliament, and of all temporal jurisdictions and offices from them, and from all others in holy orders; the other for pressing of soldiers for the service of Ireland. A message from the King was then read, mentioning various things he was ready to do and comply with, for the satisfaction of the people.

An act about this time also received the royal assent, confirming certain propositions for giving security of the rebel lands in Ireland to persons advancing money for reducing the rebels, by allotting to each adventurer a certain proportion of land, according to the sum contributed.

The House ordered all reliques, crucifixes, organs, and images in churches, to be taken down.

The King, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of parliament to the contrary, prosecuted his journey to York, where he arrived on the 19th of the then month of February, with his sons, the Prince and the Duke of York.

April 9. (1642.) The Lords and Commons declared that they intended a due and necessary reformation of the government and liturgy of the church, and to take away nothing in the one or the other, but what should be evil and justly offensive, or, at the least, unnecessary and burthensome; for the effecting which, they would speedily have consultation with godly and learned divines.

A message from the King informs the parliament of his intention to go to Ireland, for the suppression of the rebellion, and to raise, in the counties near Westchester, a personal guard of 2000 foot and 200 horse, which should be armed at Westchester, from his magazine at Hull; the charge of which to be added by the parliament to their former undertakings for that war. The Lords and Commons petition the King not to go to Ireland, for various reasons, declaring they would not consent to his raising soldiers for that purpose, and request him to leave the war to the management of the parliament. Nevertheless, the King persisted in his determination.

On the 22d of April, the King, in person, appeared before Hull, wherein were great store of ammunition and arms, and demanded possession, which was refused; whereupon Sir John Hotham, the Governor, was, by the King's direction, proclaimed a traitor.

A letter, dated 27th of September, (1642,) from a committee of both Houses, into Yorkshire, stating that they had received information of a late meeting at Leeds, of divers worthy gentlemen and others, well affected inhabitants of Yorkshire, who had declared themselves desirous of preserving the peace of the county, and to secure His Majesty's subjects from those violent oppressions executed upon their persons and estates by the Earl of Cumberland, the Lord Saville, and others, by pretence of the

commission of array, and other commissions, against law; and that, for that purpose, they had thought upon a noble person of their county, the Lord Fairfax, to command in chief over the forces of that shire: — that, therefore, they, the committee, had received directions from both Houses of parliament, to signify their approbation thereof. And accordingly they thereby authorised those gentlemen to draw the forces of the county together, under Lord Fairfax's conduct, to defend His Majesty's subjects against any who should oppose the same, under pretence of any commission whatsoever. And that, for the better performance thereof, they intended very soon to send down forces of horse and foot, and some experienced officers, with ample instructions; and to commend the Lord Fairfax to the Earl of Essex, desiring him to send a commission to the same effect.

As the Houses, says Rushworth, had passed an ordinance for settling the militia in such hands as they could confide in, and divers of the persons named therein had begun to put it in execution, so the King, on the contrary, charging this ordinance to be against law, and forbidding all obedience to it, did issue his commission of array to the different counties, appointing several persons of quality to array, train, and muster the people. This commission the two Houses declared to be unlawful, which caused much bickering and contention between those acting under the opposite authorities. He gives many particular instances, in some of which blood appears to have been shed.

Here follows, in Rushworth, a petition of the two Houses to the King, praying him to disband his guards, and return to his parliament, and the King's answer of refusal, and of rejection of various propositions. And about this time, it appears that several lords left the parliament, and went to the King.

Propositions and orders were issued by the two Houses for bringing in money or plate, for the provision and maintenance of horse, men, and arms, for the preservation of the public peace, the defence of the kingdom, and of both Houses of parliament.

After great debates, it was resolved, July 12. (1642,) that an army should be forthwith raised, for the safety of the King's person, the defence of both Houses of parliament, and of those who had obeyed their orders; and for preserving the true religion, and the laws, liberty, and peace of the kingdom; and appoints the Earl of Essex general. And a petition was prepared to move His Majesty to a good accord with his parliament, to prevent a civil war; which was communicated first to the lords, who, in answer, declared their concurrence therein *in omnibus.* It was then presented to the King; but a message, in the mean time, coming from the King to the House of Peers, it was determined to give no other answer to the message than the petition.

The Lords and Commons published several declarations, in which they charge the beginning of the war upon the King, and justify their taking up arms; declaring those traitors that should assist the King; who published a proclamation for suppression of the rebellion under the command of the Earl of Essex, and offer of free pardon to those who should return to their allegiance.

On the 20th of August, the King, with his forces, came before Coventry, and demanded admittance. The inhabitants expressed themselves ready to receive him with a competent guard, but not to admit his army; whereupon the King departed with his army, and, on the Monday following (the 22d), set up his standard at Nottingham.

Lord Clarendon describes the remonstrance of the state of the kingdom as containing a very bitter representation of all the illegal things which had been done, from the first hour of the King's coming to the crown, to that minute; with all the sharp reflections which could be made upon the King himself, the Queen, and council; and published all the unreasonable jealousies of the present government — of the introducing popery, and all other particulars that might disturb the minds of the people, which were enough discomposed. That it being too late to enter upon it the day appointed for its consideration, it was

agreed so to do on the following day. That Oliver Cromwell, who at that time, says His Lordship, was little noticed, asked Lord Falkland, " Why he would have it put off, for that day would quickly have determined it?" He answered, " There would not have been time enough; for sure it would take some debate." The other replied, " A very sorry one;" they supposing, by the computation they had made, that very few would oppose it. But, adds His Lordship, (Lord Clarendon,) he quickly found he was mistaken; for that the next morning, the debate being entered upon about nine of the clock, (Rushworth says three o'clock in the afternoon,) continued all that day; and candles being called for when it grew dark, (neither side being very desirous to adjourn it till the next day, though it was evident very many withdrew themselves out of pure faintness and inability to attend the conclusion,) the debate continued till it was after twelve of the clock, (Rushworth says till three o'clock,) with much passion; and the House being then divided upon the passing or not passing, it was carried in the affirmative by nine voices only. And that, upon quitting the House, the Lord Falkland asked Oliver Cromwell, whether there had been any debate; to which he answered, " He would take his word another time;" and whispered him in the ear, with some asseveration, " That if the Remonstrance had been rejected, he would have sold all he had the next morning, and never have seen England more; and that he knew there were many honest men of the same resolution."

Mr. Denzil Holles (at the Restoration created Lord Holles) was appointed to deliver, verbally, to the King the Commons' address; which was expressive of their great fears of mischievous designs and practices to ruin and destroy them, and that there had been several attempts theretofore to bring destruction upon this whole body at once, and threats and menaces against particular persons: — that there was a malignant party bitterly envenomed against them, daily gathering strength and confidence, and then come to such height as had emboldened some to embrue their hands in the blood of some of the people, in the face and at the doors of His Majesty's own gates, and had given out inso-

lent and menacing speeches against the parliament itself: — that this had caused great distractions among the people, and much fear and apprehension in the House of Commons: — that they conceived they could not, with the safety of their own persons, upon which the safety and peace of the whole kingdom did then depend, sit any longer unarmed and unguarded; — and therefore praying His Majesty, that they might provide for their own safety by having a guard from the city of London, to be commanded by the Earl of Essex, the lord chamberlain of His Majesty's household.

The employment of Mr. Holles to deliver this address, who was not, it has been since said, ill-disposed towards the King, is another strong proof that the dangers of which the two Houses complained were not, as Lord Clarendon more than insinuates, imaginary, or artfully contrived for the purpose of working upon the fears of the people, and accomplishing their own ambitious designs, but that they were real and well founded, and ground alone sufficient to render necessary the guard they desired.

Lord Clarendon, in his account of the King going to the House of Commons to seize the five members, says, he was attended only by his own usual guard, and some few gentlemen who put themselves into their company in the way, and that he commanded all his attendants to wait at the door, and give offence to no man, himself with his nephew the Prince Elector only entering the House. But Rushworth speaks of a lane being made in Westminster-hall for His Majesty to pass, by the commanders, reformadors, &c. that attended him; also mentioning His Majesty going up the stairs of the House of Commons, and standing before the guard of pensioners and halberteers, who also attended the King's person: whence it is evident, that the military accompanying the King upon this occasion, were much more numerous than Lord Clarendon states. The examinations referred to in the Commons' declaration upon this occasion, state the numbers with the King to have been about five hundred armed men. Ludlow says, that the King was attended, not only by his ordinary guard of pensioners, but also by those desperadoes that for

some time he had entertained at Whitehall, to the number of three or four hundred, armed with partizans, sword, and pistol; one of whom said, in Ludlow's hearing, "What! shall we suffer these fellows to domineer thus? Let us go into the country, and bring up our tenants to pull them out:" for which words, being reproved by him, (Ludlow,) he came to him the next morning, and asked pardon. His Lordship also says, that the Speaker made no answer to the King's question, whether the five members were in the House. Rushworth relates, that he (the Speaker) answered the King, and gives the answer, and that he (Rushworth) afterwards gave the King a copy at his requisition. This answer is also mentioned by Sir Philip Warwick, to which he adds, that the King answered, "I think you are in the right." His Lordship says, that Lord Digby was the only person privy to the King's intention of going to the House, and by whose advice he upon this occasion acted.

Amongst the members named upon the committee appointed to sit at Guildhall, to consider of these proceedings, and how the Commons' privileges might be vindicated, were, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Lord Falkland, Sir Ralph Hopton, Mr. Grimston, and Sir Benjamin Rudyard.

Mr. Hume, referring to this attempt to seize the five members, speaks of it as a fatal indiscretion, to which all the ensuing disorders and civil wars ought to be immediately and directly ascribed.

In the debate upon the parliament having thoughts of raising an army, Mr. Whitelock spoke to the following effect: —

That this question, and that of the naming a general, and officers of the army, had been very rare in that assembly; and seemed to set us at the pit's brink, ready to plunge ourselves into an ocean of troubles and miseries; and if it could be, into more than a civil war brings with it. After enumerating the evils of a civil war, and the uncertainty of its issue, he says, "Yet, Sir, when I say this, I am not for a tame resignation of our religion, lives, and liberties, into the hands of our adversaries, who seek to devour us; nor do I think it inconsistent with your great

wisdom to prepare for a just and necessary defence of them. It was truly observed by a noble gentleman, that if our enemies find us provided to resist their attempts upon us, it will be the likeliest way to bring them to an accord with us. And upon this ground I am for the question; but I humbly move you to consider, whether it be not yet too soon to come to it. We have tried the proposals of peace to His Majesty, and they have been rejected. Let us try again; and appoint a committee who may review our former propositions; and where they find the matter of them (as our affairs now are) fit to be altered, that they present the alterations to the House, and their opinions. And that, as far as may stand with the security of us and our cause, we may yield our endeavours to prevent the miseries which look black upon us, and to settle a good accommodation, so that there may be no strife between us and those of the other party; for we are brethren."

Lord Clarendon, speaking of the prevailing disaffection of the city to the court, observes, that it (the city) had been looked upon too much of late time as a common stock, not easy to be exhausted, and as a body not to be grieved by ordinary acts of injustice; and, therefore, as it was a place of resort in all cases of necessity for the sudden borrowing great sums of money, so it was become a practice, upon any specious pretences, to void the security that was at any time given for money so borrowed. That thus, after many questionings of their charter, which were ever removed by considerable sums of money, a grant made by the King in the beginning of his reign (in consideration of great sums of money) of good quantities of land in Ireland, and of the city of Londonderry there, was voided by a suit in the Star-chamber; all the lands, after a vast expense in building and planting, resumed into the King's hands, and a fine of fifty thousand pounds imposed upon the city: which sentence being pronounced after a long and public hearing, during which time they were often invited to a composition, made a general impression on the minds of the citizens of all conditions, much to the disadvantage of the court. And though the King after re-

mitted to them the penalties of that sentence, they imputed that to the power of the parliament; and rather remembered how the benefit of their grant had been taken from them, than by whom it was restored. So that, at the beginning of the parliament, the city was as ill-affected to the court as the country was, and therefore chose such burgesses to sit there as had either eminently opposed the court, or had accidentally been oppressed by it.

The truth is, says Lord Clarendon, in another place, it could not be expressed how great a change there appeared in the countenances and minds of all sorts of people upon these late proceedings of the King, meaning the attempt upon the five members. All that had been said of plots and conspiracies against parliament, was now thought true and real; and all their fears and jealousies looked upon as the effects of their great wisdom and foresight; the shops of the city generally shut, as if an enemy were at their gates ready to enter and to plunder them; the people in all places at a gaze, as if they looked only for directions, and were then disposed to any undertaking. On the other side, they who had with the greatest courage and alacrity opposed all their seditious practices, between grief and anger, were confounded with the consideration of what had been done, and what was likely to follow: they were far from thinking the accused members had received much wrong; yet they thought it an unseasonable time to call them to an account for it, and that there might have been a fitter choice of persons than these accused members.

His Lordship, referring to the Commons passing the bill for settling the militia (the army and navy) of the kingdom, observes, that they called to have the bill read, which had lain so long in the House; to which they now added, the putting all the forts, castles, and garrisons, into the hands of such persons as they could confide in; which was the expression, he says, they used when they had a mind to remove any man from a place of which he was justly possessed. That when this bill had been at first with much ado accepted, and first read, there were few men who imagined it would ever receive further countenance; but

now, there were few who did not believe it to be a very necessary provision for the peace and safety of the kingdom: so great an impression had the late proceedings made upon them: so that with little opposition it passed the Commons, and was sent up to the Lords.

Upon the votes the Houses sent to the King at York, with a short petition, praying the King to disband his forces, which His Lordship calls dissolving his guards, and upon the King's answer, his Lordship observes, that a man would not unprofitably spend his contemplation who upon that occasion considered the method of God's justice (a method terribly remarkable in many passages and upon many persons to be remembered in that discourse); that the same principles, and the same application of those principles, should be used to the wresting all sovereign power from the crown, which the crown had a little before made use of for the extending its authority and power beyond its bounds, to the prejudice of the just rights of the subject. — A supposed necessity was then thought ground enough to create a power; and a bare averment of that necessity, to beget a practice to impose what tax they thought convenient upon the subject, by writs of ship-money, never before known; and a supposed necessity now, and a bare averment of that necessity, was as confidently, and more fatally, concluded a good ground to exclude the crown from the use of any power, by an ordinance never before heard of; and the same maxim of *salus populi suprema lex*, which had been used to the infringing the liberty of the one, made use of for the destroying the rights of the other.

The greatest enemy the King had could not have given a more unfavourable impression of the King and his advisers, than His Lordship has done in the immediately preceding observation, and in the fore-mentioned statement of their unjust treatment of the city of London. They of themselves would sufficiently account for the part the city took against the King, and for the very general hostile disposition of the nation.

Rushworth and Whitelock state the erection of the King's standard at Nottingham on the 25th August (1642), about six o'clock in

the evening of a very stormy and tempestuous day. Melancholy men observed many ill presages about that time. That there was not one regiment of foot yet brought thither; so that the trained bands, which the sheriffs had drawn together, were all the strength the King had for his person, and the guard of the standard. There appeared no conflux of men in obedience to the proclamation; the arms and ammunition were not yet come from York; and a general sadness covered the whole town. The standard was blown down the same night it had been set up, by a very strong and unruly wind, and could not be fixed again in a day or two, till the tempest was allayed. That this was the melancholy state of the King's affairs when the standard was set up. He found the place much emptier than he thought the fame of his standard would have suffered it to be, and received intelligence the next day that the rebels' army, for such now he had declared them, was, horse, foot, and cannon, at Northampton, besides a party at Coventry.

## CHAPTER V.

*Message from the King proposing an accommodation. — The Earl of Essex quits London for the army. — Fight at Powick-bridge. — Battle of Edge-hill. — Parliament applies to the Scots for assistance. — Treaty at Oxford. — Mr. Hampden's death. — Cromwell's letter of the victory near Gainsborough. — Lord Fairfax's defeat at Atherton Moor. — Defeat of the King's forces near Horncastle. — First battle of Newbury, and death of Lord Falkland. — Colonel Monk taken prisoner. — The Queen impeached of high treason. — Mr. Waller's, and others' plot. — New Great Seal ordered. — Solemn league and covenant. — Scots' army enters England. — Battle of Marston Moor. — Second battle of Newbury. — Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, tried and beheaded. — The treaty of Uxbridge. — Self-denying ordinance. — Sir Thomas Fairfax appointed general of the new-modelled army. — The battle of Naseby. — Directory for public worship. — The King quits Oxford, and goes to the Scots' army near Newport. — Surrender of Oxford. — Propositions of peace sent to the King — Rejected. — Death of the Earl of Essex. — The King's arrival at Holmby House.*

On the 27th of the same August (1642), Rushworth says that the King sent a message to both Houses proposing an accommodation, and, for that purpose, that some fit persons might be enabled to treat with a like number authorised by the King; to which the Houses replied, that they could not treat until the King should recal his proclamations, and declarations, denouncing them and their adherents rebels and traitors, and until his standard should be taken down, and he return to his parliament.

On the 9th September the Earl of Essex quitted London for his head-quarters at St. Alban's, and thence to Northampton, where his forces met him, being above fifteen thousand men.

On the 22d was the fight at Powick-bridge, near Worcester, under Prince Rupert, wherein the parliament lost about thirty men, and some officers.

On Sunday, October 24., the King marched towards London, and fights the battle of Edgehill, near Kinton, in Warwickshire: each party claimed the victory, and published different accounts of the battle.

November 7., a declaration passed, to be sent to Scotland, representing the dangers they were in, and craving the assistance of the Scots.

Mr. Whitelock gives a particular account of the proceedings in a treaty with the King, at Oxford, in February in the same year, upon some propositions sent to him by the parliament, he being one of the commissioners on the behalf of the parliament. The commissioners were, Algernon Earl of Northumberland, Philip Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, William Earl of Salisbury, and Henry Earl of Holland, Thomas Viscount Wenman, and Richard Viscount Dungarnon; and Sir John Holland, Sir William Litton, William Pierrepoint, Bulstrode Whitelock, Edmund Waller, and Richard Winwood, Esqrs. They attended the King, with the propositions, on the 1st February, 1642–3.

Whitelock observes:—In this treaty, the King manifested his great parts and abilities, strength of reason, and quickness of apprehension, with much patience in hearing what was objected against him; wherein he allowed all freedom, and would himself sum up the arguments, and give a most clear judgment upon them. His unhappiness was, that he had a better opinion of others' judgments than of his own; and of this the parliament commissioners had experience, to their great trouble. They were often waiting on the King, and debating some points of the treaty with him until midnight, before they could come to a conclusion. Upon one of the most material points they pressed His Majesty with their reasons, and best arguments they could use, to grant what they desired; the King said he was fully satisfied, and promised to give them his answer in writing, according to their desire; but, because it was then past midnight, and too late to put it into writing, he would have it drawn up the next morning, when he commanded them to wait on him again, and then he would give them his answer in writing, as it was now agreed upon. They went to their lodgings, full of joyful hopes to receive this answer the next morning, and which, being given, would have much conduced to a happy issue and success of this treaty; and they had the King's word for it: and they waited on

him the next morning at the hour appointed; but instead of that answer which they expected, and were promised, the King gave them a paper quite contrary to what was concluded the night before, and very much tending to the breach of the treaty. They did humbly expostulate this with His Majesty, and pressed him upon his royal word, and the ill consequences which they feared would follow upon this his new paper. But the King told them he had altered his mind, and that this paper which he now gave them was his answer, which he was now resolved to make upon their last debate; and they could obtain no other from him, which occasioned much sadness and trouble to them. Some of his own friends, of whom the commissioners enquired touching this passage, informed them, that after they were gone from the King, and that his council were also gone away, some of his bedchamber, (and they went higher,) hearing from him what answer he had promised, and doubting that it would tend to such an issue of the treaty as they did not wish, they being rather for the continuance of the war, they never left pressing and persuading the King, till they prevailed with him to change his former resolutions, and to give orders for his answer to be drawn as it was now delivered.

The treaty upon the King's propositions, as well as upon the commissioners', going slowly on, and their instructions being strict, and such as they could not show to the King when he desired it, he thought fit, April 12. (1643), to send a message to the parliament during the treaty, to this effect:—That as soon as he was satisfied in his first proposition, and as soon as the members of both Houses should be restored, and that His Majesty and both Houses might be secured from tumultuous assemblies, (which he conceived could not otherwise be done but by adjourning the parliament to some place twenty miles from London, such as the Houses should agree upon,) His Majesty would consent to the disbanding of the armies, and would return speedily to his parliament. This being intimated to the commissioners, they endeavoured to dissuade the sending it, as that which they feared might break off the treaty; and the improbability that the

MARQUESS DE VIEUVILLE

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Sept.r 18[illegible]

From a Drawing by Luttrell

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Houses would adjourn, and leave the city of London, their best friends and strength, and put a discontent upon them. Yet the King was prevailed with to send it, and upon the receipt of it by the Houses, they presently resolved to call away their commissioners, and sent their orders to them to return to the parliament, which they obeyed; and so this treaty, having continued from the 4th of March to the 15th of April, was now dissolved, and all their labours and hazards become fruitless, and of no effect; and all good Englishmen, lovers of the peace of the country, were troubled and disappointed.

The treaty being thus broken off, the war, says Rushworth, was presently prosecuted with greater fury, through most parts of the nation.

Then follows an account of the most considerable actions, fought with various success, beginning with Sir William Waller's successes with the force under his command. Also an account of the action, 18th June, 1642, in Chalgrave-field, Bucks, in which the parliament forces were defeated, and Mr. Hampden lost his life.

In the lattter end of June, 1643, the better to secure Gainsborough in the parliament's hands, Colonel Cromwell drew that way; and in a letter, given in Rushworth, informs the parliament of his defeat of a part of the King's forces, in which General Cavendish, who commanded for the King, was slain.

June 30. Lord Fairfax was defeated at Atherton Moor, in Yorkshire, by the Earl of Newcastle.

October 11. The forces commanded by the Earl of Manchester defeated part of the Marquis (late Earl) of Newcastle's forces, near Horncastle, in Lincolnshire. The Earl of Manchester's horse and dragoons went on to the attack in several bodies, singing psalms: quarter-master Vermuden with five troops, and the forlorn hope, and Colonel Cromwell commanding the van, seconded by Sir Thomas Fairfax. The royalists' word was "Newcastle;" that of the parliament-party, "Truth and Peace." The dragoons gave the first charge, and then the horse fell in. Colonel Cromwell charged with great resolution, immediately after

the dragoons of the other side had given him their first volley; yet, within half pistol-shot, they saluted him with a second charge. His horse was killed, and fell down with him; and, as he rose, he was knocked down again by the gentleman that charged him, supposed to be Sir Ingram Hopton; but he rose, and recovered a poor horse, in a soldier's hand, and so mounted again. The royal army was defeated with considerable loss.

On September 20. (1643), was the battle near Newbury, wherein the Lord Viscount Falkland, secretary of state, and other nobility, lost their lives. Rushworth, and Whitelock, both speak of the circumstances of Lord Falkland's death. That in the morning of the fight he called for a clean shirt; and being asked the reason of it, answered, that if he were slain in the battle, they should not find his body in foul linen. That being advised by his friends not to engage in the fight, as having no call to it, and being no military officer, he said he was weary of the times, and foresaw much misery to his country, and did believe he should be out of it ere night, and could not be persuaded to the contrary; but would enter into the battle, and was there slain. General Monk was, amongst others, taken prisoner at the fight near Nantwyche, and committed to the Tower, where, after passing some time, he agreed to serve the parliament.

April 1. — An ordinance of the Lords and Commons passed, for sequestrating the estates of notorious delinquents. Also, May 5. an order for the burning the book for tolerating sports on the Lord's day.

The Queen being very industrious whilst she was in Holland, to furnish the King with arms, ammunition, &c., and being now at the head of a considerable army at York, ready to march southward, the House of Commons impeached her of high treason, at the bar of the House of Lords.

In the month of May a plot was discovered, in favour of the King, the chief actors in which were, Mr. Waller, a member of the House of Commons, and many others; and many members of both houses of parliament were said to be privy to it. They were found to have the authority of the King's commission under the

great seal. Some of them were tried and convicted, and suffered death. Mr. Waller was condemned to die, but was reprieved: he was expelled the House; and, after paying a fine of 10,000l. and a year's imprisonment, was released, and went to France.

A great seal was ordered, and made to attend the parliament, and placed in the hands of six commissioners.

August 28. (1643.) An ordinance of the Lords and Commons for demolishing and removing all monuments of superstition, and for removing the communion-table from the east end of the church, and placing it in some other fit and convenient place in the body of the church, and levelling the ground upon which such communion-table stood.

Rushworth gives, at considerable length, an account of the proceedings in Scotland that gave rise to the solemn league and covenant, and the advance of the Scots' army into England.

It was proposed, as the best means for the accomplishing of the desired union and assistance of England and Scotland, that the two nations should enter into a solemn, mutual covenant, which was accordingly done in the most public and solemn manner. It was entitled, "A solemn League and Covenant for Reformation and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happiness of the King, and the Peace and Safety of the three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland." This covenant is, amongst other things, declared to be for the preservation of the reformed religion in the church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline and government; the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the word of God and the example of the best reformed churches, and for bringing the churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of church-government, directory for worship, and catechising.

Amongst others who signed this covenant, are the names of the Speaker, Lenthall, Sir Benjamin Rudyard, Robert Harley, Oliver Cromwell, Charles Lord Cranborne, William Lord Fitzwilliam, Sir Peter Wentworth, William Lord Monson, Henry Lord Grey of Ruthin, Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston, Thomas Lord

Grey of Groby, Sir Harbottle Grimston, John Dryden, John Selden, Thomas Lord Wenman, Bulstrode Whitelock, George Montague, Denzil Holles, and Edward Montague.

Upon the 15th January (1643), the Scots' army entered England, crossing the Tweed at Berwick, and published the declaration of England and Scotland, joined in arms for the vindication and defence of their religion, liberties, and laws, against the popish, prelatical, and malignant party. The Earl of Leven was the general of the army.

April 20. The English and Scots' armies unite, and soon afterwards besiege the Marquis of Newcastle in York. And, on the 2d July, defeated the King's army, commanded by Prince Rupert, at Marston-moor, near York, with the loss of all his artillery. The next morning the Marquis and his sons, and several of his friends, quitted the kingdom; and, soon afterwards, York was surrendered.

In September, the Earl of Essex's army was defeated in Cornwall, and he obliged to quit it. And, on the 2d October, the second battle of Newbury was fought; both sides claiming the victory.

November 20. Propositions for peace were sent to the King by the two Houses, by a committee of Lords and Commons, and of Scots commissioners.

Upon the 10th January, Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, was beheaded, and was interred in Barking church. And, on the day the Lords passed the attainder of the Archbishop, they passed the ordinance for the abolition of the book of Common Prayer, and for establishing the directory for public worship, which had been framed by the assembly of divines.

Then follow, in Rushworth, an account of the treaty of Uxbridge upon the fore-mentioned propositions, which continued from the 29th January to the 22d February following, when the commissioners separated, without coming to any agreement.

A cessation of arms having been concluded between the King and the Irish rebels, against which the Commons had made a declaration, many of the Irish entered into the King's service.

This, says Whitelock, gave occasion for many invectives and pasquils. — The Queen's army of French and Walloon papists, and the King's army of English papists, together with the Irish rebels, were to settle the protestant religion and the liberties of England.

The parliament resumed the debate of an ordinance for calling in the members of both Houses from military and civil places and offices; which was read a first and second time, and committed. And on the 31st of March (1645), it being read a third time, was sent up to the Lords. The Lord General the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Manchester, and the Earl of Denbigh, in the House of Peers, surrendered their respective commissions; which being done by their own consent, the ordinance was next day freely passed by the Peers. It was called the self-denying ordinance. It declares the members of either House to be discharged, at the end of forty days from its passing, from all offices and commands, military or civil, granted or confirmed by both or either of the Houses, since the 20th November, 1645.

At different times in this month, the Earls of Bedford, Leicester, Clare, Holland, Thanet, Monmouth, and Westmorland, and the Lords Paget, Rich, Conway, and Savile, took the oaths appointed by the parliament for such as should come in to them, before the commissioners of the great seal.

Sir Thomas Fairfax being appointed by the parliament to command the new-modelled army, he proceeded to Windsor for that purpose, in which he was much assisted by Major-general Skippon, whose speech upon the occasion, and the great esteem of him by the officers and soldiers, produced a ready submission to the measure.

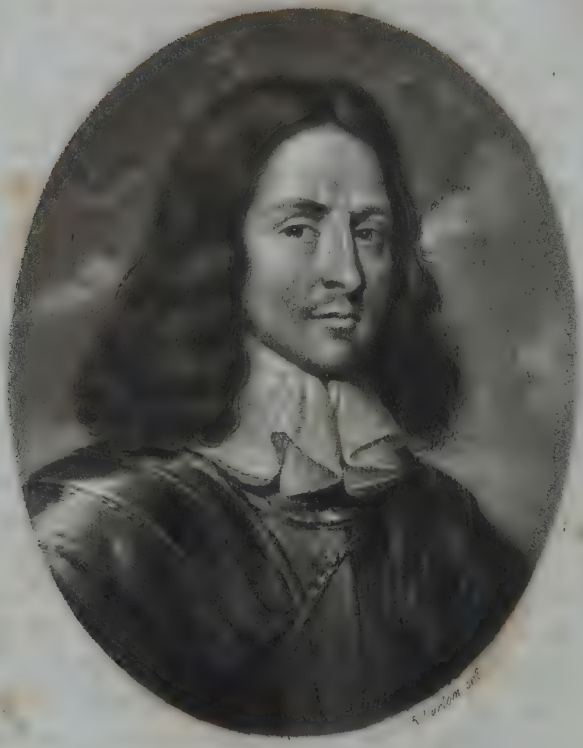
The first action entered upon, says Rushworth, by the forces of this army, was on the 24th of April, at Islip-bridge, in Oxfordshire. The committee of both kingdoms of England and Scotland, at Westminster, from whom the parliament army was generally to receive its orders, being informed of an intended junction of part of the King's army at Oxford with Prince Ru-

pert, who was between Worcester and Hereford, they wrote to Sir Thomas Fairfax, immediately to dispatch some horse beyond Oxford, to lie on the further side towards Worcester, to interrupt them, and hinder the King and the force with him from forming a junction with the Prince; and the charge of this service they particularly recommended to Lieutenant-general Cromwell, who was come but the night before from Salisbury to Windsor, to take his leave of the General, seeming now to be as good as discharged of all military employment by the new ordinance, which was to take effect within a few days; but receiving these commands, and a party of horse and dragoons being ordered by the General to march under his command into Oxfordshire, he met, near Islip-bridge, with a brigade of the King's horse, who engaged him; but the royalists were worsted, and, in the pursuit, many were slain, and about two hundred taken prisoners, and the Queen's standard.

The army under Sir Thomas Fairfax being ready to march, continues Rushworth, it was determined by the two Houses, that it should march into the west; but it being understood that the King's army was near Daventry, in Northamptonshire, General Fairfax called a council of war; by whom it was resolved, that a letter should be sent to the parliament, to desire them, for a time, to dispense with Lieutenant-general Cromwell's absence from the House, and that he might command their horse, an engagement being like to happen very speedily, wherein his service might be of great use; which letter was sent by Colonel Hammond, and orders given by votes of the House to him, forthwith to march to the army accordingly; in order to which Fairfax wrote to him the following letter, dated the 11th of the same June:

Sir,

You will find by the inclosed vote of the House of Commons, a liberty given me to appoint you lieutenant-general of the horse of this army, during such time as that House shall be pleased to dispense with your attendance. You cannot expect but that I make use of so good an advantage, as I apprehend this to be,



THO.S LORD FAIRFAX

Obit 1671

*From an original* Miniature *in the possession of*

Henry Constantine Jennings Esq.r

London *Published by* S. Woodburn, 1811

to the public good; and therefore I desire you to make speedy repair to this army, and give order that the troops of horse you had from hence, and what other horse or dragoons can be spared from the attendance of your foot in their coming up, march hither with convenient speed; and as for any other forces you have there, I shall not need to desire you to dispose of them as you shall find most for the public advantage, which we here apprehend to be, that they march towards us by the way of Bedford. We are now quartered at Wilton, two miles from Northampton; the enemy still at Daventry. Our intelligence is, that they intend to move on Friday; but which way, we cannot yet tell. They are, as we hear, more horse than foot, and make their horse their confidence: ours shall be in God. I pray all possible haste toward your affectionate friend to serve you,

THOMAS FAIRFAX.

On the 12th or 13th of the same June, Cromwell joined the General's army with six hundred horse and dragoons; and, on the 14th of the same month, the battle of Naseby was fought, in which the King's army, commanded by the King in person, was defeated with great loss. The particulars will be found in Rushworth. And, in consequence, it was ordered by the Commons, that Lieutenant-General Cromwell should continue lieutenant-general of the horse under Sir Thomas Fairfax, during the pleasure of the House, notwithstanding the self-denying ordinance: to which, continues Whitelock, the Lords agreed; but altered it in point of time to be but for three months, to which the Commons, upon debate, assented. He adds, that he (Cromwell) began to increase in the favour of the people and of the army, and to grow great, even to the envy of many.

In the following September, Cromwell took the Devizes by storm, and gave the garrison favourable terms. And in the following October he advanced to Winchester, which surrendered upon articles also favourable to the besieged. A complaint having been made by some of the garrison, of injuries they had sustained at their marching out of Winchester, by being plundered, contrary

to the articles, by some of the parliament's troopers, the offenders, six in number, were apprehended and tried by a council of war, and condemned to die, and after lots had been cast for their lives, and he whose lot it was had been executed, the other five were sent to Oxford with a full account of the proceeding, to Sir Thomas Glenham, the governor, to be put to death, or otherwise punished; which was so well accepted, that Sir Thomas Glenham returned the prisoners with an acknowledgment of the Lieutenant-General's civility in being so tender of the breach of articles.

Cromwell next takes by storm Basing-house, the residence of the Marquis of Winchester, and the Marquis himself, and other places in its neighbourhood, granting liberal terms to the besieged.

An ordinance was about this time passed, for the more effectually putting in execution the Directory for public worship. It prohibits the use of the book of Common Prayer in all places of public worship and in private families, under severe penalties, and finally imprisonment. The King's proclamation followed immediately, forbidding the use of the Directory, and enjoining the continuance of the use of the Common Prayer. An ordinance also passed for the ordination of ministers, directing, amongst other things, their qualifications:—that he must be skilled in the original tongues, and trial of him to be made by reading the Hebrew and Greek Testament, and rendering some portions of them into Latin, and enquiry to be made of his other learning, and his skill in logic and philosophy, and of the soundness of his doctrines.

In December (1645), the King, by message to both Houses, proposed a treaty which, after many messages from him, and replies by the Houses, was not proceeded in.

The House ordered 1000l. to purchase horses and furniture for Sir Thomas Fairfax, as an earnest of their affection: and referred it to a committee to consider how 5000l. per annum, formerly voted, might be settled upon him and his heirs; and ordered a letter of thanks to him. Also to consider how Lieutenant-General

Cromwell might be put in possession of 2500l. per annum, formerly voted for him; and ordered him 500l. for the purchase of horses and furniture, as an earnest of the affections of the House.

Rushworth observes, that at the beginning of this year (1646) the King's affairs were reduced to a very low ebb,—the parliament every where masters of the field, and no visible force left, able to oppose them; the royal garrisons yet remaining in the west, in no possibility of holding out long against Fairfax; and after taking them, Oxford, where the King made his residence, could not but expect to be next besieged, as Newark was then already besieged by the Scots and English forces.

The King, continues Rushworth, being at Oxford, and observing the ill fortune of his affairs, had resolved to go to the Scots' army before Newark, for which he gives his reasons in a letter to the Marquis of Ormond. He says, that having received either no answer from the Houses of parliament to his several messages, or such as argued that nothing would satisfy them but the ruin, not only of himself and his posterity and friends, but even of monarchy itself; and that having received very good security that he and all that adhered to him should be safe in their persons, honour, and consciences in the Scots' army, and that they would join with him and all that should adhere to him, and employ their armies to assist him for the procuring a happy and well-grounded peace, he had resolved to put himself to the hazard of passing into the Scots' army, then lying before Newark. And, accordingly, on April 27., he went privately in disguise from Oxford, and arrived at the head-quarters of the Scots' army on Tuesday, May 5.; and notice thereof was given by the Scots to the English commissioners residing with that army, who immediately informed the parliament. They voted, that the commissioners and general of the Scots' army be desired that His Majesty's person be disposed of as both Houses should desire; that His Majesty be sent to Warwick Castle, and that Mr. Ashburnham and the rest of those that were with him be sent for as delinquents; and that the commissioners for the parliament of England residing before Newark should acquaint the Scots' general with these votes, and also make a narrative of the manner of the King's coming into the

Scots' army, and present it to the House. In this narrative, they described as a strange providence, that the King came in so private a way, that after they had made search for him upon the surmises of some persons who pretended to know his face; and that it was matter of much astonishment to them, that he should come to any place under their power; that they conceived it not fit to enquire into the causes of this proceeding, but to endeavour that it might be improved to the best advantage by promoting the work of uniformity, for settling of religion and righteousness, and attaining of peace according to the league and covenant. . They declare that there had been no treaty nor capitulation between the King and them.

Immediately upon the King coming to the Scots general, Leven, he desired the King to order General Bellasis, the governor of Newark, to surrender it, and it was accordingly surrendered to the parliament of England; and the next day the Scots' army marched northward, His Majesty being with Lieutenant-General Leslie in the van, and on the 13th May came into Newcastle. Mr. Ashburnham escaped from the Scots' army.

General Fairfax, having invested Oxford, summoned the governor to surrender it, expressing his equal desire of its preservation, so famous for learning, and promising honourable terms. A treaty was accordingly concluded; the second article of which was for an honourable convoy of the Duke of York to London, where others of His Majesty's children were, and that he should have an honourable provision befitting his dignity. The third article was, liberty of removal and passes for the Princes Rupert and Maurice, with their servants, horses, and goods, to any place within fifty miles, and not less than twenty miles, from London, and there to abide for six months, without molestation by imposition of oaths or otherwise, and to have passes to go beyond the seas; and the like favourable terms were granted to the governor, soldiers, noblemen, gentlemen, ladies, and other women then in Oxford. And the University was secured in its ancient form of government, and the free enjoyment of its estates; and the churches, chapels, and other public buildings to be preserved

from defacement and spoil: the King's household servants desiring to go to him, to have passes for that purpose, and his household goods and other his property in Oxford to be carried to his house at Hampton Court, there to remain at his disposal. On the 24th June, Oxford was surrendered, and Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice with many gentlemen and other attendants, soon afterwards quitted the kingdom, and went to France, whither the Prince of Wales was also retired from Jersey; and the Duke of York was brought to St. James's: and in a few days upwards of two thousand passes were signed. And surely, says Lord Clarendon, no action or agreement either of war or peace was ever more punctually observed.

The great seal and other seals of office were brought into the House and broken in pieces at the bar of the Lords' House, in the presence of the whole House of Commons, and the silver given to the Speakers of the two Houses; but the privy signet and another little signet were ordered to be laid up, and the sword to be deposited in the wardrobe.

Amongst other places taken, to the garrisons of which honourable terms had been granted, was Pendennis Castle, in Cornwall, after a long siege; one of the articles of whose capitulation was, that whereas by reason of the long siege many of the officers and soldiers of the garrison were grown into great necessity of such things as might enable them to march to their several dwellings, many being sick and wounded; a sum of five hundred pounds was agreed to be paid to the commissioners for the castle on the following morning, to be distributed amongst the officers and soldiers of the garrison.

The two Houses being now, says Rushworth, possessed of the strength of the kingdom, were busy in completing their propositions for peace to be sent to the King, which had been retarded by the disagreement of the Scots commissioners, who now concurred therein.

July 6. The Commons voted that they had no further need of the Scots army, and that the kingdom was unable to pay them longer, and desiring it might be withdrawn.

June 27. A report was made to the Commons of the propositions for peace, as returned by the Lords and Scots commissioners: they were again read and passed without any alteration; and they were then delivered to the parliament commissioners to be taken to the King at Newcastle. The commissioners were the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, the Earl of Suffolk, members of the House of Peers, and Sir Walter Earl, Sir John Hippisley, and Robert Goodwyn, and Luke Robinson, Esqrs., members of the House of Commons.

The commissioners, upon their arrival at Newcastle, delivered the propositions to the King, and the King demanded whether they had any power to treat, who answering that they had not, he replied, Then, saving the honour of the business, an honest trumpeter might have done as much.

The commissioners, says Rushworth, attended His Majesty, and pressed him to agree to their propositions; but he could not be prevailed on to give his assent, and returned his answer in a paper delivered to them, not agreeing to those propositions, but offering others.

Rushworth observes, that the King's great abilities appeared very conspicuously in these proceedings at Newcastle, being at a time when he could not have the assistance of his chaplains.

The commissioners, upon their return, reported to the Houses their proceedings, and this answer of the King to the propositions, and had their thanks.

They ordered, says Whitelock, that the Marchioness of Winchester should be at liberty to make use of any of her country-houses for her health, and to lie-in there. And afterwards an allowance of ten pounds per week for herself and the Marquis her husband.

August 12. The commissioners for Scotland presented to the House of Peers a paper, wherein, in answer to the parliament of England's desire of the Scots army withdrawing from thence, they declare their willingness forthwith to surrender the garrisons they possess in England, which they had kept for no other end than the safety and security of their forces; and without delay to

recal their army; reasonable satisfaction being to be given for their pains, hazards, charges, and sufferings; whereof a competent portion to be presently paid to the army before their disbanding, and security to be given for the remainder, at such times thereafter as should be mutually agreed on. The Lords returned the commissioners thanks, and the next day communicated the paper to the Commons, who taking it into consideration, ordered a sum of one hundred thousand pounds to be provided for the advance of the Scots army into Scotland, and engaged that their arrears should be audited and paid in convenient time. And after much altercation and debate, the accounts were finally settled, and a certain sum paid to them.

On the 14th September, the Earl of Essex died at Essex-house, in the Strand. Both Houses assisted at his interment, towards which they ordered five thousand pounds to be paid to his executors.

September 18. The House of Commons took into consideration the care of the King's person, which they resolved should be by both Houses, and directed this resolution to be communicated to the Scots commissioners, who claimed a joint right in such disposition, and divers conferences were had thereon, and much altercation and disagreement ensued.

A message was sent by the Lords to the Commons, that Colonel George Monk, who was a prisoner to the parliament, had taken the solemn league and covenant, and was also ready to take the negative oath, and conceiving him to be a fit person to be employed in the service in Ireland, in respect of his valour and abilities in martial affairs, desired he might have a commission for that service, to which the House of Commons agreed, and a commission was granted.

December 22. The Lords voted, that the King being now in England, might come to Newmarket, there to remain with such attendants as both Houses should appoint; but the Commons did not concur with the Lords, and therefore voted that Holmby House in Northamptonshire would be the most proper place, if agreeable to him, there to abide with such attendants as both

Houses should appoint. Accordingly the House of Commons, with the concurrence of the Lords, appointed commissioners to receive the King from the Scots, and to bring him to Holmby. The commissioners were,—for the Lords, the Earl of Pembroke, Earl of Denbigh, and Lord Montagu: for the Commons, Sir James Harrington, Sir John Holland, Sir Walter Earl, Sir John Cook, Mr. John Crew, and Major-General Brown.

Saturday, 30th January (1646-7). The Scots marched out of Newcastle, and General Skippon took possession of it; and the parliament commissioners received the King; and soon afterwards went forwards with him to Durham, and so on to Holmby, where he arrived February 16.

Neal, in his preface to the third volume of his History of the Puritans, observes, that the state of the controversy was entirely changed in the time of the civil wars; for that, after the coming in of the Scots, the puritans did not fight for a reformation of the hierarchy, nor for the generous principles of religious liberty to all peaceable subjects, but for the same spiritual power the bishops had exercised; for that, when they had got rid of the oppression of the spiritual courts, under which they had groaned almost forty years, they were setting up a number of presbyterial consistories in all the parishes of England, equally burdensome and oppressive.

An ordinance passed, regulating the ordination of ministers, and requiring certain qualifications in learning, and soundness of doctrine.

The Directory, according to Rushworth, about this time, became the established form of public worship, instead of the Common Prayer, the use whereof was prohibited, even in private families, under severe penalties: and the hierarchy of bishops being abolished, the presbyterial government, in every congregation, with subordination to classical, provincial, and national assemblies and elders, chosen according to certain regulations, became the ecclesiastical government of the country, in exclusion of all other religious distinctions. Thus the presbyterian party in the Commons, in effect restored the act of uniformity; and, in their

turn, became persecutors, equally with the Roman catholics and episcopalians, of all who differed from them in doctrine, or discipline; verifying the observation, that every religious sect, in power, are persecutors, more or less; being, as Mr. Hume says, upon another occasion, ready to burn in the same flames, from which they themselves had so narrowly escaped, every one that had the assurance to differ from them. And Mr. Neal, in his History of the Puritans, observes, that these were the first fruits of presbyterian uniformity; and were equally to be condemned with the severities and oppressions of the then late times.

Lord Clarendon and Whitelock give their different accounts of the treaty at Uxbridge between the King's commissioners and those of the parliament; and Whitelock, one of them, concludes his account with stating that the King's commissioners thought the advantage much on their part, that longer time to treat was denied by the parliament; and gave it out, that if that had been granted, there would have been a happy issue of the treaty. But that those of the other side affirmed that there could be no expectation of a good issue, or inducement for the parliament to grant longer time, when not one of the parliament's propositions was granted by the King during the whole time of its continuance. He adds, that various judgments were passed by all persons according to their own fancies or interests: and that most sober men lamented the sudden breach of it. There does not appear any ground for the censure His Lordship pronounces upon the parliament, in attributing to them its failure: each party acted according to the best of their judgments in adhering to their own terms, whence the impossibility of a successful termination. And as to the advantage the King's commissioners supposed the King's cause to have derived from the refusal of the parliament of a prolongation of the treaty, it appears from Lord Clarendon, that the object of the proposal of such extension was with a hope of creating divisions in the parliament, and delaying the new modelling the parliament army, and to afford time to the King to make his preparations for the continuance of the war. The parliament were probably aware of the

view of the King's party in proposing this extension, and the improbability of its answering any valuable purpose, and therefore refused it.

In the King's correspondence with the Queen, found in the King's cabinet taken at Naseby, he says, he has good hope, that if he could come to a fair treaty, the ringleading rebels could not hinder him from a good peace, because their own party were almost weary of the war, and likewise for the great distractions which at that time most assuredly were amongst themselves, as presbyterians against independents in religion, and general against general in point of command. That, as to his calling those at London a parliament, he should refer her to Digby for particular satisfaction of this in general: if, says he, there had been but two besides himself of his opinion, he had not done it; and that the argument that prevailed with him was, that the calling did no ways acknowledge them to be a parliament. Upon which condition and construction he did, and no otherways; and accordingly it is registered in the council books, with the council's unanimous approbation. That it was improbable that the present treaty should produce a peace, considering the great strange difference, if not contrariety, of grounds that were betwixt the rebels' propositions and his; and that he could not alter his, nor would they ever theirs, till they should be out of hope to prevail by force, which a little assistance by her, the queen's, means, would soon make them be; for that he was confident if ever he could put them to a defensive, which a reasonable sum of money would do, they would be easily brought to reason.

In a letter from the King, dated 15-25 February, 1644, he says, " the limited days for treating are almost expired, without the least agreement upon any one article; wherefore I have sent for enlargement of days, that the whole treaty may be laid open to the world; and I assure thee that thou needst not doubt the issue of this treaty, for my commissioners are so well chosen, though I say it, that they will neither be threatened nor disputed from the grounds I have given them, which, upon my word, is according to the little note thou so well rememberest; and in this, not only

their obedience, but their judgments concur." He adds, "in short there is little or no appearance, but that this summer will be the hottest for war of any that hath been yet; and be confident, that in making peace I shall ever show my constancy in adhering to bishops and all our friends; and not forget to put a short period to this perpetual parliament." In another letter, he authorises the queen to promise the repeal of all penal laws against the Roman Catholics in England, as soon as God should enable him to do it, whereby he might have so powerful assistance as might deserve so great a favour.

In another letter he mentions his having had a good parting with the Lords and Commons at Oxford. "Now," says he, "if I do any thing unhandsome or disadvantageous to myself or friends, in order to a treaty, it will be merely my own fault; for, I confess, when I wrote last, I was in fear to have been pressed to make some mean overtures to renew the treaty, knowing there were great labourings for that purpose; but now, I promise thee, if it be renewed, which I believe will not without some eminent success on my side, it shall be to my honour and advantage; I being now as well freed from the place of base and mutinous motions, that is to say, our mongrel parliaments here, as of the chief causers, for whom I may justly expect to be chidden by thee for having suffered thee to be vexed by them."

Whitelock relates, that the letters, taken in the King's cabinet, were read in the House, and that in some of them was mention of his intention to make a peace with the Irish rebels, and to have 40,000 of them into England to prosecute the war here. That in others he complains that he could not prevail with his mongrel parliament, at Oxford, to vote that the parliament, at Westminster, was not a lawful parliament; that he would not make peace with the rebels (the parliament) without her approbation, nor go one jot from the paper she sent him. That upon the treaty at Uxbridge, he did not positively own the parliament, it being otherwise to be construed; though they were so simple as not to find it out; and that it was recorded in the notes of the King's council, that he did not acknowledge them a parliament.

Whatever hopes the parliament might have entertained of a favourable issue of the Uxbridge treaty, none could remain of a successful termination of any future negotiation with the King, after their possession of the Naseby papers. He constantly, in these papers, stiles the parliament rebels. He, as it were, apologises to the Queen for calling them a parliament, satisfying her that it would not amount to an acknowledgment by him of their being one; his view in so calling them, appearing in the fore-mentioned private entry made, by his direction, in the council-book. This secret reservation could have been made with no other view than to afford him, the King, the means of disengaging himself from all or any part of this treaty, when it might be in his power, upon the pretence of the legal incapacity of the parliament, as such, to treat with him, or to enter into any binding engagements. This would have been a very dishonourable evasion; but surely the above expressions afford no other construction? This construction is farther supported by the acknowledgment of the King's commissioners at the conclusion of (as Lord Clarendon describes it) a sharp debate with the parliament's commissioners, that the King treated with them because it was not in his power to punish them as rebels: from whence no doubt can be entertained of his determination to exercise that power if ever he should acquire it.

Mr. Hume, referring to this secret reservation, says, This subtilty which has been frequently attributed to Charles, is the most noted of those very instances from which the enemies of this prince have endeavoured to load him with the imputation of insincerity; and inferred that the parliament could repose no confidence in his professions and declarations, not even in his laws and statutes. There is, however, adds he, it must be confessed, a difference universally avowed between simply giving to men the appellation which they assume, and the formal acknowledgment of their title to it; nor is any thing more common and familiar in all public transactions.

Had this secret reservation been on the parliament side, it had afforded a fine field for the application of Mr. Hume's favourite

epithet of hypocrisy: enough could not have been said to expose this, he would have called, crafty policy. He would have discovered something more than he affects to do in the King's giving to the parliament this their own appellation. In any case it would, perhaps, be difficult to discern the difference between the calling a body of men by the name such body should appropriate to itself, and the acknowledgment of such body to be what they denominated themselves. But in the present instance, the parliament, before they would consent to a treaty, required the King's acknowledgment of their being a parliament, and therefore a body legally capable of treating and agreeing and entering into such engagements as should be legally binding upon, both the King and themselves; and they would not stir without that acknowledgment. The King, to obviate this difficulty, which he found was an indispensable preliminary to the commencement of the treaty, with evidently great reluctance, (which was sufficient of itself to alarm the parliament, and to determine them to insist upon it as the basis of the treaty,) consents to the acknowledgment; but secretly reserves to himself, and records, a power of withdrawing it for the purpose, there can be no doubt, of affording him an opportunity of annulling his engagements with the parliament when he should find himself sufficiently strong so to do, upon the ground and pretext of their not being a legal body, with whom to make any binding engagement. This, Mr. Hume must surely have seen to be the object of this secret reservation, and as such incapable of defence.

The King does not expect to bring the parliament to terms but by a force, which he hopes to receive from the Queen. He tells her that his commissioners will not recede from his instructions. And he declares his intention of putting an end to the then, as he calls it, perpetual parliament, so soon as it should be in his power. He authorises the Queen to call in the assistance of the catholics; and promises, in recompence of their assistance, the repeal of all the penal laws against them.

After these disclosures the parliament could not, with any confidence, treat with the King; the motives on both sides for

engaging in the subsequent treaties, must have been to give to the nation the appearance of moderation, but secretly without hope of a successful termination.

Rushworth observes, that there were about this time, the latter end of the year 1646, warm debates between the parliament and the Scots commissioners, respecting the possession of the king's person, the parliament claiming the sole power thereof, the Scots the joint power with the parliament.

28th December (1646). Both Houses, says Whitelock, agreed that there should be no further treaty with the King; and the Commons voted, — That the King coming to Holmby House, and the Scots army gone out of the kingdom, the two Houses would then join with the Scots in using all possible means to persuade the King to pass the propositions, and if he refused, that then the Houses would do nothing that might break the union and affection of the two kingdoms. Whereupon a declaration was sent up to the Lords, and with it the ordinances for sale of the bishops' lands, and for taking away the court of wards, to be sent to the King as additional propositions; to which the Lords agreed.

## CHAPTER VI.

*Parliament's resolution to disband the army. — The army claim a right of petitioning. — Appointment and proceedings of the agitators. — Removal of the King from Holmby House. — The army refuse to disband but upon certain conditions. — Their declarations and remonstrances. — Their charge against eleven members. — Force upon the House of Commons. — Many of the members quit the House, and retire to the army. — The army bring them back to the House. — Propositions of both Houses sent to the King at Hampton Court. — Commitment and impeachment of members concerned in the force upon the House. — The King's answer to the propositions. — The King's escape to the Isle of Wight from Hampton Court. — Custody of the Great Seal. — Duke of York's escape. — Scots army enter the kingdom. — Defeated. — The treaty of Newport. — Removal of the King to Hurst Castle. — Exclusion from the House, by the army, of many members. — New Great Seal. — Trial of the King. — His death.*

April 1. (1647.) The Commons, says Rushworth, voted that the civil government of Ireland should be thenceforth distinct from the military, and should be by two Lords-Justices as formerly: that the military should be by a commander-in-chief, who should be directed by commissioners on the place.

Lieutenant-General Hammond, Colonel Hammond, Lieutenant-Colonel Pride, and other officers, attended the House in obedience to a letter from the House to the General, when the Speaker acquainted Colonel Pride that the House had been informed that he had read a petition, of which the House had an ill sense, at the head of Colonel Harley's regiment; and that threatening speeches had been given out, that those that would not subscribe it, should be cashiered the army. Colonel Pride denied the reading the petition at the head of that regiment, and the threatening speeches used, and the whole charge, as did the others; with which the House was satisfied, and desired them to be careful to suppress it, and that they should go down to the army to their several commands. Sir Thomas Fairfax, in answer to the above letter from the House, informed the Speaker, that

in consequence, he had ordered the officers, quartered in those parts (Walden, in Essex), to meet at his quarters, where, having communicated the Speaker's letter, they did generally express a very deep sense of their unhappiness in being so misunderstood in their intentions, which were no other than by way of petition to represent those inconveniences which would necessarily befal most of the army after disbanding; desiring that as much as the General should judge fit and reasonable, might be submissively made known to the House of Commons, assuring him that they would wholly acquiesce in whatsoever he should judge reasonable to offer the House, or to grant on their behalf. That he trusted the army would ever manifest their affection to the public by their constant perseverance in their accustomed obedience to all their commands.

April 2. The House voted that the commander of the forces in Ireland should be styled Field-marshal, and be allowed 6l. *per diem*, and appointed Major-general Skippon such field-marshal, and Colonel Massey lieutenant-general of the horse under him.

A petition against the army from Essex, was complained of as having been read in several churches, on the preceding day, by the ministers, to get hands to it. The soldiers, especially the horse, appeared to have been much troubled, and complain why they should not be heard in petitioning, when they saw petitions in their own quarters subscribed in an indirect manner against them: and the horse thereabout talked of drawing to a rendezvous to compose something for vindication.

The House, upon information of this petition, and that it was contrived and first promoted in London, and sent privately into Essex, to get hands to it, to shew its dislike to such petitioning and the great discontent it might occasion in the army in that juncture of time, ordered that the knights of the shire for that county, and for Suffolk and Norfolk, should write to the inhabitants to desist, and to inform them that the Houses were upon a way to dispose of the army as might be most advantageous to the whole kingdom. These petitions were for the speedy disbanding the army.

The soldiers in North Wales appear to have mutinied on account of their arrears of pay, refusing to be disbanded till payment. A petition was also read in the House from the reduced officers under Lord Fairfax's command, most of whom had raised their troops at their own charge, and upon disbanding had not their two months' pay, or fifth part paid them, as others had: and a letter from Sir Thomas Fairfax on their behalf, having been read, a part was ordered to be paid them.

Rushworth relates at large the proceedings of the commissioners from the parliament, with the several regiments quartered at Walden, to induce them to go to Ireland.

April 27. The Commons, says Rushworth, having received a message from the Peers, took into consideration the disbanding the army, and, after a long debate, resolved that the army, horse and foot, should be disbanded with all convenient speed, and that six weeks' pay should be given to them upon their disbanding. Whereupon the officers presented to the House a vindication of their proceedings, which Rushworth gives at length. They therein assert their right of petitioning, in common with their fellow-subjects; nevertheless intending not to present their petition but with the approbation of their ever-honoured general, knowing how watchful their enemies were to make the hardest constructions of all their actions, and represent them to the parliament and to the world under such terms as might render them most odious. The principal objects of this vindication are, — indemnity for their proceedings in the late war, as soldiers, for which they assign their reasons; and the payment of their arrears at the time of disbanding.

The House determined to add a fortnight's pay to the six weeks' pay already ordered, upon disbanding, and a fortnight's additional pay to those who should determine to go to Ireland. And after long debate passed the ordinance for the indemnity of the soldiers for all things done by sea or land during the late wars; which afterwards passed the Lords.

May 15. Information came from Walden of the result of the debates between the parliament's commissioners and the officers

and soldiers. The soldiers desired to choose committees from amongst themselves out of every troop and company, to confer together upon the votes of the House, for the satisfaction of the soldiers, for arrears, and for indemnity, and for discovering the distempers of the army. The committee of troopers met at St. Edmundsbury; and the foot, who chose two out of every company, and them to confer with the troopers; and every foot-soldier gave four-pence a-piece towards defraying the charges of that meeting. Their several returns having been made to the officers, they repaired to the head-quarters therewith, and informed that they found no distemper in the army, but grievances many; and because some regiments differed from others in making known their respective sufferings, it was referred to a committee of general officers to contract into a method what was propounded in general as the sense of the whole army; and that if any particular thing was desired by one regiment which was waved by another, it might not be accepted or presented as the sense of the whole army. The officers accordingly concurred in a draft so formed out of the whole, that all the grievances the army complained of were distinctly set down therein, in the names of the officers and soldiers of the army, and was presented to Field-marshal Skippon, desiring him to present it to the parliament; that a construction might be had of their proceedings, they meddling with nothing but what pertained to them as soldiers.

On the 8th of the same May, a letter from the King to both Houses was read: it was long, and, says Rushworth, well penned. In it he gives his answer to the several propositions sent to him at Newcastle. It was agreed to take it into consideration on a future day.

Upon receiving from the parliament-commissioners with the army an account of their proceedings, the Commons resolved, that all the forces of the kingdom not subscribing for the service of Ireland should be disbanded, excepting those for the garrisons; and referred it to the committee at Derby House to consider of the time and manner of disbanding them.

Upon the commissioners coming to town and making their

report, the House ordered the speedy audit of the soldiers' arrears, and a visible security to be given for so much as should not be paid off upon their disbanding.

The soldiers being still dissatisfied, the House resolved that the common soldiers should have all their arrears, deducting for free-quarters, according to the ordinary rules of the army; and the subordinate officers not in commission the like; and the commission officers one month's pay more added to the two months' pay formerly voted; and, it was ordered, that the declaration of the parliament against the army be rased out of the journals of both Houses, which was done.

From Chelmsford came intelligence, that the general's own regiment, of their own accord, were come away with their colours and drums, nearer the army; and that another regiment took away their colours without their colonel's consent.

Intelligence was brought to the House on Saturday, June 5. of the removal of the King from Holmby-house, by Cornet Joyce, and a party of horse, on that day.

The Houses were informed that the rendezvous of the army had been held near Kenford, six miles from Bury St. Edmund's; seven regiments of foot and six of horse appeared. The general also sent them the grounds, inclosed in a letter from the soldiers to himself, for their undertaking the King's removal of themselves; which were chiefly that they had intimation of a design, which they were able to make good, of some, to surprise the King; — that, at the rendezvous, a petition was presented to the general, in the name of the soldiers, the substance whereof was, that they could not be satisfied with their arrears, or other returns, unless they had assurance that their enemies should not be their judges for the future, which it was believed they would insist on; and then follows an humble representation of the dissatisfaction of the army in relation to the late resolutions for so sudden disbanding, showing the particulars of their former grievances, which yet remained unsatisfied; and a solemn engagement of the army, under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, entered into at the general rendezvous near Newmarket, on the 5th of June, 1657, in which they declare their

readiness to disband when required by the parliament, or to engage in further service in England or Ireland, first having satisfaction of their grievances, and security, that when disbanded, and in the condition of private men, they should not remain subject to the oppression, injury, or abuse to which they had been subjected whilst an army; and, after entering into some further particulars in explanation of their desires, they proceed to give, what they call an impartial narration, concerning the army's preservation of the King, to show that the army did thereby intend the good, life, property, and liberty of all the Commons of England, meaning the removal of the King from Holmby-house.

January 8. (1647.) The Houses passed an ordinance for allowing recreations to scholars, apprentices, and servants, with permission of their masters, on every second Tuesday in the month; and all festivals, called holidays, abolished.

The King having been taken to Newmarket by his own desire, the council of war appointed Triploc-heath, five miles from Cambridge, instead of Newmarket, for the intended rendezvous of the army.

Letters came to the House from the commissioners with the King, and a narrative of the passages between His Majesty and Sir Thomas Fairfax and the commissioners, June 7. at Childersley, the Lady Cutts's-house, that the General, Lieutenant-general Cromwell, Commissary-general Ireton, Lieutenant-general Hammond, and divers other officers of the army, went to Childersley, according to the King's desire; that, upon their arrival, the King went into the garden, and the general and his officers, and the commissioners, went together, and conferred upon the whole carriage of the business; that the commissioners seemed much dissatisfied; that the King coming towards them, the general and the commissioners came to him, and Cornet Joyce was called before them. The King charged them all, saying, that Joyce said he had the commission of the whole army for what he did; and by consequence had the general's, he being the principal party of the army. The cornet replied, and did avow that he told His Majesty, that he had not the general's commission, when the King did par-

ticularly demand of him. Whereupon the King publicly said to the whole company, "That it was true, indeed, he did say so; and that it was likewise true, that all the gentlemen that were mounted on horseback did cry out, giving their approbation to what he had said: but," said the King, "I was, notwithstanding, persuaded that he could not venture to attempt such a thing as to bring me away, for it was treason; but that he had the countenance of greater persons." Then it was much pressed by some of the commissioners against Joyce, that he deserved to lose his head for what he had done, in bringing the King and the commissioners away without their consent. Whereupon Cornet Joyce replied, "May it please Your Majesty, as to the army's warranting my proceedings, let it be drawn to a rendezvous, let me appear there before them, and let the question be put, whether they approve of my action in removing His Majesty from Holmby; if three or four parts of the army do not approve what I have said, I will be content to be hanged at the head of the army." He further added, that the King gave his consent to come, and said he would go, whether the commissioners would or no. "Yea," said the King and the commissioners, "you told us that we should go, and it was in vain for us not to consent." "But," said the King, "Joyce, though it be great treason in what you have done, yet I will pardon it now I am come: I had the promise of those gentlemen to be conveyed to Newmarket, and therefore I expect to go there to-morrow." Whereupon, after some other discourse, the general promised he should go. Upon which His Majesty prepared for Newmarket, and the general went to Cambridge, and sent Colonel Whalley to guard the King and the commissioners to Newmarket, to which place he went the following day.

On the 10th of the same month, Sir Thomas Fairfax, in a letter, gives the Commons an account of the proceedings of the rendezvous at Triploc-heath, accompanied by the army's resolutions, in two papers, unanimously agreed on by the officers and soldiers; — that he finds in one of them, with which the parliament's late proceedings since the resolution of disbanding, may have given satisfaction; but that the army having then no knowledge thereof, it

was thus passed and delivered to him, which he could not therefore but send to them. You may see, then, says he, in what they did then remain unsatisfied.

On the 11th of the same month of June, the army advanced nearer London: the head-quarters were at St. Albans; the Houses desired that it might not advance within forty miles.

The army addressed a letter to the lord mayor, aldermen, and common-council of the city of London, dated at Royston, the 10th of the same June, wherein, after referring to their letters and other addresses, presented by their General to the House of Commons, wherein they had endeavoured to give satisfaction of the clearness of their just demands, they proceed: — "For the things we insist on as Englishmen, and surely our being soldiers hath not stripped us of that interest, although our malicious enemies would have it so, — we desire a settlement of the peace of the kingdom, and of the liberties of the subject, according to the votes and declarations of parliament; which, before we took up arms, were by the parliament used as arguments and inducements to invite us and divers of our dear friends out, some of which have lost their lives in this war; which being, by God's blessing, finished, we think we have as much right to demand, and desire to see a happy settlement, as we have to our money, and the other common interest of soldiers, which we have insisted upon. We also find the ingenuous and honest people in almost all the parts of the kingdom where we come, full of the sense of ruin and misery, if the army should be disbanded before the peace of the kingdom, and those other things before-mentioned should have a full and perfect settlement. We have said before, and profess it now, we desire no alteration of the civil government. We desire not to intermeddle with, or in the least to interrupt, the settling of the presbyterian government. Nor do we seek to open a way to licentious liberty, under pretence of obtaining ease for tender consciences. We profess as ever, in these things, when the State have once made a settlement, we have nothing to say, but to submit or suffer; only, we could wish, that every good citizen, and every man that walks peaceably, in a blameless conversation,

and is beneficial to the Commonwealth, may have liberty and encouragement, it being according to the just policy of all States, even to justice itself.

" These, in brief, are our desires, and the things for which we stand, beyond which we shall not go; and for the obtaining of these things we are drawing near your city, professing sincerely from our hearts we intend no evil towards you, declaring with all confidence and assurance, that if you appear not, against us in these our just desires, to assist that wicked party that would embroil us and the kingdom, not we nor our soldiers shall give you the least offence. We come not to do any act to prejudice the being of parliaments, or to the hurt of this, in order to the present settlement of the kingdom. We seek the good of all, and we shall here wait, or remove to a further distance, there to abide, if once we be assured that a speedy settlement of things be in hand, until they be accomplished: which done, we shall be most ready, all of us, or so many of the army as the parliament shall think fit, to disband, or go for Ireland. And although you may suppose that a rich city may seem an enticing bait to poor hungry soldiers to venture far to gain the wealth thereof, yet, if not provoked by you, we do profess, rather than any such evil should fall out, the soldiers shall make their way through our blood to effect it: and we can say this for most of them, for your better assurance, that they so little value their pay in comparison of higher concernments to a public good, that rather than they will be unrighted in the matter of their honesty and integrity, which hath suffered by the men they aim at and desire justice upon, or want the settlement of the kingdom's peace and theirs, with their fellow-subjects' liberties, they will lose all; which may be a strong assurance to you that it is not your wealth they seek, but the things tending in common to your and their welfare that they may attain. You shall do like fellow-subjects and brethren, if that you solicit the parliament for them on their behalf.

" If, after all this, you, or a considerable part of you, be seduced to take up arms in opposition to or hindrance of these our just undertakings, we hope by this brotherly premonition, to the sin-

cerity whereof we call God to witness, we have freed ourselves from all that ruin which may befal that great and populous city, having thereby washed our hands thereof." This letter is signed by the General Fairfax, Oliver Cromwell, and several other of the principal officers.

The House of Commons sat very late this night upon the business of the army; and it was ordered that letters be sent to the general from both Houses, to desire that the army might not come within twenty-five miles of the city.

Friday, 11th June. It was ordered by the Lords and Commons, that all such officers or soldiers as should come off and conform to the votes sent down to the army should receive the benefit of those votes.

The parliament commissioners arriving at Cambridge, the general and his officers attended them, to whom they communicated the above votes, desiring to be advised of the proper mode of communicating them to the army. And on the afternoon of the following Thursday, the army being drawn up to a rendezvous within four miles of Royston, they (the general and commissioners) began with the general's regiment of horse, to whom the votes were read. Major-General Skippon then made a short speech to the regiment, moving that the votes might take a deep impression upon them for the advantage of the kingdom. Then an officer returned the answer, that the regiment did desire that there might be an answer returned, after the perusal of the votes, by some select officers and agitators, whom the regiment had chosen; and that it was the motion of the regiment.

The officers desired the general and the commissioners, to give leave to ask the whole regiment if this were their answer; to which the whole regiment cried "All, all." Then he put the question, that if any men were of a contrary mind they should say No; and not one man gave his No. The agitators on the behalf of the soldiers pressed to have the question put, Whether the regiment did acquiesce and were satisfied with the votes; but the other way being the more orderly, and that they might after perusal, proceed more deliberately, the question was laid aside; and, indeed, says

Rushworth, had it been put, it would not have received one voice in the affirmative, such was the unanimity of the officers and soldiers in that regiment. And this brief account, says he, may serve for the several regiments, horse, foot, and dragoons, this day at the rendezvous. After the commissioners had done reading the votes, and speaking to each regiment, and received their answer, the regiment cried out "Justice, justice."

This night the head-quarters were at Royston.

June 12. This day the common-council of London came to a resolution to send a letter to the general and officers of the army, in answer to their's, and also to send down some of their members to treat with the general and officers, that a right understanding and fair correspondence might be between the army and the city. Then follows their answer, referring to the army's letter to the city: and it was very conciliatory; but desiring, that as the army's approach might increase the price of victual, and encourage discontented persons to make ill use of it, and raise tumults, they had determined not to quarter within thirty miles.

More commissioners were sent by the House to the army, and their instructions enlarged, to know of the army what their particular desires were, and what would give them satisfaction.

Information from the general that the army was advanced to St. Albans, and desiring a month's pay, that they might not be burdensome to the country; but nothing done therein.

On the 15th of the same month of June, the Houses ordered, That the general be required to deliver the person of the King to such persons as both Houses should appoint, to be placed at Richmond, under such guards, and in such manner as they should think fit; to the intent that the propositions agreed upon by both kingdoms might be speedily presented to His Majesty, for the settling of a safe and well-grounded peace.

That the persons to whom the general is required to deliver the person of the King, to be placed at Richmond, shall be the commissioners formerly appointed to receive the person of the King at Newcastle, or to any three of them.

That the guards appointed to receive the orders and directions of the commissioners, in attending and guarding the person of the King, shall be Colonel Rossiter and his regiment.

The House ordered that the officers that had not their accounts stated, and were in town, should have a month's pay of their arrears for their subsistence: that those in town, whose accounts were stated, should have six weeks' present subsistence. It was referred to the committee of indemnity, to consider of such officers as were under restraint for any thing done *tempore et loco belli*, to discharge them if they saw cause, and to discharge such others as should be arrested or imprisoned for the future.

This day letters were read in both Houses from the commissioners with the army, informing that the votes concerning those that would come away from the army, did much distaste the soldiery, and that there would be speedy answer given by the general and army, to what was contained in their additional instructions; whereof he would give the House timely notice. And accordingly, the Commons received a letter from the commissioners late at night, with a declaration inclosed. The common-council had also another letter brought by their commissioners:—much love expressed; a good correspondency desired; no forces to be raised by the city; and a copy of the declaration, which was read in the court of common council, and a letter, was ordered to be returned by the same commissioners, with leave from the Houses to assure them of no forces raising against them, and that they had moved the parliament for monies to pay the army, that they might withdraw farther from the city. Then follows the declaration, which is entitled A Declaration or Representation from His Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, and of the army under his command, humbly tendered to the parliament. It is expressed at the conclusion, to be by the appointment of His Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, with the officers of his army. It is very long, and states the grievances of the army and of the nation, and proposes their redress, in a number of articles, one of which is for purging the House of Commons of such members,

as for their delinquency, or for corruptions or abuse to the state, or by undue elections ought not to sit there.

June 16. This day came to the House from the General (Fairfax) and the officers and soldiers of the army, a charge against eleven members, of obstructing the business of Ireland; of acting against the army and against the laws and liberties of the subject; and obstructing of justice. The members charged were, Mr. Denzil Holles, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir William Waller, Sir John Maynard, Major General Massey, Mr. Glynn, Recorder of London, Colonel Walter Long, Colonel Edward Harley, and Mr. Anthony Nichols. Then follows the charge against these members, whom they desired might be immediately suspended from sitting in the House. Upon reading the charge in the House, the members severally, made some defence, and desired it might be put into a speedy way of trial. A month's pay was ordered to the army, and required to retreat forty miles from London.

The King, says Rushworth, still at Newmarket, very pleasant and cheerful, and takes his recreation daily at tennis. He seems to delight much in the company and discourse of Cornet Joyce, and sent a messenger to St. Albans for him to come to Newmarket.

June 22. An ordinance passed both Houses, to continue for one year, for raising 60,000l. per month towards the maintenance of the forces in England and Ireland.

Then follows an humble remonstrance from Sir Thomas Fairfax and the army under his command concerning the present state of affairs, relative to themselves and the kingdom, with their desires and present resolutions thereupon.— Presented to the commissioners at St. Albans, to be by them humbly represented to the parliament.

June 25. The debate was resumed in the Commons upon the charge against the eleven members, when the House resolved, that by the law of the land, no judgment could be given to suspend them from sitting in the House, upon the papers presented from the army, before the particulars should be produced and

proof made: and that it did not appear that any thing had been said or done within the Commons' House, by any of the members in question touching any matters contained in the papers sent from the army, for which the House could in justice suspend them.

June 26. Letters were read to the House from Sir Thomas Fairfax, informing of the army's near advance towards London, with the grounds thereof. And that they did not intend to awe the parliament or the city; renewing their desires of the suspension of the accused members, undertaking that they (the army) would give in a more particular charge with the proofs and attestations in support thereof. The head-quarters were then at Uxbridge, and the King was at the Earl of Salisbury's at Hatfield.

The accused members, upon their own request, left the House this day. And the army in consequence, waved further proceedings against them. But the accused members desired of the House a speedy trial; and the House accordingly ordered the particular charge of the army to be brought in; which was soon afterwards done.

July 2. The army removed from Uxbridge to Wickham, the general finding that the Houses had taken into consideration the propositions from the army and made some satisfactory progress. The general appointed Lieutenant-general Cromwell, Commissary-general Ireton, Colonel Fleetwood and other officers of the army, to treat with the commissioners of parliament upon the desires of the army; and the head-quarters were removed to Reading, and the King went to the Lord Craven's house near Causum. The commissioners of the parliament present at the treaty, were, says Rushworth, the Earl of Nottingham, Lord Wharton, Field-marshal Skippon, Sir Henry Vane, Jun., Sir Thomas Widdrington, Colonel White, Mr. Thomas Scawen, and Mr. Thomas Povey. Of the commissioners of the army, Commissary-general Ireton, Sir Hardress Waller, Colonel Rich, Colonel Lambert, and Major Desborow.

July 9. — This day the following letter was read in both Houses from Sir Thomas Fairfax: —

" Mr. Speaker; — I was sent unto by the King on Friday last, to desire the parliament to give way to him to see his children, and that they might for that purpose be sent to him. If I may be bold humbly to offer my opinion, I think the allowance of such a thing may be without the least prejudice to the kingdom, and yet gain more upon His Majesty than denying it; and if it be in the prayers of every good man that his heart may be gained, the performance of such civilities to him is very suitable to those desires, and will bear well with all men who (if they can imagine it to be their own case) cannot but be sorry, if His Majesty's natural affection to his children in so small a thing should not be complied with; and if any question should be concerning the assurance of their return; I shall engage for their return within what time the parliament shall limit.

" Upon this occasion, give me leave, I beseech you, to take notice of some reports spread abroad, as if myself, and the officers of the army, were upon some underhand contract, or bargain with the King; and from thence occasion is taken to slander our integrity, and endeavour a misunderstanding betwixt the parliament and their army; the fidelity of which to the parliament and kingdom, and their affection to it are the great objects of many mens' envy, because they see nothing so likely to settle right and freedom, with truth and peace to us and our posterity, and to hinder their designs against the same, as an harmony and good accord between the parliament and army; which is the joy of good men, and it shall be our study to preserve, against all designs and designers to the contrary.

" To prevent, therefore, all misunderstandings of that kind, I thought with all clearness to declare unto you, that we have done nothing, nor shall do any thing, which we desire to hide from you or the world, or shall not avow to the faces of our greatest adversaries.

" Our desires concerning a just consideration and settlement of the King's right, (His Majesty first giving his concurrence to settle and secure the rights and liberties of the kingdoms,) we have already publicly declared, in our representation and remon-

strance. Since the first of those papers sent unto the parliament, there have been several officers of the army, upon several occasions, sent to His Majesty; the first to present him a copy of the representation, and after that, some others to tender him a copy of a remonstrance; upon both which the officers sent were appointed to clear the sense and intention of any thing in either paper, whereupon His Majesty might make any question. Since then, there have also been some officers at several times sent to His Majesty about his remove from Hatfield, to dissuade if possible from Windsor, or any place so near London, to some place of further distance, answerable to what we had desired of the parliament. In all which addresses to His Majesty, we care not who knows what hath been said or done; for as we have nothing to bargain for, or ask, either from His Majesty or the parliament, for advantage of ourselves or any particular party, or interest of our own, so in all these addresses to his majesty, we have utterly disclaimed, and disavowed any such thing; but the only intent and effect of those our addresses hath been to desire His Majesty's free concurrence with the parliament for establishing and securing the common rights and liberties, and settling the peace of the kingdom, and to assure him that (the public being so provided for with such His Majesty's concurrence) it is fully agreeable to our principles, and we should be desirous and endeavour that (with and in such settling of the public) the rights of His Majesty's royal family should be also provided for, so as a lasting peace and agreement might be settled in this nation; and that as we had publicly declared for the same in general terms, so if things came to a way of settlement, we should not be wanting (in our spheres) to own that general desire in any particulars of natural, or civil right to His Majesty's person or family, which might not prejudice, or again endanger the public; and in the mean-time, that His Majesty should find all personal civilities and respects from us, with all reasonable freedom that might stand with safety, and with the trust or charge lying upon us concerning his person.

" You have here the utmost sum of what hath passed from us to His Majesty, and we could wish all men did rightly understand (without misrepresentation) every particular, wherein (as we know nothing not agreeable to reason, justice, honesty, or conscience so) we thought ourselves concerned the rather to say and do, as we have, towards His Majesty since he came within our quarters; because of those common prejudices suggested against us, as if we were utter enemies to monarchy and all civil order or government. And for that particular of the Duke of Richmond and the two chaplains lately permitted to attend His Majesty, it was not done without much reluctancy, because therein we doubted we might be misunderstood by the kingdom's best friends.

" But upon His Majesty's continuing importunity first, as a thing very nearly concerning his inward and outward contentment, and conceiving those persons such (as we hoped) would not do ill offices to prejudice the peace of the kingdom, we did give way to it, and the persons before they came, had notice of permission. And as we then thought, so we still do think, that to allow him some such company of persons least dangerous, whom former acquaintance may make him take pleasure in, and the allowance of some such chaplains of his own, are things both reasonable and just, and the debarring of that liberty in the latter, we doubt will but make him more prejudiced against other ministers.

" In general, we humbly conceive, that to avoid all harshness, and afford all kind usage to His Majesty's person in things consisting with the peace and safety of the kingdom, is the most christian, honourable and prudent way. And in all things (as the representation, and remonstrance of the army doth express) we think that tender, equitable, and moderate dealing, both towards His Majesty, his royal family, and his late party, (so far as may stand with safety to the kingdom, and security to our common rights and liberties,) is the most hopeful course to take away the seeds of war or future feuds amongst us for posterity, and to procure a lasting peace and agreement in this now distracted nation: to the effecting and settling whereof (with a secure pro-

vision first to be made for the common rights and liberties of the kingdom, and a due care to preserve and propagate the gospel of truth, and peace amongst us) we shall hope that neither the parliament, nor His Majesty will be wanting. And if God shall see it good to make us any way instrumental thereunto, or that we may otherwise see the same accomplished, we shall then think ourselves indeed discharged from the public engagements, we have been called out unto, more clearly and effectually than (before such things were settled) we could have thought ourselves to be; and to demonstrate our clearness from seeking self-advantages in what we did, we shall henceforth account it our greatest happiness and honour (if God see it good) to be disengaged and dismissed, not only from our military charges, but from all other matters of power, or public employment whatsoever.

" I have in these things, spoke not in my own name alone, but in the name (because I find it to be the clear sense of the generality, or, at the least, of the most considerable part) of the army; and I am confident you and the kingdom will never find it otherwise. I shall leave it to your favourable construction, and commit all to the goodness of God for a happy issue.

" I remain your humble servant,

" *Reading, July* 8. 1647. " THOMAS FAIRFAX."

Monday, July 12. — The House of Commons voted, after debate, the charge against the eleven members, to be a charge; and that they should give in their answer by Monday next, when the House would consider of putting it into some speedy way of trial as desired.

The Houses consented to the Duke of York and the rest of the King's children visiting the King for two days, accompanied by the Earl of Northumberland.

July 16. The King's children came to Maidenham the preceding day, at the Greyhound Inn, where the King met them and dined, and they accompanied him to Causum in the evening. Two troops only of Colonel Whalley's horse guarded them.

Saturday, July 17. The Houses ordered the land-forces in England and Wales in the pay of the parliament, to be under the immediate command of Sir Thomas Fairfax; for the security and peace of the kingdom, the reduction of Ireland, and the disbanding such as should be determined by both Houses to be disbanded.

Monday, 19. This day, according to former order, the eleven impeached members, all of them present, presented a paper to the House of Commons, in answer to the articles of impeachment of the army; being a demurrer thereto. And the House at their request gave them leave of absence for the present.

Letters this day came from the parliament commissioners in the army to the House, accompanying proposals of the general and council of war. Also a letter from the army to the lord mayor, aldermen, and common-council.

Monday, July 26. The House of Commons having adjourned until the next day, and the Speaker rising out of his chair, and the members quitting the House, divers petitioners entered the House, and desired them to sit again, and the Speaker returning to his chair, and the members sitting in their places, the petitioners desired them to vote that the King's majesty should come to London. Which was resolved upon the question accordingly. And then the House adjourned till Friday then next, as did the Lords the same day.

Intelligence coming to the city of the approach of the army, preparations were made for its defence.

Friday, July 30. The Houses met, according to their above adjournment, but the Speakers of neither House appeared, and therefore after long waiting, the Commons chose Mr. Pelham, a counsellor of Lincoln's Inn and a member of the House to be Speaker *pro tempore;* and the Lords chose Lord Grey in the place of the Earl of Manchester; and the Serjeant at Arms being absent with the mace, they (the Commons), appointed another to supply his place and had the city-mace for their present use.

The House then proceeded to debate on the present great affairs of the kingdom, and voted, — that the King come to Lon-

don; that the militia of the city have full power to raise such forces as they should think fit for its defence; and that they make choice of a commander-in-chief to be approved of by the House, who was to present other officers to be approved of by the militia. The city appointed Major-general Massey commander-in-chief; and the reformadors and other officers, &c. were ordered to appear in St. James's Fields to be enlisted, and the forces already enlisted for the defence of the city to be put into a regimental way.

A letter came from Sir Thomas Fairfax to the city, complaining of the late great violence put upon the House, which had been encouraged by many of the common-council and demanding the bringing to justice the offenders.

July 31. According to the above order for enlisting, there was a great appearance of reformadors and officers in St. James's Fields, and orders were given for detaining and enlisting of horses: and this day most of the eleven accused members sat in the House, and the shops in the city were ordered to be shut, and in the evening the House was informed that one of the Block-houses near Gravesend had been secured by a party of the army. Then follows in Rushworth, a very long declaration of the city, in justification of their own conduct in these proceedings. Then a petition to the King by the Lords and Commons, requesting him to come to London, where he should be with honour, freedom and safety, and where they, with the commissioners for Scotland, would make their addresses to him for a safe and well-grounded peace. And it was declared that the order putting under Sir Thomas Fairfax's command all the land-forces in the pay of parliament, did not extend to give him any power over the trained band's garrisons. The care of the King's children was committed to the Lord Mayor of the city of London, and a committee for the safety of the kingdom was appointed, consisting of members of both Houses.

A letter was addressed by both Houses to Sir Thomas Fairfax referring to a letter from him to their commissioners with the army, which concludes with forbidding the army's nearer approach

to London. Then follow the heads of proposals of the council of the army to be tendered to the parliament's commissioners for the clearing and securing the rights and liberties of the kingdom, and the settling a just and lasting peace. Amongst these proposals is one; that the taking of the covenant be not enforced, nor any penalty imposed on the refusers; whereby persons might be constrained to take it against their judgments or consciences and that all ordinances tending to such compulsion be repealed. And that, after provision made for settling and securing the rights, liberties and peace and safety of the kingdom, His Majesty, the Queen, and royal issue might be restored to a condition of safety, honour, and freedom without diminution to their personal rights, or further limitation to the exercise of the regal power.

August 2. The general's head-quarters were at Colnbrook, and the King was at Stoke Abbey, near Windsor. The Earls of Manchester and Warwick sent to the general, that they and most of the members had quitted the Houses; for that there could, as things were, be no free parliament, and that Their Lordships had retired into Essex and intended shortly to be with the general, casting themselves upon his protection; and accordingly they and many other of the Lords, and many of the House of Commons came to the head-quarters.

August 3. The army had a rendezvous on Hounslow-heath, at which were present, the Earls of Northumberland, Salisbury, Kent, the Lords Grey of Werk, Howard of Estwrick, Wharton, Say and Sele, and Mulgrave, and others of the House of Peers; the Speaker of the House of Commons, and about one hundred members of that House.

This morning, August 4. a letter from the city of London to the general was presented to him at his then head-quarters at Isleworth, to the following effect: — That observing from the army's declaration that the chief object of its approach to the city was the bringing back those members of both Houses, who, in consequence of the tumult at Westminster, had retired themselves, to the end they might be placed in safety and in free parliament at Westminster, they cheerfully and heartily joined with His Excel-

lency therein, and that accordingly he should find all parts and passes open to their reception, and sufficient guards for conducting them to the two Houses.

Then follows an engagement of the Lords and Commons that went to the army, some of whom sat in the House in the Speaker's absence which is dated the same 4th August, declaring their adherence to the general and the army, in the vindication of the honour and freedom of parliament.

This engagement is signed by the Earl of Manchester, as Speaker of the House of Peers, and by the Earls of Salisbury, Denbigh, Northumberland, and other Peers. And by Mr. Lenthall, the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Lord Lisle and fifty-six other Commoners.

On the morning of Friday, August 6. the general with the Lords, the Speaker of the House of Commons, the members of the House and many other gentry marched towards Westminster attended by part of the army, and the members took their seats in their respective Houses, and passed an ordinance for appointing Sir Thomas Fairfax constable of the Tower of London for one year: to whom the Houses gave their thanks, and ordered the army a month's pay for this great service; and appointed a committee to enquire into the causes and authors of the violence upon the House. And a day of thanksgiving was appointed to be observed in Westminster Abbey. The Lords also resolved that all things done by the members since the Speakers and other members were driven away from the parliament, should be annulled and of none effect.

Then, in Rushworth, follows a declaration and remonstrance from Scotland with their resolutions and intentions, according to their solemn league and covenant, to establish the Presbyterian government in the church; to redeem His Majesty from the hands of schismatics, and to place him in his parliament with honour and safety; to procure the peace of the three kingdoms; to vindicate the worthy members of parliament falsely impeached by the army, with the true privileges of parliament and liberty of the subject. All which say they, are not only endangered, but by likelihood ready

to be destroyed by the power of an overruling tyrannical army under the conduct of Sir Thomas Fairfax.

August 17. The Commons resumed the debate of the declaration of the Lords against the proceedings of the House as acting under a force, which held very long; when at length the question was put, that it should be declared that what was then done was forced, and that sitting no free parliament; but it was carried in the negative by three voices.

On the 19th August a remonstrance to both Houses from the army, was received from Sir Thomas Fairfax against this resolution of the Commons, the principal object of which was, the purging the parliament by expelling such members as acted and voted in the time of the violence upon the House. The House of Commons had the remonstrance read, but came to no resolution. But on the following day, an ordinance passed both Houses declaring all votes, orders, and ordinances since the force on both Houses, null and void. And upon the report of the committee appointed to examine into the force upon the parliament, impeachments of high treason were ordered of several of the offenders.

The King, says Rushworth, had been several days at Oatlands where he had been much visited by citizens and others. That he had left Oatlands, and gone to Hampton Court, and afterwards to Sion House, and dined there with the Duke of York and the rest of the princes, and returned to Oatlands.

August 25. The propositions for peace passed both Houses and ordered to be communicated immediately to the Scots commissioners residing in England, and afterwards sent to His Majesty by commissioners from both Houses. They were the same as those sent to him at Newcastle. And the Scots commissioners concurring therein, they were forwarded to the commissioners with the King at Hampton Court, with instructions to receive his answer within six days.

It appearing from the report of the committee of inquiry into the late force upon the parliament that several of the impeached members had been concerned, summonses were directed to Mr.

Denzil Holles, Sir William Waller, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir John Maynard, Major-general Massey, Colonel Walter Long, Serjeant Glynn, and Mr. Anthony Nichols, members of the House, to attend the House; and Mr. Recorder Serjeant Glynn appearing, made his defence, when it appearing that he had been very active in the proceedings in London for a new war, and in encouraging the riotous petitioners and otherwise, he was by vote discharged from being longer a member of the House and committed to the Tower, there to remain during the pleasure of the Houses. Sir John Maynard, for a similar offence, was in like manner discharged from the House, and committed to the Tower, and directed to be impeached of high treason. The House also voted impeachments of high treason against James Earl of Suffolk, Francis Lord Willoughby of Parham, John Lord Hunsden, William Lord Maynard, Theobald Earl of Lincoln, George Lord Berkley and James Earl of Middlesex, for levying war against the King, parliament, and kingdom; who were impeached accordingly at the bar of the House of Lords.

September 8. This day, says Rushworth, Master Biddle's book against the Deity of the three persons in the Trinity was burned according to the order of parliament.

September 14. The King's answer to the parliament's propositions was read in both Houses. It continues his objections to many of them, and prefers the propositions of the army that had been presented to the parliament commissioners residing with the army, and which he had seen, as much more conducive to the satisfaction of all interests, and a fitter foundation for a lasting peace. He therefore proposes the Houses' consideration of these proposals of the army, upon which there might be a personal treaty with him, to which commissioners from the army might be admitted.

September 22. The Houses took into consideration this answer, and after much debate, determined it to be a flat denial. And on a subsequent day, after a long debate, they resolved to enter directly into the consideration of the settlement of the kingdom,

by establishing such additional laws as might make for the present and future good of the kingdom, turning the propositions into bills and acts.

September 24. The Commons this day further debated the propositions, and whether they should once more send the propositions to the King, and resolved that they would once more make application to him for his assent to such things in the propositions as they conceived would most make for the good of the kingdom. With which view it was voted that the propositions for taking away bishops, &c. with some alterations, and concerning declarations and proclamations against the parliament, should be forthwith drawn into bills and sent to His Majesty for his assent.

The Lords ordered the continuance of the allowance of eight hundred pounds per annum to Usher late Archbishop of Armagh, out of the lands of the bishopric of Durham, and sent it to the Commons for their concurrence; but they allowed him only one hundred pounds a quarter, until he should be otherwise provided for by some living or benefice.

Upon the most pressing solicitations of the army for the arrears of their pay, the Commons declared they should be paid out of the produce of the sale of the bishopric lands after the present engagements thereon should be satisfied.

November 1. A further paper of proposals was this day received from the agitators of the five regiments, and from those of four other regiments of horse and seven regiments of foot, joining with them. — The first article related to the regulation of elections of members of parliament; the second to limit the continuance of the then parliament; the third for biennial parliaments; the fourth declares the power of parliaments; another declaring that matters of religion and the ways of God's worship were not at all entrusted by them to any human power, because therein they could not admit or exceed a tittle of what their consciences dictated to be the mind of God, without wilful sin. Nevertheless that the public way of instructing the nation, so it were not compulsive, was referred to their (the parliament's) dis-

cretion. These things they declare to be their native rights, which they were resolved to maintain with their utmost possibilities.

Tuesday, November 2. The removing of the head-quarters of the army as was intended, was again waved for awhile, and the King continued at Hampton Court.

Tuesday, November 9. A letter of this date was read this day in the House of Commons from Sir Thomas Fairfax; that being very much troubled at the sad distractions of the kingdom for want of pay, and for such other necessary satisfaction as they had long waited for, and not taking much pleasure in saying whence the cause of all this trouble came, he would use his endeavour to give a timely and effectual remedy to so much thereof as was of nearest concernment to him, and had therefore thought fit to inform the House that by the advice of the general council of the army he had appointed a rendezvous very speedily, and that they had very unanimously offered to repair to their several charges, and improve to their utmost endeavours with the several regiments for the quieting them, and recovering the ancient discipline of the army; thereby to render it more serviceable to the parliament and kingdom. He then offers the particulars inclosed in the letter. Six weeks pay, if possible; if not, a month's pay, presently sent down to the army;—the arrears to be paid out of the remainder of bishops' lands, &c.;—the Houses to make provision for constant pay, and then they would make it death to take free quarter.

The Commons, upon debate of this business of monies for the army, ordered a sum of money to be advanced.

Thursday, November 11. (1647.) This night, says Rushworth, came the unexpected news of His Majesty's escape from Hampton Court. About nine of the clock the officers, who attended him, wondered he came not forth of his chamber to supper, where he had been writing most part of the night before, went in and missed him within half an hour after his departure. Posts were sent to all parts of the kingdom to discover and stay him. It was not known which way he went. And on the following day a letter was read in the House of Commons from Lieutenant-

general Cromwell, dated at twelve at night, directed to the Speaker, acquainting him of the King's withdrawing himself at nine the last night. The manner was variously reported; and, says Rushworth, we will say little of it at present, but that His Majesty was expected at supper, when the commissioners and Colonel Whalley missed him; whereupon they entered the room, and found he had left his cloak behind in the gallery in the private way. He passed by the back stairs and vault towards the water-side. He left some letters upon the table in his withdrawing room of his own hand-writing, whereof one was to the commissioners of parliament attending him, to be communicated to both Houses, assigning his reasons for the step he had taken. And on Monday, November 15. both Houses received letters from Colonel Hammond, governor of the Isle of Wight, informing of the King being with him.

Tuesday, November 16. This day both Houses received letters from Sir Thomas Fairfax, informing of the rendezvous of part of the army yesterday, in a field called Corkbush field, between Hertford and Ware, Hertford being the head-quarters; and notwithstanding the endeavours of Major Scott and others to animate the soldiers to stand to a paper called the Agreement of the People, they generally, by many acclamations, declared their affections and resolutions to adhere to the general; and as many as could in the short time allowed them, signed an agreement of their readiness to observe the orders of the general and council of the army. Some of the officers were committed for inciting the soldiers to mutiny; and some of the mutineers were tried and condemned to death, and one of them shot at the head of his regiment. A further rendezvous was appointed near Windsor, and at Kingston.

Both Houses had a conference upon the general's letters, and thanks were ordered him, and determined upon present pay of the army, and provision for the future. Also ordered 5000l. to be forthwith advanced for the King's present necessities and accommodation. Also ordered his household to be dissolved;

and referred to a committee to consider of proper persons to attend him.

Thursday, November 18. Letters from Colonel Hammond to both Houses respecting the King, in which he observes that the accommodations of the King were not suitable to his quality, and desiring better provision to be made.

Friday, November 19. Lieutenant-general Cromwell informed the House of the proceedings of the late rendezvous at Kingston, and how, by God's great mercy, and the endeavours of His Excellency and officers of the army, the army was in a very good condition and obedience to His Excellency and to the superior officers of the army, and submission to the authority of parliament; for which the House gave him their thanks.

The House ordered that Lieutenant-general Cromwell should be desired to declare to His Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax, that the House would be at all times ready to receive, and give such answer, as was fitting in a parliamentary way, to such humble addresses as should be made from the army to the Houses by His Excellency.

A letter was read from the King, proposing a personal treaty at London upon certain terms.

The King, in a letter to Sir Thomas Fairfax, acknowledges the kind liberty he had afforded him of the use of his chaplains.

December 20. The House resumed the consideration of the representation of the army, and agreed to the security desired for the soldiers' arrears.

Monday, January 3. The House of Commons, says Rushworth, sat very close, until late at night, upon debate of the King's last message; and the result was, that no satisfaction having been given as to the desire of parliament of passing the bills, which was required by the Houses previous to entering upon a treaty, and no inclination appearing in His Majesty for a composure in that way, but the offer barely of a personal treaty, it was put to the question — Whether any more addresses should be made to His Majesty? And the House resolved, That no

more addresses be made from the parliament to the King, nor any letters or messages be received from him: that it should be treason to deliver any message to the King, or receive any letter or message from him, without leave from both Houses of parliament: that the members of both Houses of the committees of both kingdoms have power to sit and act alone as formerly the committees of both kingdoms had done, for the safety of the kingdoms: that the Earl of Kent be added to this committee in the place of the Earl of Essex deceased, and Sir John Evelyn and Mr. Fiennes, in the place of Sir Philip Stapleton deceased, and of Mr. Glynn, then in the Tower: that a committee be nominated to draw up a declaration, to be published, to satisfy the kingdom of the reason of the passing these votes: lastly, That the concurrence of the Lords be desired to these votes, which was given.

Then follows a declaration of Sir Thomas Fairfax and the general council of the army, concluding: "Thus we account that great business of a settlement of the kingdom and security of the public interest, by and with the King's concurrence, to be brought to so clear a trial, as that upon the King's denial of those things, we can see no further hopes of settlement or security that way. And therefore understanding, that upon the consideration of that denial, added to so many other, the honourable House of Commons, by several votes upon Monday last, have resolved: Not to make any further address or application to the King, nor receive any from him, nor to suffer either in others; we do freely and unanimously declare, for ourselves and the army, that we are resolved, through the grace of God, firmly to adhere with and stand by the parliament in the things voted on Monday last concerning the King, and in what shall be further necessary for prosecution thereof, and for settling and securing the parliament and kingdom without the King and against him, or any other that shall hereafter partake with him.

Then follows, in Rushworth, the parliament's declaration, wherefore no further addresses should be made to the King, of considerable length, and going through all the transactions of the King's reign.

March 2. The custody of the Great Seal was committed, by order of the House, to the Earl of Kent, the Lord Grey of Werk, Sir Thomas Widdrington, recorder of the city of York, and Bulstrode Whitelock, Esq., for twelve months.

March 7. An ordinance was this day read in the House of Commons, and passed, settling part of the Earl of Worcester's estates upon Lieutenant-general Cromwell and his heirs, of the yearly value of 2500l., according to the votes long since past, in recompence of the great extraordinary services done by him to this kingdom, and to be sent to the Lords for their concurrence.

March 24. The Commons ordered 2000l. to be advanced for the repair of the public library of the University of Cambridge, for the countenancing, advancing, and maintaining of learning, out of the revenues of the deans and chapters. Also, 500l. for the purchase of books, in the original tongues, for the library of the same University.

April 21. (1648.) The House was informed of the escape of the Duke of York from St. James's, leaving there his brother and sister, the Duke of Gloucester and the Lady Elizabeth.

April 24. The House called over their members, when the number that sat in the House was three hundred and six. And determined, after much debate, that the government of the kingdom should still be by King, Lords, and Commons; and that the ground-work should be the propositions last presented to the King, at Hampton Court; and desired the Lords' concurrence.

May 1. Lieutenant-general Cromwell ordered, by the general and council of war at Windsor, to go to South Wales, with some regiments of horse and foot.

May 3. A paper was read in the House of Commons from Scotland, containing the desires or demands of its parliament: — that the King might come nearer to London: that a personal treaty might be had with him: that the independent schismatic army might be disbanded: suppression of anabaptists, separatists, and independents, and no toleration allowed them: the covenant to be enforced: the settlement and establishment of the presbyterial government. The Commons, after debating these particu-

lars, declared their resolution to preserve and maintain the covenant, and the treaties between England and Scotland; and their readiness to join with Scotland in the propositions agreed upon, and presented to the King at Hampton Court.

May 24. The Commons, after much debate, determined, That after the King should have signed the bills, to be tendered to him, for settling the militia and the presbyterian government, and recalled all his declarations, proclamations, &c., against the parliament, a treaty should be had with him upon the rest of the propositions, with the concurrence of Scotland; and ordered the discharge of all the accused members of both Houses.

July 15. Lieutenant-general Cromwell, by letters, informed the general and the committee at Derby House of the surrender to him of Pembroke Castle, and of his intention to march his army towards the north to join Major-general Lambert, to fight the Scots' army that had entered the kingdom. And then follows a letter from Duke Hamilton, the general of the Scots' forces, to Major-general Lambert, upon that occasion; that the Scots' parliament, upon consideration of the imminent danger to religion, His Majesty's sacred person and the peace of his kingdoms, from the prevailing power of sectaries and their adherents in England, did lately send to the parliament of England such demands as they conceived just and necessary; that the committee of the estates of the parliament of Scotland had commanded him (the Duke), and other noble personages joined with him, to prosecute their just desires, in pursuance of the ends of the covenant; according to the joint declarations of both kingdoms, for settling religion, liberating His Majesty from his base imprisonment, freeing the Houses from such constraints as had been by forces long upon them, disbanding of all the armies, and for the procurement of a settlement of a solid peace and firm union betwixt the kingdoms. And he (the Duke) expects that he (General Lambert) will not oppose their pious, loyal, and necessary undertaking, but rather join with them in the prosecution of their ends. To this the general answered by a denial of these charges, and informing

the Duke of his determination to oppose with all his power all invasions of the kingdom.

July 28. The House, after many and long debates, on several days, determined upon the question, whether the House would adhere to their first vote; namely, that the King should sign the three propositions before the treaty, by resolving in the negative: and the Commons thus concurring with the Lords for a personal treaty, they determined that it should be in the Isle of Wight, with the King, by commissioners of both Houses of Parliament, upon the Hampton-court propositions; in which the Lords concurred, and to which the King consented, and Newport was determined to be the place of treaty.

August 21. Intelligence came of Lieutenant-general Cromwell's defeat of the Scots' army, near Preston, in Lancashire, and the taking the Duke prisoner.

The names of the commissioners appointed by the parliament were the Earls of Northumberland, Salisbury, Pembroke, and Middlesex, and the Lord Say; Mr. Holles, the Lord Wenman, Mr. William Pierrepoint, Sir Henry Vane, jun. Sir Harbottle Grimston, Mr. Samuel Browne, Mr. Crew, Mr. Recorder Glynn, Sir John Potts, and Mr. Bulkeley.

Upon the arrival of the parliament commissioners in the Isle of Wight, the King caused a fast to be kept with the Lords, Bishops, and the rest of his household and attendants, for a blessing upon the treaty: the book of Common Prayer was read, with an additional prayer for His Majesty's special direction. After which he received the parliament commissioners, and appointed Monday morning, September 18. for the commencement of the treaty. It continued to Monday, Nov. 27. when it terminated unsuccessfully. Rushworth gives the proceedings at large.

Pending these proceedings in the treaty, the following transactions took place. Information came that all things had been agreed in Scotland, and all were to lay down their arms; Berwick and Carlisle to be delivered to Lieutenant-general Cromwell; a parliament to be called, and none that had been in the engagement against England to be of it.

The following letter was addressed to Cromwell by the Lord Chancellor of Scotland, by command of the committee of estates:—

"Sir; We have received your letter of the 21st instant (Sept.), from Northam, wherein you are pleased to acquaint us with your care to prevent for the future the disorder of some soldiers that came from England into this kingdom without your order; the resolution you have taken for the orderly entertainment of the remaining forces which are of your old regiments; for which, and the many civilities and respects you have showed to this kingdom, we do return you very hearty thanks. We have now agreed upon some articles with those forces at Stirling, which our commissioners are appointed to communicate to you. It has been our chief study therein, carefully to avoid every thing which might import an accession to the guilt of the late engagement, and to avoid every thing which might give any ground of jealousy to the kingdom of England. Orders are given for disbanding all the Scottish forces on the garrisons of Berwick and Carlisle, and delivering the towns for the use of the parliament of England, as you will be acquainted by our commissioners. As we have reason to acknowledge the great mercy of God in the many seasonable deliverances of both kingdoms, so we are sensible of the advantage that hath come unto us by the near distance of your forces at this time, when the common enemy was ready to have multiplied the troubles of both kingdoms; whereof we shall always study to be mindful, and to contribute our utmost endeavours, upon all occasions, for the preservation of the union, and continuing a happy correspondence between the kingdoms. In which firm resolution we rest, Sir, your humble servant,

"Loudon, Cr."

This letter is addressed to the Honourable Lieutenant-general Oliver Cromwell, commander-in-chief of the forces of the parliament, upon the Borders, and is dated September 28. 1648.

Letters from Lieutenant-general Cromwell's head-quarters, upon the army's march out of Scotland, informing of his arrival at Edinburgh, and his honourable reception there.

October 18. Information came from the general, become (by the death of his father) Lord Fairfax, of the proceedings of the army, and of petitions promoting amongst the soldiers, respecting their arrears of pay and other grievances; and in which, amongst other of their desires, they desire speedy justice upon all criminal persons, and especially upon such who had or should endeavour to obstruct the course thereof, or had betrayed their trust; or been authors of shedding that innocent blood which called to Heaven for vengeance; and that the same fault might have the same punishment in the person of King or lord, as in the poorest commoner; and that a petition had been presented to the General from Colonel Ingoldstry's regiment, desiring that, for the reasons contained therein, justice be done upon the principal invaders of the people's liberties, namely the King and his party.

November 20. Was presented to the House of Commons the large remonstrance of the army, accompanied by a letter from Lord Fairfax, requesting the House's immediate attention to it. They (the army) conceive the parliament to have abundant cause to lay aside all further proceedings in the treaty, and to return to their votes of non-addresses, and settle with or against the King, that he might come no more to government; and that they should proceed against the King in a way of justice; to fix a peremptory day for the Prince of Wales and Duke of York to render themselves, or to be declared incapable of government, or any right in England, and to stand exiled for ever as traitors. Then follow several articles for terminating the then present parliament, and for the future calling of annual or biennial parliaments, and regulating the election of members, and the powers of the parliament; and that no King should be thereafter admitted, but upon the election of, and as upon trust from the people, by their representatives.

November 27. The House being informed, by a letter from Colonel Hammond, that the general had required him to attend him (the general) at the head-quarters, and that Colonel Ewers was appointed to take the care of the King in the Isle of Wight, they, upon debate, ordered the continuance of Colonel Hammond's

attendance upon his charge. Nevertheless, the House was soon afterwards informed, that Colonel Ewers had the custody of His Majesty, and that Colonel Hammond was on his way to the head-quarters at Windsor; and a letter came from Colonel Hammond, from Farnham Castle, with a copy of the order from the general council of the army; and their letter to Colonel Ewers and others, for securing His Majesty's person in the Isle of Wight. The House ordered Lord Fairfax to be informed that these proceedings were contrary to their instructions given to Colonel Hammond, and directed him to recall those orders, and Colonel Hammond to return to his charge.

November 30. The House, after much debate, determined not to take into speedy consideration the remonstrance of the army.

At the head-quarters, a declaration was agreed on in full council, in further prosecution of the ends of the above remonstrance, and to declare the army's resolution to march to London, and the reasons of that determination. Lord Fairfax also by letter informed the lord mayor, and common council of London, of this intention, and requires them to be ready to raise 40,000*l.* to pay the army.

The King was about this time removed by the army's order, from the Isle of Wight to Hurst Castle. It appears from the narrative of this transaction, that the King had an opportunity to escape, but refused to make the attempt, saying, "That they, meaning the parliament, had promised him, and he had promised them." He also urged the difficulty, if not impossibility, of accomplishing it, and the consequence, should he miscarry,—his exasperating the army, and the disheartening his friends. "Nay," says he, "what if the army should seize me? they must preserve me for their own sakes; for no party can secure their own interest without joining me with it." To which the Earl of Lindsay replied, "Take heed, Sir, lest you fall into such hands as will not steer by such rules of policy. Remember Hampton-court, where your escape was your best security.

December 2. The General, with several regiments of horse and

foot, marched to London, and took up their quarters in Whitehall, St. James's, and other places.

December 5. Upon debate of the King's concessions in the treaty of the Isle of Wight, which continued the whole day and night, it was voted, that His Majesty's concessions to the propositions of the parliament were sufficient grounds for settling the peace of the kingdom, and appointed a committee to confer with the General and the officers of his army, for a continuance of a good correspondency between the parliament and the army.

December 6. Colonel Rich's regiment of horse, and Colonel Pride's foot, was a guard to the parliament, and the city trained bands discharged; and several members were seized and kept in custody, by the special order of the general and council of the army; of which the House, then sitting, being informed, they ordered the serjeant-at-arms to go to the seized members, then under a guard in the Queen's-court and court of wards, and to require their immediate attendance in the House. The serjeant, upon his return, informed the House, that the captain of the guard had orders to secure them, which he was to obey before any other command, and therefore could not release them: a committee was thereupon ordered to attend the general and council of the army, to enquire the cause of this restraint of their members. And, on the same day, Colonel Whalley, with other officers of the army, presented to the House the proposals and desires of the army, as the ground of this day's proceeding, desiring that it might be taken into speedy consideration; and the House ordered a committee to treat with the general and council of war for the discharge of their members. The above proposals and desires, complain of the re-admission to the House of the accused members, by whose means the Scots were the last summer brought into England; they, the army, desire the exclusion of certain members to the number of ninety; and that the House, being thus cleared of the offending members, will take order for the execution of justice, set a short period to their own power, and provide for a speedy succession of equal representatives. The

names of the members seized are given in Rushworth, in number forty-one.

December 7. Lieutenant-general Cromwell came the last night to town, and sat this day in the House. The House considered of the great and faithful services performed by him to the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, and ordered their hearty thanks, which were accordingly given by the Speaker.

The army, by the general's order, secured the treasuries at Weavers', Haberdashers', and Goldsmiths'-halls, for the payment of the army.

December 12. The House debated the last propositions and desires of the army, and voted, that the vote of the 3d January, 1647, for revoking the order of the 9th September, for disabling the eleven members to be members of the House, was of dangerous consequence, and tended to the destruction of the justice and peace of the kingdom, and was thereby repealed: that the vote of the 30th June, 1648, whereby the House did concur with the Lords, that for the opening a way for a treaty with His Majesty for a safe and well-grounded peace (the votes of the 3d January, 1647, forbidding all addresses to or from the King) should be taken off, was highly dishonourable to the proceedings of parliament, and apparently destructive to the good of the kingdom. And on the following day came to the following resolutions: — To make no further addresses or applications to the King; or to receive any message from him: and that the vote for the revocation of those votes was highly dishonourable to the proceedings of parliament, and apparently destructive of the good of the kingdom.

December 18. Sixteen of the members secured by the army were liberated by the general's order, and allowed to return to the House.

December 23. The House had much debate about bringing the great delinquents to punishment, and ordered a committee to consider of preparing a charge, and for that purpose to receive informations and examinations of witnesses for the matter of fact

against the King, and all other delinquents that might be deemed proper objects of punishment.

December 28. The above committee reported an ordinance for attainting the King of high treason, and for trying him by commissioners to be therein named; which was read the first time, and the next day the second time and committed: and the commissioners were then appointed, consisting of Lords, Commoners, officers of the army, aldermen, and other commanders of the city, with some gentlemen from different counties, in number 150. And to confirm the present trial and foundation of their proceedings, and for prevention of the like for the future, they declared and adjudged, — That, by the fundamental laws of the realm, it was treason in the King of England, for the time to come, to levy war against the parliament and kingdom of England.

January 2. The above ordinance was sent to the Lords for their concurrence, who, upon reading it, hesitated much upon the above declaration, in which their concurrence had been desired. They finally agreed to send their answer to the Commons by messengers of their own, and then adjourned to the Thursday sevennight. Whereupon the Commons finding that the Lords had rejected their ordinance, appointed some of their members to examine the Lords' journal-book, who brought from thence three votes; — To send answer by messengers of their own; that they did not concur in the declaration; and rejected the ordinance for the trial of the King. The Commons then voted that all members of the House of Commons, and all others appointed to act by order of that House, or ordinance of both Houses of parliament in any ordinance wherein the Lords were joined, be empowered and enjoined to sit, act, and execute in the several committees, of themselves, notwithstanding the House of Peers joined not with them therein. And they ordered the ordinance and declaration to be in the name of the Commons only.

January 4. — The ordinance was read the third time and passed; the House first coming to the following resolutions: —

That the Commons of England assembled in parliament do declare, that the people, under God, are the originals of all just power: — That they, the Commons, being chosen by and representing the people, have the supreme authority of this nation: And that whatsoever is enacted and declared law by the Commons of England in parliament assembled, hath the force of law, and all the people of this nation are included thereby, although the consent and concurrence of the King and House of Peers be not had thereunto. The ordinance follows verbatim in Rushworth.

The Commons ordered the breaking to pieces of the then present great seal of England, and a new one to be made; the arms of England, the harp and the arms of Ireland, to be engraven on one side of the seal; and the inscription on that side of the seal to be " The Great Seal of England;" and the inscription on the other side, whereon the sculpture or map of the parliament was to be engraven, to be — " In the first year of freedom, by God's blessing restored."

Proclamation was made throughout London, by order of the General Lord Fairfax, by order of parliament, for all delinquents and papists, and all persons who had engaged for the King in the war, to depart ten miles from London.

January 10. — The commissioners for trial of the King met this afternoon in the painted chamber, and appointed Serjeant Bradshaw to be president of the court, Mr. Steel attorney-general, Mr. Cooke solicitor, who, with Dr. Dorislaus and Mr. Ashe, to draw up and manage the charge against the King. The place of trial was agreed to be Westminster Hall. On the 20th of the same January the High Court of Justice sat, and the act constituting the court having been read, the court was called. Amongst the commissioners present were, Serjeant Bradshaw the lord president, Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, Sir Hardress Waller, Thomas Lord Grey of Grooby, William Lord Mounson, Sir John Danvers, Sir John Bourchier, and Edmund Ludlow.

The charge is of high treason against the King, by the name of Charles Stuart, for levying war against the parliament, and the

people therein represented. The trial was in Westminster Hall. About sixty members were present. Rushworth gives the proceedings at length. The King, upon the charge having been read, demanded of the Lord President by what lawful authority he was brought thither: being answered "In the name of the Commons of England," — he replied, He saw no Lords there, which should make a parliament, including the King; and urged that the kingdom of England was hereditary, and that he should betray his trust if he acknowledged or answered to them; for that he was not convinced they were a lawful authority. Upon his continuing to refuse answering, he was remanded to Sir Robert Cotton's house, and afterwards removed back to St. James's, where he continued that night, and the court adjourned till Monday morning at ten o'clock.

The House, upon the report of a late conference between the King and Mr. Peters, that the King earnestly desired for his better satisfaction of some scruples of conscience, he might have one of his own chaplains admitted to him, ordered that Dr. Juxon, the late Bishop of London, should be admitted to attend him.

January 22. — The commissioners for Scotland delivered to the House a declaration from the parliament of Scotland, complaining of the proceeding to the trial of the King, declaring that Scotland had an undoubted interest in the person of the King, who was not, they say, delivered to the English commissioners at Newcastle for the ruin of his person, but for a more speedy settlement of the peace of his kingdoms. And that the then present way of proceeding against him left a deep impression on them, and sat heavy on all their spirits, in the apprehension of the great miseries that were likely to ensue to these kingdoms. They requested the permission of the House to make their personal addresses to the King.

The House referred the whole to a committee to prepare an answer to the parliament of Scotland.

The court again sat, and the King appeared, who persisting in his denial of the court's authority, was silenced by the president, and the court adjourned till the next day.

Tuesday, January 23. — The court sat when seventy-three members were present: the solicitor, Mr. Cooke, moved for judgment; whereupon the president addressed the King: — "Sir; In plain terms, for justice knows no respect of persons, you are to give your positive and final answer in plain English, whether you be guilty or not guilty of these treasons laid to your charge." The King, after a short pause, said, "When I was here yesterday, I did desire to speak for the liberties of the people of England; I was interrupted. I desire to know yet, whether I may speak freely or no?" The President, in answer, said, "Sir, If you answer your charge, which the court gives you leave now to do, though they might have taken the advantage of your contempt; yet if you be able to answer to your charge, when you have once answered, you shall be heard at large: make the best defence you can." The King, persisting in his denial of the authority of the court, was remanded to Sir Robert Cotton's house, and the court adjourned till the next day.

The court did not sit again for some days, having been engaged in hearing witnesses in support of the charge, who were to give their evidence *vivâ voce*, if the King should plead.

January 27. — The court sat again; sixty-seven members present, when the sentence was passed. It was executed on the 30th. The King, addressing himself to the gentlemen on the scaffold, made the speech given at length in Rushworth and other writers.

The body was put into a coffin covered with black velvet, and removed to his lodging chamber in Whitehall, and being embalmed and laid in a coffin of lead, to be seen for some days, it was, on Wednesday, the 17th of February, delivered to four of his servants, Herbert, Mildmay, Preston, and Joyner, who, with some others, in mourning equipage, attended the hearse that night to Windsor, and placed it in the room which was formerly the King's bedchamber. On the next day it was removed into the Dean's-hall, which was hung with black and made dark, and lights were set burning round the hearse. About three in the afternoon, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hartford, the Earls of Southampton and Lindsey, and the Bishop of London, came thither

with two votes passed that morning, whereby the ordering of the King's funeral was committed to the Duke, provided the expenses thereof exceeded not five hundred pounds. This order they showed to Colonel Whichcot, the governor of the castle, desiring the interment might be in St. George's chapel.

Then follows an act of the Commons, prohibiting the proclaiming or declaring king, the Prince of Wales, or any other person, without consent of parliament, under the penalty of the guilt of high treason.

Rushworth gives at length the King's declaration of his reasons for refusing to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the High Court of Justice, which he intended to have delivered in court, but was forbidden by the court.

## CHAPTER VII.

*High Court of Justice. — House of Lords abolished. — Kingly government abolished. — Trial and conviction and execution of Duke Hamilton, Lord Capel, &c. — King Charles II. proclaimed king of Scotland, and afterwards crowned. — Appointment of Council of State. — Declaration respecting religion and settlement of the church. — The Earl of Pembroke, &c. elected members of the House of Commons. — New coin. — Commonwealth government settled. — Cromwell appointed lord-lieutenant and commander of the forces of Ireland — Also to command the army against Scotland — His victory at Dunbar. — Law records, &c. to be in English. — Cromwell's victory at Worcester. — Ircton's death. — Union with Scotland. — Cromwell appointed commander-in-chief of all the forces. — Navigation act. — Dissolution of Long parliament. — Instrument of government delivered to new parliament. — Trial and execution of the Portuguese ambassador's brother. — New parliament terminated. — Cromwell appointed Lord Protector under new form of government. — Peace with Holland and Denmark. — Meeting of parliament. — Dissolution. — Capture of Jamaica. — Death and funeral of Archbishop Usher. — Spanish war. — Petition and advice to Cromwell. — Refuses the title of King.*

The House of Commons appear in the journals, and by Whitelock, to have sat on the 30th of January, both morning and afternoon; and so onwards without material intermission.

January 30, *post meridiem.* An act was passed, prohibiting the proclaiming any person to be king of England or Ireland, or the dominions thereof.

February 1. An act passed, that such members as had voted 5th December, then last, "that the late King's concessions to the propositions were a sufficient ground for settling a peace in this nation," should not be re-admitted to sit as members of this parliament: and that such members as were then in the House, and gave their votes in the negative, should enter their dissent to the said vote, and such as were absent, should declare their disapprobation thereof, before they be admitted to sit as members. Many members declared their dissent to that vote.

February 2. Divers members of the parliament, of the army, of the city, and private gentlemen, to the number of

sixty, whereof fifteen to be of the quorum, were, by act, made a High Court of Justice for the trial of Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, and others.

February 6. Debate till six o'clock at night whether the House of Commons should take the advice of the House of Lords in the exercise of the legislative power. The question passed in the negative. The journals give the numbers — for the question 29, against it 44. And by a subsequent resolution, it was determined, that the House of Peers was useless and dangerous, and ought to be abolished, and an act was directed for that purpose. Whitelock says, the debate was long and smart.

An answer was agreed to the Dutch ambassadors, returning thanks to the states, for their desire of continuing amity with this kingdom, professing their desire of the like, and care to continue the same. They thanked them also for their grave advice concerning the King; and let them understand, that the Commons of England had proceeded according to the laws of the land in what they had done; and that as they left all other nations and kingdoms to move according to their rights and laws, so they hoped none would think ill, if they should act according to those of England. — And that they should be always ready to show themselves friends to the United Provinces.

February 7. A long and quick debate, whether the government by Kings should be abolished; and resolved, — That it had been found by experience, and the House did declare, that the office of King in this nation, and to have the power thereof in any single person, was unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and public interest of the people of this nation: and therefore ought to be abolished. And that an act be brought in to that purpose. And a council of state of forty members created, to act according to instructions to be given by the House.

Whitelock states that Sir Thomas Widdrington and himself, being appointed commissioners of the new great seal: Widdrington declined, having some scruples against acting under the new authority. Whitelock gives his reasons for accepting the office

which he says he had considered with all seriousness. Mr. John L'Isle and Mr. Serjeant Keeble were appointed the two other commissioners, and two of the three, of the quorum; and their appointment was determined to be, *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, and to be stiled Lords Commissioners.

The clerk of the House from thenceforth to subscribe its proceedings by the name of *Clericus Parliamenti.*

February. Letters from Edinburgh, that Prince Charles was proclaimed King of Scotland, by consent of its parliament.

Journals, February 14. Vote for the following persons to be the council of state. The Earls of Denbigh, Mulgrave, Pembroke, Salisbury, Lords Grey of Werke, Fairfax, Grey of Grooby, Lord L'Isle, and Rolle, Sir John Wylde, Bradshaw, Cromwell, Skippon, Pickering, Massam, Haslerigg, Sir James Harrington, Vane, Jun., Danvers, Armine, Mildmay, Constable, Pennington, Wilson, Whitelock, Martin, Ludlow, Stapeley, Heveringham, Wallop, Hutchinson, Bond, Al Popham, Valentine, Wauton, Scot, Purefoy, Jones, and John L'Isle. Their powers were, To command and settle the militia of England and Ireland; to set forth a navy; to appoint magazines and stores, and to dispose them, &c.; to sit, and execute their powers for a year. Two seals ordered them, engraven with the arms of England and Ireland, and this inscription, " The committee of estates appointed by parliament."

Journals, February 19. Report by Lieutenant-general Cromwell from the committee of estates, that according to the order of the House, nineteen of the committee had subscribed for approving the King's execution; but that twenty-two had refused. Whitelock scrupled approving the proceedings of the High Court of Justice, because he was not privy to them, nor did he know what they were in particular. The General (Fairfax) desired to be spared for what was passed, as to subscribing; but he, and the rest of the refusers, affirmed, that for the future, if the parliament thought them worthy to be employed, they would join with them and faithfully serve them. Not but that they confessed the Commons in parliament to be the supreme power of the nation, and

that they would live and die with them in what they should do for the future. But that they could not confirm what they had done, in relation to the King and Lords. This report was committed.

February 20. The Earl of Warwick was removed from his command of Lord High Admiral, and the command of the fleet vested in the commissioners of the navy.

February 22. An expedient assented to, for the members of the council of state, that they should subscribe the test, to approve of what should be done by the Commons in parliament, the supreme authority of the nation, but nothing of confirming what was past.

Many members having absented themselves till the late storms were over, the House ordered that none who had been absent since 31st December last, except military officers, should be re-admitted till further order.

An act passed, intituled " An Act for the abolishing the Kingly Office in England and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging." Also, " An Act for abolishing the House of Lords." Nevertheless such Lords as had demeaned themselves with honour, courage, and fidelity to the commonwealth, or their posterities not to be excluded from the public councils of the nation, but to be admitted thereto, and have their free vote in parliament, if thereunto elected as other members.

The instructions from the Scots commissioners to their new King were, says Whitelock, That he should take the covenant; to put from him all who had assisted his father in the war, particularly Montross; else not to treat with him: to bring but one hundred persons with him into Scotland, and none who had assisted his father in arms. To bring no forces into Scotland from other nations, without their consent.

March 28. (1649.) Order of the Commons that no ministers should teach in their pulpits any thing relating to state affairs; but only to preach Christ in sincerity.

March 30. Lieutenant-general Cromwell, having accepted the service for Ireland, the House approved of the choice of him to be

commander-in-chief of all the forces sent into Ireland. And (to take off any reflection upon the General (Fairfax), or dislike by him) it was also voted, — That the Lord Fairfax be general of all the forces of the parliament, both in England and Ireland.

April 3. Order for a declaration about matters of religion and settling of the church: — That tithes should not be taken away till another maintenance be provided for the minister, as large and as honourable as by tithes: that as soon as such a way could be provided, tithes should be then taken off: that the government to be established in England should be the presbyterian government: that a way should be provided for admission of all such churches as tended to godliness, and to advance the kingdom of Jesus Christ, to be free without disturbance.

April 16. Upon the death of Sir Francis Pile, member for Berkshire, a writ was issued for a new election, and the sheriff returned the Earl of Pembroke, with all his titles, which the House approved, and admitted the Earl, and received him, attended by many eminent members, with great respect.

April 20. "An Act for the abolishing of Deans, Deans and Chapters, Canons, Prebends, and other Offices and Titles belonging to any Cathedral or Collegiate Church or Chapel within England and Wales; and for vesting their Estates in Trustees for Sale:" the produce whereof to be applied to the purposes therein specified.

The care of the King's children was committed to Sir Edward Harrington, with an allowance of three thousand pounds per annum for their maintenance.

The forms of the new coin were agreed to be — on the one side, the arms of England, and a laurel and a palm on each side, with this inscription: "The Commonwealth of England;" — on the other side, The arms of England and Ireland, with this inscription: "God with us." And Thomas Symon appointed engraver to the mints and seals.

The Lord Howard chosen and admitted burgess for Carlisle.

Journals, April 25. Commissary-General Ireton reports, from the committee touching delinquents, some heads preparatory to

an act of oblivion: when it was resolved that an act of oblivion be brought in; and the question being put, that the time of its commencement be, before the first day of the then term, it was carried by 25 to 22: Ireton and Colonel Rich, tellers for the yeas. An order to discharge from sequestration the Lady Capel's jointure. Also an Act appointing Mr. Scobel clerk of the parliament.

May 19. The Act for constituting the people of England to be a commonwealth and free state, was this day read the third time, and passed.

Sir Edward Harrington having declined the charge of the late King's children, the Duke of Gloucester and the Lady Elizabeth, they were placed under the tuition of the Countess of Carlisle with the same allowance of three thousand pounds per annum.

May 26. Upon Lieutenant-general Cromwell's desire, referred to a committee to take his accounts of his expedition into Wales and Scotland, and give him discharges; which were thereupon approved and discharged.

June 15. Upon a report from the council of state, the House approved of Commissary-general Ireton to go into Ireland, next commander-in-chief to Lieutenant-general Cromwell.

July 30. Mr. Whitelock was appointed keeper of the library at St. James's, to take the care of the books, medals, &c. therein, which were deemed very choice and rare.

Letters from Cromwell to the House, going for Ireland, offering for their consideration the removal of penal statutes that inforced the consciences of honest conscientious men.

September 29. Came a letter from Cromwell, dated 16th September, to the Speaker of the House, informing of his taking Drogheda by storm, after a stout resistance. He says, that having the day before summoned the place to surrender, and they having refused, quarter was refused; and he believed the whole garrison was put to the sword. That since, the enemy had quitted Trim and Dundalk. That the enemy was filled with much terror, and, says Cromwell, "truly I believe this bitterness will save much effusion of blood through the goodness of God."

He adds, " I wish that all honest hearts may give the glory to God alone, to whom indeed, the praise of this mercy belongs; for instruments, they were very inconsiderable in the work throughout." Public thanksgivings were given.

January 12. The parliament ordered a letter to be written by the Speaker to Lieutenant-general Cromwell, and to confer with him concerning further supplies of men, money, and ammunition, and for the settling of the civil government in Ireland. The ground of this resolution was, adds Whitelock, that the news of the King's coming to Scotland, became more probable than formerly; and the Scots proceedings in the raising of new forces, gave an alarm to the parliament: and some of their members who had discoursed with the Lord General (Fairfax) on those matters, and argued how requisite it would be to send an army into Scotland, to divert the war from England, found the general wholly averse to any such thing; and by the means of his lady, a strict presbyterian, to be more a friend to the Scots, than they: — that therefore, they thought this a fit time to send for the Lord-lieutenant of Ireland (Cromwell) and the rather, his army being now drawn into winter quarters.

January 23. The Earl of Pembroke died: his son, who was a member of the House of Commons before, continued to sit in the House.

January 25. Ordered, That the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal do take care that writs be issued, and sent into every county to the several sheriffs, to proclaim the act touching the engagements. This course, observes Whitelock, of proclaiming new acts of parliament was very ancient, and constantly used, especially in elder times, as appears in the records; but of late disused. It was thought fit to have it revived, that the people might be informed what acts were passed; which they were not so fully apprised of, by the printing, as by proclaiming them at their markets.

February 11. Appointment of a council of state for the ensuing year, to consist of forty-one members.

The number of the members then in the House was reported to be 108.

Whitelock observes, that by this good government of the army in Ireland, and the great success of it, and the well-ordering of the civil affairs of that kingdom, Cromwell got a very great interest, not only in the officers of the army, but likewise in the parliament and council of state, and with their whole party; only the Scots and presbyterians were no favourers of him or his proceedings. That the juncto of the council of state, with whom Cromwell consulted, having intelligence of the King's resolution for Scotland, and of the laws there made of forces to assist him in his intended invasion of England, whereof they had more than ordinary assurance, they thought it not prudent to be behind-hand with their enemy, nor to be put to an after-game, to stay till they should first invade England, but rather to carry the war from their native country into Scotland. As to the objection that their invading Scotland would be contrary to the covenant, they were satisfied that it had been broken by the Scots and dissolved before, and was not then binding betwixt the two nations; and the levying of forces in Scotland, and marching some of them to the borders of England, with the hostile acts done by them formerly, were sufficient grounds for the parliament to provide for the security of themselves and countrymen; the which could not be so effectually done, as by carrying the war, which they designed upon us, unto their own doors. Upon these and many other weighty considerations, it was resolved, — That having a formed army, well provided and experienced, they would march it forthwith into Scotland, to prevent the Scots marching into England, and the miseries accompanying their forces to our countrymen: that the Lord Fairfax, being advised with therein, seemed at first to like well of it; but afterwards, being hourly persuaded by the presbyterian ministers and his own lady, who was a great patroness of them, he declared himself unsatisfied that there was a just ground for the parliament of England to send their army to invade Scotland; but that in case the Scots should invade England, then he was forward to engage against them in

defence of his own country: that the council of state, somewhat troubled at these scruples, appointed Cromwell, Lambert, Harrison, St. John, and Whitelock, a committee to confer thereon with Lord Fairfax, and to endeavour to satisfy him of the justice and lawfulness of this undertaking: that the committee met with him, and being shut up together in a room in Whitehall, they went first to prayer that God would direct them in this business, and Cromwell began, and most of the committee prayed, after which they discoursed with the general thereon. Various reasons were assigned by the different members of the committee to satisfy him of the Scots' intention to invade England, and of the necessity therefore of being before-hand, and carrying the war into their country. He acknowledged that which had been said carried much weight and reason with it: but not satisfying him, he desired to lay down his commission. Much other discourse, says Whitelock, passed between His Lordship and the committee, to the fore-mentioned purpose of satisfying him that the Scots had invaded England since the national covenant, and contrary to it; and that their then proceedings and preparations for war were intended against England, on behalf of their King, and for his restoration; and none of the committee so earnest to persuade the general to continue his commission as Cromwell and the soldiers. Yet, says he, there was cause enough to believe that they did not overmuch desire it; that the House, being informed of this resolution of Lord Fairfax to lay down his commission, new endeavours were used to persuade him to continue his command, but in vain; he therefore laid it down. And an act passed repealing the ordinance and act whereby His Lordship was appointed commander-in-chief of all the forces of the parliament. And this being of so great consequence, and admitting of no delay, it not being safe for the army to be without a head, Cromwell was presently, by contrivance, says Whitelock, named general and commander-in-chief of all the parliament forces, which was voted *nemine contradicente*; and an act passed accordingly. Great ceremonies and congratulations were made to

him from all sorts of people, and he went on roundly with his business.

July 1. Information, that the King landed in Scotland 16th June; but so privately, that it was not known till the 24th: That the Scots had levied ten thousand foot and twenty-seven troops of horse, besides their old army, and had resolved to invade England, if England did not first invade them.

July 2. Colonel Ludlow was appointed a commissioner for the affairs of Ireland, and lieutenant-general of the horse there, upon the death of General Jones. He was appointed at the instance of Cromwell. Ludlow, a few pages before, in his memoirs, expresses himself suspicious of Cromwell's sincerity, in his persuasions of Fairfax to go to Scotland. There is as much reason to suspect Ludlow's sincerity in, for some time, declining to accept this office, alleging his supposed unfitness for the employ, and inconvenience to his private concerns; all which, he says, were real and unfeigned.

September 7. Accounts from Cromwell of defeating the Scots' army at Dunbar, on the 3d of this month: the Scots' army in number 27,000; the English, by sickness and otherwise, having been reduced to 12,000: and of the English army having taken possession of Edinburgh and besieging the castle.

The Lady Elizabeth, the late King's daughter, dying in the Isle of Wight, — in the journals, the 11th September, referred to the committee of revenue to consider of, and give order for, her interment there, and for providing mourning for her brother Henry, and his and her servants.

Journals, October 5. Ordered, That all the books of the law be put into English; and that all writs, process, and return thereof, and all patents, commissions, indictments, judgments, records, and all rules and proceedings in courts of justice, be in the English language only, and not in Latin or French, or any other language; and that the same be writ in an ordinary legible hand, and not in any court-hand: and referred to a committee to draw up an act upon this vote: and to the same committee to consider

of the judges' salaries and fees, and those of other officers; and to consider of delays and unnecessary charges in law-proceedings; and to present a bill to the House for redress thereof. This act, for putting the laws into English, afterwards passed.

October 31. Information from Scotland, that the 1st of January then next was appointed for the coronation of the King; and that, in the mean time, two fasts were to be held, one for the sins of the King and his family, the other for the sins of the kirk and state. And further letters in December, that Edinburgh castle had surrendered: the goods therein were of great value, but by the articles, the owners had liberty to take them away. Also, of the crowning of the King at Schone in Scotland; and that he had signed the covenant. And that the King was appointed captain-general of the Scots' army, and Duke Hamilton was to be lieutenant-general, David Lesley to be major-general, and Middleton lieutenant-general of the horse, and Massey to be major-general of the English.

May 27. (1651.) The parliament, continues Whitelock, sent a message to the general, Cromwell, to desire him to retire for his health to some convenient place in England, for the fresh air, and to entrust the army, in the meantime, in such hands as he should think fit. The general being sick of an ague, the officers of the army provided to march without him; and they ordered two physicians, Dr. Wright and Dr. Bates to go into Scotland to attend him, and to take care of his health, they being his usual physicians in London; and on the 9th came letters from the general, of his recovery.

August 11. Letters from Cromwell, of the Scots' army's march for England, and his following them; and shows the reasons for not interposing between them and England.

September 4. Information of the defeat, on the preceding day, of the Scot's army before Worcester. The word was, "The Lord of Hosts," the same signal as at Dunbar, on that day twelvemonths. Cromwell, in his letter to the parliament, says, the battle was fought with various success for some hours, and in the end became an absolute victory. He says, there were about six or

seven thousand prisoners taken, and many officers and noblemen of quality: that it was a stiff business; yet he did not think his army had lost more than two hundred men.

December 8. Letters from Ireland, of the death of the Lord Deputy Ireton, on the 26th of November, and appointment of Lieutenant-general Ludlow to the command of the forces, till the pleasure of the parliament should be known. The body was to be taken to England.

Upon the return of some of the commissioners, appointed to negotiate a union with Scotland, the parliament ordered an act to be brought in, to incorporate Scotland one commonwealth with England.

June 16. Journals, and quoted by Whitelock. Vote, That the act of parliament, constituting Oliver Cromwell, Esq. captain-general and commander-in-chief of the armies and forces raised and to be raised, by their authority, within England, did and should extend to the forces in Ireland, as if Ireland had been therein particularly named. That the Lord General should be required to appoint such person, as he should think fit, to command the forces in Ireland, and to commissionate him accordingly.

The parliament, says Whitelock, were very busy in debate of several acts of parliament under consideration; but very little was brought to effect: the soldiers grumbled at their delays; and there began to be ill blood between them: the general and his officers pressed the putting a period to their sitting, which they promised to do; but were slow in that business: that the preparations for the navy, and the war at sea with the Dutch, went on with great vigour; and the parliament were quick in it, and referred it to the council of state to take care of it: and they were diligent in their business, and cautious to have money in readiness for it, and to settle amities with foreign princes, and such correspondences that there might be the less assistance to their enemies, or joining with them.

Lord Clarendon observes, about this time, that the treaty with the Dutch failing, the parliament made the Navigation Act. — Inhibiting all foreign ships from bringing any merchandise or com-

modities into England, but such as were the proceed or growth of their own country, upon the penalty of forfeiture of all such ships. This indeed, says His Lordship, concerned all other countries; but it did totally suppress all trade with Holland, which had very little merchandise of the growth of their own country, but had used to bring in their ships the growth of all other kingdoms in the world:—that the Dutch were highly displeased, and said they could not look upon it otherwise than as a declaration of war:—that the parliament answered him superciliously, that his (the ambassador's) masters might take it in what manner they pleased; but that they knew what was best for their own estate, and would not repeal laws to gratify their neighbours; and caused the acts to be executed with the utmost rigour and severity.

April 20. That, yesterday, says Whitelock, there having been a great meeting, at Cromwell's lodgings in Whitehall, of parliament men and several officers of the army, sent to by Cromwell to be there, and a large discourse and debate having been amongst them, touching some expedient to be found out for the present carrying on of the government of the commonwealth, and putting a period to this present parliament; it was offered by divers as a most dangerous thing to dissolve the present parliament, and to set up any other government; and that it would be neither warrantable in conscience or wisdom so to do; yet none of them expressed themselves so freely to that purpose as Sir Thomas Widdrington and Whitelock then did. Of the other opinion, as to putting a period forthwith to this parliament, St. John was one of the chief, and many more with him, and generally all the officers of the army, who stuck close in this likewise to their general. And the better to make way for themselves and their ambitious design of advancement to the civil government as well as they were in the military power; they and their party declared their opinions that it was necessary the same should be done one way or other, and the members of parliament not permitted to prolong their own power: at which expression Cromwell seemed to reprove some of them; and this conference lasted till late at night, when Widdrington and Whitelock went home weary, and troubled to

see the indiscretion and ingratitude of those men, and the way they designed to ruin themselves. That therefore these came early again this morning according to appointment, to Cromwell's lodgings, where there were but few parliament men, and a few officers of the army. A point was again stirred which had been debated the last night, whether forty persons, or about that number of parliament men and officers of the army, should be nominated by the parliament, and empowered for the managing the affairs of the commonwealth till a new parliament should meet, and so the present parliament to be forthwith dissolved.—Whitelock was against this proposal; and the more, fearing lest he might be one of these forty, who, he thought, would be in a desperate condition after the parliament should be dissolved; but others were very ambitious to be of this number, and to be invested with this exorbitant power. Cromwell being informed, during this debate, that the parliament was sitting, and that it was hoped they would put a period to themselves, which would be the most honourable dissolution for them, he broke off the meeting; and the members of parliament, who were with him, left him at his lodging and went to the House, and found them in debate of an act which would occasion other meetings and prolong their sitting: whereupon Colonel Ingoldsby went back to Cromwell, and told him what the House were doing; who was so enraged thereat, expecting they would have meddled with no other business than putting a period to their own sitting without more delay, that he immediately commanded some of the officers of the army to send a party of soldiers, with whom he marched to the House, and led a file of musqueteers in with him; the rest he placed at the door of the House, and in the lobby before it. In this manner entering the House, he, in a furious manner bid the Speaker leave his chair, telling the House that they had sat long enough, unless they had done more good; that some of them were whoremasters, looking then towards Henry Martyn and Sir Peter Wentworth; that others of them were drunkards, and some corrupt and unjust men, and scandalous to the profession of the Gospel; and that it was not fit they should sit as a parliament any longer, and desired

them to go away. The Speaker not stirring from his seat, Colonel Harrison, who sat near the chair, rose up, and took him by the arm, to remove him, which, when the Speaker saw, he left the chair. Some of the members rose up to answer Cromwell's speech, but he would suffer none to speak but himself; which he did with so much arrogance in himself and reproach to his fellow-members, that some of his privadoes were ashamed of it; but he and his officers and party would have it so; and, among all the parliament men, of whom many wore swords, and would sometimes brag high, not one man offered to draw his sword against Cromwell, or to make the least resistance, but all of them tamely departed the House.

April 21. That Cromwell and his party, continues Whitelock, were busy in consultation to find out a new government and governors for their commonwealth. They ordered that all courts of justice should sit as formerly: they set forth a declaration of the grounds and reasons for this dissolution; and that all civil officers should proceed as formerly in the execution of their offices, and all persons to give obedience to them. The commissioners did not proceed in the business of the great seal till after this declaration, and then considering that they had their authority from the parliament, they proceeded. The generals and captains at sea, published a declaration of their resolutions, notwithstanding the late change, to proceed in the performance of their duties, and the trust reposed in them, against the enemies of this commonwealth.

The substance of the above declaration of Cromwell, referred to by Whitelock, and his party, he says, was, that the parliament had neglected to settle a due liberty in civil and spiritual things, and were desirous of perpetuating themselves, having frequently declared against having a new representative, and that, when they saw themselves necessitated to take the bill brought into the House for that purpose, into consideration, they resolved to use it to recruit the House.

Many acknowledgments (continues Whitelock) were received of the justice of the late action of dissolving the parliament, from

several parties of the army, and from others in several counties, with engagements to stand by them.

May 27. That Cromwell, and his council of officers, resolved to summon select persons to be nominated by themselves out of every county, who should be as a representative of the whole nation. Accordingly, letters were sent from Cromwell to the several persons called to take upon them the trust of the government of the commonwealth.

Judges were nominated by Cromwell and his council of state for the summer circuit.

Journals, July 4. (1653.) This day there was a great appearance of those persons to whom the letters were directed, in the council-chamber at Whitehall, where the general declared to them the grounds and ends of calling them; and delivered to them an instrument in writing under his hand and seal, and afterwards left them. Whitelock says, that the number was about one hundred and twenty; and that, being seated round the table, Cromwell and the officers standing about the middle of the table, Cromwell made a speech to them, shewing the cause of their summons, and that they had a clear call to take upon them the supreme authority of the commonwealth; he then produced an instrument in writing under his own hand and seal, whereby he did, with the advice of his officers, devolve and entrust the supreme authority and government of the commonwealth into the hands of the persons then met; and that they, or any forty of them, were to be held and acknowledged the supreme authority of the nation, unto whom all persons within the same were to yield obedience and subjection; that they should not sit longer than the 3d day of November, 1654; and, three months before their dissolution, to make choice of other persons to succeed them, who were not to sit longer than a year, and to be left to them to take care for a succession of government. That then Cromwell and his officers withdrew, and the persons met adjourned themselves to the next day, in the parliament-house, and appointed to keep a fast there, to seek God for his direction and blessing.

It was (observes Whitelock) much wondered by some, that these

gentlemen, many of them being persons of fortune and knowledge, would, at this summons, and from these hands, take upon them the supreme authority of the nation, considering how little authority Cromwell and his officers had to give it, or these gentlemen to take it; but it was accepted by them.

Mr. Rous was called to the chair; Mr. Henry Scobell was appointed clerk of the House.

Journals, July 6. The name of parliament to be the title of this assembly, determined by 65 against 46.

The council of state to be thirty-one, and the quorum nine. Cromwell the first named.

A great insurrection and tumult, says Whitelock, was at the New Exchange, between the Portugal ambassador's brother and some of his company, and Colonel Gerrard, an English gentleman, who was stabbed in the shoulder, but was rescued by a Mr. Anthuser, whom not finding, but mistaking afterwards a Colonel Mayo for him, they, with the assistance of fifty Portuguese, attacked and dangerously wounded Colonel Mayo, and killed a Mr. Greenway, of Lincoln's-inn. The parliament's horse taking the alarm, apprehended some of the Portuguese, and the rest of them took refuge in the ambassador's house, whither Colonel Whalley, with his men, pursued them, and required that they should be immediately delivered up to him. The ambassador insisted upon his privilege, but, seeing that nothing else would satisfy, he delivered up his brother, and one of the knights of Malta, and some others, and promised to be answerable for the forthcoming of the rest. The ambassador then addressed Cromwell, chiefly for his brother, who told him that the business concerned the public, and therefore his address must be to the parliament and the council of state. The ambassador's brother, and four others, having been examined by the Lord-Chief-Justice Rolles, were committed to Newgate for trial.

Journals, December 12. It being moved that the sitting of the parliament any longer as now constituted would not be for the good of the commonwealth, and that therefore it was requisite to

deliver up to the Lord-general Cromwell the power which they received from him, and that motion being seconded by several other members, the House rose; and the Speaker, with many members, departed out of the House to Whitehall, where they, being the greater number of the members sitting in parliament, did, by a writing under their hands, resign to His Excellency their said powers; and Mr. Speaker, attended with the members, presented them to him accordingly. The General, says Whitelock, with his council of officers, met, where some things were transacted in order to the settlement of the government of the nation. But, the powers of the parliament having been so resigned into Cromwell's hands, he called a council of officers, and advised with them, and with other persons of interest in the nation, how this great burthen of governing England, Scotland, and Ireland, should be borne, and by whom. They, after several days seeking of God, and advising in this matter, resolved, that a council of godly, able, and discreet persons, should be named, consisting of twenty-one, and that the Lord-general should be chosen Lord Protector of the three nations; who accordingly, about three in the afternoon, came from Whitehall to the Chancery-court, in the state described by Whitelock. A chair of state was set, and the general stood on the left hand of it, uncovered, till a large writing on parchment was read, containing the power with which he was invested, and how he was to govern the three nations, and the oath to be taken by him: which he subscribed, and took the oath, and then sat down in the chair covered, and, after some other ceremonies, the procession returned to Whitehall. Then follows also (in Whitelock) the instrument of government, consisting of forty-two articles; the sixth of which declares, that the laws should not be altered, suspended, abrogated, or repealed, nor any new law made, nor any tax, charge, or imposition, laid upon the people, but by common consent in parliament, save only as was expressed in the thirtieth article. The seventh article declares, that a parliament should be summoned to meet upon the 3d day of September, 1654, and afterwards every third year,

which the eighth article declares should not be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, without their own consent, during five months from the day of its first meeting. By the ninth, the number of members not to exceed 400 for England and Wales, Jersey and Guernsey, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed; for Scotland and Ireland, not to exceed 30 each. The tenth ascertains the number to be chosen for each county, and for the places within the respective counties. The eighteenth declares the qualification of electors for counties to be, real or personal estate of the value of two hundred pounds. The twenty-second declares the persons so chosen, or any sixty of them, to be deemed the parliament. The twenty-third empowers the Protector, with the advice of the major part of his council, at any time, upon emergencies, to summon parliaments. The twenty-fourth requires all bills agreed to by the parliament, to be presented to the Protector for his consent; and, if consent not given within twenty days, or satisfaction given to the parliament within that time, the bills to become laws. The twenty-fifth appoints a council of state, with provision for keeping up the number. The thirty-second declares the office of protector elective, not hereditary. The thirty-third declares Oliver Cromwell, Captain-general of the forces of England, Scotland, and Ireland, Lord Protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, for life. The thirty-fifth declares, that the Christian religion, contained in the Scriptures, was to be held forth and recommended as the public profession of these nations; and that, as soon as might be, a provision less subject to scruple and contention, and more certain than the present, should be made for the encouragement and maintenance of able and painful teachers, for instructing the people, and for discovery and confutation of error, heresy, and whatever was contrary to sound doctrine; and that until such provision should be made, the present maintenance should not be taken away, nor impeached. The thirty-sixth declares, that to the public profession held forth, none should be compelled by penalties, or otherwise, but that endeavours be used to win them by sound doctrine, and the

example of a good conversation. The thirty-seventh declares, that such as should profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, though differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship, or discipline publicly held forth, should not be restrained from, but should be protected in, the profession of the faith and exercise of their religion, so as they abused not their liberty to the civil injury of others, and to the actual disturbance of the public peace on their parts; provided that this liberty was not extended to popery or prelacy, nor to such as, under the profession of Christ, held forth and practised licentiousness.

The proclamation of the council upon this occasion begins with reciting that the then late parliament dissolved itself.

February 23. Letters of credence sent to Monsieur Bourdeaux to be ambassador extraordinary from the French King to the Lord Protector, who afterwards had audience of the Protector.

March 4. The Dutch ambassadors had audience of the Lord Protector in the banqueting house at Whitehall, which was richly furnished. They acquainted His Highness that all their provinces had consented to the articles of peace, and had empowered them to ratify the articles; and they desired a cessation of arms in the mean time.

An ambassador was also landed from the King of Denmark.

April 2. 1654. An ordinance passed for the union of Scotland with England, whereby it was declared to be incorporated into, and to be one commonwealth with England; in the parliament whereof, thirty persons should serve for Scotland.

Whitelock in continuation:—That upon the examination of the plot against the Protector and his government, it appeared, that the conspirators intended to assassinate him and some chief persons in the government, and to proclaim the King, with pardon to all except three persons. Sir Gilbert Gerrard and two of his brothers, and Colonel Ashburnham and Mr. Joseph Ashburnham with several others were in custody. An addition was made to the guards at the Tower. The Protector and his council sat day and night upon the examination of this plot.

June 8. The writs for choosing members to sit in parliament, appointed by the instrument of government to be held the 3d of September then next, were prepared, by warrant from the Protector.

July 5. The Portuguese ambassador's brother and two other Portuguese were tried before commissioners of oyer and terminer in the King's Bench. He pleaded that he was not only the ambassador's brother, but had a commission to be ambassador in his brother's absence, and that by the law of nations he was privileged from his trial. The point of privilege was long debated by the court and the Lord Protector's counsel, and the determination of the court was against the plea of privilege; and after much persuasion he and the rest pleaded, not guilty, and a jury of six denizens and six aliens found the ambassador's brother and four more, guilty of murder and felony, and they were sentenced to be hanged.

July 10. The English boy, who was one of those convicted of the above murder, was hanged at Tyburn, Mr. Vowel was hanged at the Meuse gate, Mr. Fox was reprieved, Mr. Gerrard was beheaded at Tower-hill; they having been convicted of the conspiracy against the Lord Protector and his government. The ambassador's brother was conveyed from Newgate to Tower-hill in a coach and six horses, in mourning, with divers of his brother's retinue with him. On the scaffold he spake something to those that understood him, in excuse of his offence, laying the blame of the quarrel and murder upon the English: and was then beheaded. The rest condemned for the murder were reprieved. The articles of peace were signed by the Portuguese ambassador, who thereupon quitted London.

Journals. September 3d (1654), being the day whereon the parliament was by writ summoned to meet, being also the Lord's day, divers of the members met at the sermons in the Abbey-church at Westminster, where the Protector met them in great state; and, after the sermons in the afternoon, about four o'clock, they attended in the painted chamber (about three hundred in number) where His Highness, standing bare, upon a place erected

for that purpose, declared to this effect: That being the Lord's day, which was not to be taken up in ceremonies, he desired them to meet at the Abbey the next morning at nine of the clock at the sermons; and from thence to come again, to the painted chamber, where he would communicate some things, which he held necessary for the good of the commonwealth.

Monday, September 4. The House met, and proceeded to the Abbey, where His Highness came, attended by the lords commissioners of the great seal, and other great officers of state, and heard a sermon, preached by Mr. Thomas Goodwyn, and then went to the painted chamber, where His Highness made unto them a large narrative of the grounds of their being called together, and the weightiness of their employ, (which Whitelock calls a large and subtle speech,) he then desired them to repair to their House, and choose a Speaker; who chose Mr. Lenthal, the Master of the Rolls, and Mr. Scobell to be their clerk. Then they appointed a day of national humiliation, and adjourned to the next day.

Tuesday, September 5. The House sat, and called over their members, and resolved to take the matter of the government into debate, the first business to-morrow morning.

Wednesday, September 6. The House, according to former order, took into debate the matter of government.

Resolved upon the question, That the subject matter of the debate to-morrow morning shall be, Whether the House shall approve the government to be in one single person, and a parliament.

September 7. The House, entering upon the debate according to the vote of yesterday; it was moved, and the question being put, "That the House be now resolved into a committee of the whole House for the taking up this business according to the order;" the House was divided: Sir Charles Wolseley, Mr. Strickland, tellers for the noes, with the noes, 136; Serjeant Bradshaw, Colonel John Birch, tellers for the yeas, 141: so it was resolved, "That the House be now resolved into a committee of the whole

House for the taking up the debate of this business according to the order.

September 12. The Protector, continues Whitelock, being acquainted that the debates of the parliament grew high touching the new government, and entertaining a jealousy, to which he was addicted, that this parliament would, either too far invade it, or endeavour to overthrow it, he sent for the members to meet him in the painted chamber where he addressed them to the effect hereafter given; and concludes with requiring from the members, a test or recognition of the government, which was to be signed by them before they went any more into the House. The recognition was in these words: "I A. B. do hereby freely promise and engage myself to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector, and the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and shall not, according to the tenor of the indenture whereby I am returned to serve in the present parliament, propose or give my consent to alter the government as it is settled in one single person, and a parliament."

Voted by the parliament, That this (recognition) doth not comprehend nor shall be construed to comprehend therein, the whole government consisting of forty-two articles, but that the same doth only include what concerns the government of the commonwealth, by a single person and successive parliaments.

The recognition being ingrossed in parchment, was placed on a table near the House door, for the members to peruse and sign it; and about one hundred and thirty of them subscribed it, and took their places: and the House adjourned for one day, to give time for the rest to sign it. Major-general Harrison, was secured by a party of horse, by the Lord Protector's order.

Journals. Same day, resolved by the parliament that the clerk do bring into this House the original record of the government of the commonwealth, to remain in the House for their further consideration.

The University of Oxford acknowledged the respect of the Protector to them in continuing their chancellor, and bestowing

on the public library twenty-four manuscripts in Greek, and for munificently ordering an hundred pounds per annum to a divinity reader.

Journals, September 15. The original record of the recognition, was brought in, and read: resolved, That the debate thereon be adjourned till Monday morning, the first business.

The parliament passed a vote; that all persons returned, or to be returned to serve in the then present parliament, should, before they should be admitted to sit in the House, subscribe the recognition: and that those subscriptions be taken in the presence of any two members, who had subscribed it.

September 19. The parliament sat in a committee of the whole House to take the government into debate and consideration. Also on the two following days, the 20th and 21st; and leave given to sit on the Monday the 22d: and referred to a committee to bring in a bill upon the present debate.

November 7. Report of the committee of the whole House, upon the government: That the supreme legislative authority of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereto belonging, is and doth reside in one person and the people assembled in parliament; — with this declaration, That this vote shall not be prejudicial to any further debate or resolution touching the remainder of the forty-two articles; and that the stile of such person shall be, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and that Oliver Cromwell, Captain-general of England, Scotland, and Ireland, is and shall be Lord Protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging for his life; and that a parliament shall be summoned once in every third year, to be accounted from the dissolution of the next preceding parliament, afterwards ordered according to this report.

Journals, November 8—11. The committee continued to sit, and on the latter and subsequent days resolved, That all bills agreed unto by the parliament should be presented to the said single person for his consent, and that in case he should not give his consent within twenty days, or give satisfaction to the parliament

within that time, then such bills should pass into and become laws, although he should not consent thereunto; provided they should contain in them nothing contrary to such matters, wherein the single person and the parliament should declare a negative to be in the single person.

November 20. The committee continued sitting, and resolved that the standing forces, after the present Protector's death, in the interval of parliament, shall be in the disposition and ordering of the council, until a parliament be assembled; and then the disposal of the said forces to be made by the parliament as they shall think fit.

November 22. Resolved, that no law shall be altered, suspended, or repealed, nor new laws made, nor any tax imposed, but by assent of parliament. And 23d November, voted that a parliament should be summoned to meet upon the third Monday in October 1656, and upon the third Monday in October 1659, and so likewise on the third Monday in October in every third year successively. The committee also came to divers resolutions respecting the future calling of parliaments, and settled the form of the writ of summons; and to compel the calling them in case of the Protector's omission to call them.

December 6. Members for England not to exceed 400; Scotland 30; Ireland 30.

That the true reformed protestant Christian religion, as contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, shall be asserted and maintained, and no other, as the public professions of the nations.

December 9. Resolved, that the committee to whom the preparing a bill upon the votes, concerning the government, is referred, be empowered to consider of the printed instrument entitled "The government of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland;" and where they find any thing defective in the votes, which hath not been already debated in the House, to resort to the House with such particulars as may be fit to be supplied without altering the substance of what the House hath

already voted. Whitelock hereupon remarks that the government by a Protector, was still the subject of the House's debate.

December 11. The parliament voted two books, printed under the name of John Biddle, to contain many impious and blasphemous opinions against the Deity of the Holy Ghost, and that the books should be burnt by the common hangman; and Biddle was brought to the bar of the House, owned his books, and was committed to the gatehouse.

December 22. Report from the committee, to whom it was referred to prepare a bill upon the votes passed touching the government, of a bill prepared; which was read a first time; in the debate whereof, says Whitelock, many things were spoken which gave great offence to the Protector and his council, and cause of suspicion that no good was to be expected from them; and it appeared that the parliament was not inclinable to the Protector's desire.

The parliament, continues Whitelock, made what haste they could to finish their debates, but they were not likely to come to a good issue; and the Protector began to be weary of the parliament, and to have thoughts of dissolving it. That he was advised to the contrary upon experiences of former inconveniences upon the dissolution of parliaments, which ever caused ill blood: however, not to dissolve it, till after the time was passed that they were to sit by the instrument of government: but that the Protector was determined; and some of his council were not backward to promote what they perceived he was inclined to have done. He accordingly dissolved the parliament on Monday the 22d January (1654), upon the conclusion of a speech (according to the Journals, in the painted chamber; the parliament with their Speaker attending him there) to the effect hereafter given.

March —. That the Protector and his council were much engaged in framing new ordinances to please the people. Amongst others, they had one in consideration for regulating the proceedings in chancery, which caused doubts in the commissioners of the seal, who knew the authority of that court was designed to be lessened; and they were not consulted, whereof

they took no notice, but went on in the ordinary course of their proceedings.

June 7. An order, proceeds Whitelock, was brought to the lords-commissioners, directing their attendance with the great seal, upon the Protector and his council, in the evening; when the Protector gravely told them, that he was sorry some of them could not satisfy their consciences to execute the ordinance concerning the chancery, which, they were informed, had much good in it to the public; but, he confessed, that every one was to satisfy himself in a matter to be performed by him, and that he had not the worse opinion of any man, for refusing to do that whereof he was doubtful; but that, in this particular, the affairs of the commonwealth did require a conformity of the officers thereof, and their obedience to authority; and that some of them having refused to execute this act, they were compelled to put the great seal into the hands of some others, who might be satisfied that it was their duty to perform this command, and to put the ordinance in execution. That Whitelock, being the ancientest of the commissioners, told His Highness, that their scruple was not upon the authority of His Highness and the council, as to the command of all matters concerning the government of the commonwealth; but only as to the effect of this ordinance to be executed as a law, which, they apprehended, and for which apprehension they had formerly given their reasons, would be of great prejudice to the public, and would be contrary to what they had formerly by their oath promised. That Sir Thomas Widdrington spoke to the same effect; and then the Protector directed them to lay down the seal, and they withdrew. That the Protector kept the seal in his own custody for some days, and dispatched some business of sealing in his chamber; and, on the 15th of the same month, it was delivered to Colonel Fiennes and to Major L'Isle, their late brother commissioners, who, Whitelock adds, was for all assays. The one of them, he adds, never had experience in matters of this nature, and the other had as

little knowledge in them, till by accompanying the late commissioners he gained some; and now he carried the business very high and superciliously.

The Protector being (says Whitelock) good natured, and sensible of his harsh proceedings against him and Widdrington, for keeping to that liberty of conscience which himself held to be every one's right, and that none ought to suffer for it, he, to make them some recompense, appointed them commissioners of the treasury, together with Colonel Montague and Colonel Sydenham, with whom they had fair quarter, their salary one thousand each per annum, and Mr. Sherwyn, an able man in the business of the exchequer, was their secretary. He adds, they had a seal from the Protector, and his council, for every great sum, and they then ordered, under their hands, the payment of every particular sum accordingly; and all these were entered in their books: so that the State could not be cozened, and they had not the hard ways of the usual course of the exchequer, but yet they did not take off that course, as to the constant form of it.

Accounts came of the failure of the expedition to the West Indies under Generals Pen and Venables, but that the remainder of the armament had taken possession of Jamaica; and, soon afterwards, Major Sedgwick was sent with twelve ships, and Colonel Humphries with his regiment with supplies; so careful, says Whitelock, was the Protector to lose no advantage of what he had got a footing in.

Many lords, and other prisoners, were released, upon their own security for their peaceable demeanour.

A conference was had with Manasseth Ben Israel respecting the admission of the Jewish nation to trade in England.

The commissioners of the treasury, says Whitelock, had a constant weekly account of all the receipts and disbursements of that great revenue, which being so often taken, rendered it the more easy, and afforded them the better opportunity of ordering it most advantageously to the commonwealth; which accounts,

as they received them from the officers under them, they delivered to the Protector, with their advice thereon.

April (1656). Letters from the different counties, of great appearances of the country at the assizes, and that the gentlemen of greatest quality served upon the grand juries, which, says Whitelock, is fit to be observed.

Order, by the Protector and council for the founding and endowing a college at Durham, out of the dean and prebends lands there.

Some were apprehended and imprisoned, by warrant from the Protector, for being engaged in a duel.

April 17. Bishop Usher, the late archbishop of Armagh, was this day buried in Westminster Abbey, and two hundred pounds were given by the Protector to bear the charge of his funeral.

May 3. The Protector knighted M. Coyett, the King of Sweden's resident here, and gave him a jewel with his picture in a case of gold set round with diamonds, of the value of one thousand pounds, and a rich gold chain of the value of four hundred pounds, and twelve pounds worth of white cloth. He (the resident), nevertheless, again complained of the delays in his business; and that, when he desired to have the articles of the treaty put into Latin, according to custom, they made him stay fourteen days for the translation, and sent it to one Mr. Milton, a blind man, to put them into Latin, who, he said, must use an amanuensis to read it to him, and that amanuensis might publish the matter of the articles as he pleased; and, that it seemed strange to him there should be none but a blind man capable of putting a few articles into Latin; that the chancellor (of Sweden) penned with his own hand the articles made at Upsale, and so he heard the ambassador Whitelock did for those on his part. The employment of Mr. Milton was excused to him, because several other servants of the council fit for that employment were then absent.

July 17. The treaty was signed; and, the ambassador having taken leave of the Protector, received great civilities and respect from him, and dined with him at Hampton-court, and hunted

with him; he knighted one of his gentlemen: he afterwards took his leave, at Hampton-court, of the Lady Elizabeth Claypoole and her sisters.

Journals. Wednesday, Sept. 17. being the day of the meeting of the Parliament, His Highness, the Lord Protector, attended by the Lord President and the rest of his council, and other officers of state, came to the abbey-church in Westminster, where they were met by the members of parliament, and heard a sermon preached by Dr. John Owen, dean of Christ-church and Vice-chancellor of the university of Oxford; and from thence came to the painted chamber, where most of the members of parliament were present, to whom he communicated the occasion of calling this present parliament. His speech upon this occasion is not in the Journals nor in Whitelock. After which, the members repaired to the House, at the door whereof some persons, by His Highness's appointment, attended, and received of every member a certificate from the clerk of the commonwealth in chancery, that he was returned to serve in this present parliament, and approved by the council; and thereupon he was admitted into the House.

Sir Thomas Widdrington, continues Whitelock, was chosen Speaker. The House resolved to keep a fast-day on the Wednesday next.

A report having been made to the House from the council, of the reasons why some persons returned for members were not admitted into the House, it was resolved that those persons should make their applications to the council for approbation; whereupon, says Whitelock, several of the members that were chosen to serve in Parliament, and not approved by the council, published a remonstrance and protest, which there follows, and was signed by ninety-eight names.

October 2. The Lord Richard Cromwell being returned to serve for the university of Cambridge, and also for the county of Southampton, made his election for Cambridge.

October 9. The bill, entitled "An Act for the Security of His Highness the Lord-Protector, his Person, and the Continuance of

the Nation in Peace and Safety," was read, and passed with some alterations.

November 27. The Protector came to the painted chamber, and sent a serjeant-at-arms, to give the House notice that he was come. The Speaker, and the whole House, went to the painted chamber, where His Highness, in the presence of the Lord-President, and the rest of the council, and other chief officers of state, gave his consent to the several following bills: — That passing of bills should not determine the then present session of parliament; for renouncing and disannulling the pretended title of Charles Stuart, &c.; for the security of his Highness the Lord-Protector, his person, and continuance of the nation in peace and safety; for taking away the court of wards and liveries; and for the exportation of several commodities of the breed, growth, and manufacture of the commonwealth.

January 19. Discovery of a plot to kill the Protector and burn Whitehall, and a thanksgiving-day appointed for this discovery. The House resolved to wait on the Protector, to congratulate the mercy and the deliverance.

February 8. There was, says Whitelock, a great meeting of learned men at his house, at Chelsea, by an order of the House, referring to a sub-committee to send for and advise with Dr. Walton, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Castle, Mr. Clerk, Mr. Poulh, Dr. Cudworth, and such others as they should think fit; and to consider of the translation and impressions of the Bible, and to offer their opinions therein to the committee; and it was especially commended to him (Whitelock) to take care of this business. That the committee often met at his house, and was attended by the most learned men in the oriental tongues, who agreed, that notwithstanding some small mistakes in the translations of the Bible in English, it was the best of any translation in the world; that great pains were taken in it, but it became fruitless by the parliament's dissolution.

February 9. Syndercombe was tried at the Upperbench-bar, found guilty, and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. The Court declared, that, by the common law, to compass

or imagine the death of the chief magistrate, by what name soever he was called, whether Lord Protector, or otherwise, was high treason; and that the statute 25 Ed. 3. was only declaratory of the common law.

Dr. Walton, says Whitelock, published the Polyglot Bible.

Journals, February 23. Sir Christopher Pack presented a paper to the House, declaring, — It was somewhat come to his hands, tending to the settlement of the nation, and of liberty and of property; and prayed it might be received and read. And it being much controverted, whether the same should be read without further opening, the question being propounded, that this paper, offered by Sir Christopher Pack, be further opened by him before it be read, the previous question passed in the negative. Then the question being propounded, that this paper offered by Sir Christopher Pack be now read, upon the main question being put, it was resolved, that it be now read: the same was read accordingly, and was entitled, "The humble address and remonstrance of the knights, citizens, and burgesses, now assembled in the parliament of this commonwealth." And the debate thereon was determined to be resumed the next day; and on the next day, Tuesday the 24th February, it was resolved, that this paper be read to-morrow morning in parts, beginning at the first article after the preamble. This address and remonstrance continued in almost daily debate till the end of the March following, (1657,) when it terminated in the humble petition and advice, which was, on the 31st of that month, presented to Cromwell by the Speaker, in the name of the parliament, at the Banqueting-house, in great state; which was received by the clerk of the parliament, and to which His Highness gave answer. This answer is not in the Journals.

Whitelock says of this petition and advice, — the parliament had been long about the settlement of the nation, and had framed an instrument, which they stiled, "The humble petition and advice of the parliament of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to His Highness." That the first object of it was, for the Protector to have the title of King; that it was presented to him by the

House, and he desired that a committee might be appointed to confer with him about it; which was named; and that he, Whitelock, being one of the committee, was named chairman; that when the committee attended His Highness, Whitelock addressed him upon the point of the title of King, giving his reasons why he should accept of it; that the Protector urged his reasons against it, and Whitelock replied; that the whole debate, he (Whitelock) adds, was in print.

Journals, Saturday, April 4. (1657.) This day, Mr. Whitelock, as chairman of the committee, reported to the House, the committee's attendance upon His Highness, and his answer. (Not in the Journals.) The question being propounded, That this House doth adhere to their humble petition and advice; upon the main question being put, the House divided: — noes, with the tellers, General Disbrow and Colonel Hewson, 65; — yeas, with the tellers, General Montague and Sir John Hobart, 78. Therefore resolved in the affirmative.

Resolved, That the House would repair to His Highness, the Protector, to acquaint him with the vote of the preceding Saturday; and that the House do then present such reasons to His Highness therein, as shall be agreed upon by this House; and a committee appointed to prepare these reasons.

April 7. Mr. Whitelock reports the preparation of these reasons, which were read and agreed to by the House; the substance of which was, that they had, for the reasons therein mentioned, thought fit to adhere to this their advice, and to put His Highness in mind of the great obligation which rested upon him in respect of this advice; and again to desire him to give his assent thereunto.

Same, April 7. The Lord-Chief-Justice reported, from the committee appointed to attend His Highness, that he had appointed the next day to meet the parliament, in the Banqueting-house, in Whitehall.

April 9. The Speaker reports to the House the effect of His Highness's speech, in answer to the address made by the House, at the meeting with the House yesterday.

A committee appointed to wait upon the Protector, in reference to what he did yesterday propose in his speech, then reported to the House; and to receive his doubts and scruples touching any the particulars contained in the humble petition and advice, and in answer thereunto, to offer to His Highness reasons, for his satisfaction, and for the maintenance of the resolutions of this House; and, such particulars as they cannot satisfy His Highness in, that they report the same to the Parliament.

Saturday, April 11. Mr. Secretary (Thurloe) reported, that he was, by His Highness's command, to give the House some account of a design lately discovered; and produced a book printed called "A Standard," and likewise the painted standard which was taken, being a red lion couchant, with this motto, "Who shall rouse him up?"

The attendance upon the Protector deferred from day to day, on account of his indisposition, till the 21st April; when Mr. Whitelock acquainted the House that he had attended His Highness yesterday, who was pleased to speak something to what had been formerly offered; and had a paper, wherein he said were contained some other things which he had to offer to the committee, and desired another time to be appointed for that purpose; and on the next day (22d) he, Mr. Whitelock, reported, that His Highness had offered to them a paper, containing several scruples about several things in the petition and advice.

April 23. Mr. Whitelock reports the proceedings of the committee, and the substance of His Highness's speech to them on the 21st of this month, and two papers delivered by His Highness; all which were approved by the House. The report was read by parts, and divers resolutions adopted.

Thursday, April 30. The same committee who had attended the Lord Protector with the humble petition and advice, to attend him with the several resolves of parliament, touching the matter, and to desire him to appoint a time for the House attending him for his positive resolution and answer thereto.

May 2. The Master of the Rolls reported from the committee,

their attendance upon His Highness yesterday, with the resolves, which he took some time to consider of, and promised that he would give a speedy answer.

The House, continues Whitelock, were busy in debating the last report made by him, in the business of the title of King; and finally came to some resolutions therein, which were not all of them pleasing to His Highness. He adds, that he, Whitelock, declined the first delivery to the parliament of the petition and advice, not liking several things in it; but that Sir Christopher Pack, to gain honour, presented it first to the House; and then the Lord Broghill, Glynn, Whitelock, and others, put it forward.

That the Protector often advised about this, and other great businesses, with the Lord Broghill, Pierrepoint, Whitelock, Sir Charles Wolseley, and Thurloe; and would be shut up, three or four hours together, in private discourse, and none were permitted to come in to him; and that he would sometimes be very cheerful with them, and laying aside his greatness, he would be exceeding familiar with them, and, by way of diversion, would make verses with them, and every one must try his fancy: that he commonly called for tobacco, pipes, and a candle, and would now and then take tobacco himself; then he would fall again to his serious and great business, and advise with them in those affairs; and that this he did often with them; and their counsel was accepted and allowed by him in most of his greatest affairs.

Journals, May 12. Mr. Speaker, according to former order, reported to the House the Protector's speech on Friday last, at Whitehall, in answer to the humble petition and advice presented to him by the parliament, declining the title of King.

After several days' debate, the question being propounded on Tuesday, the 19th May, That Lord Protector shall be the title to be inserted in the humble petition and advice; and that it be referred to a committee to consider how that title may be bounded, limited, and circumstantiated: and the previous question being put (that that question be now put), the House divided:—Sir John Hobart, Sir Richard Lucy, tellers for the noes, with the noes, 46; Sir John Copleston, Colonel Bingham, tellers for the yeas, with

the yeas, 47: so it passed in the affirmative. And the main question being put, the House was again divided:—Lord Deputy, Lord Strickland, tellers for the yeas, with the yeas, 77; Lord Broghill, Sir William Roberts, tellers for the noes, with the noes, 45: and so it was resolved,— That Lord Protector should be the title to be inserted into the humble petition and advice; and that it be referred to a committee to consider how that title might be bounded, limited, and circumstantiated.

Friday, May 22. Sir Lislebone Long reported from the committee, to whom it was referred to bound the title of Lord Protector, the resolution of that committee thereupon: — That Your Highness will be pleased, by and under the name and stile of Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, to hold and exercise the office of chief magistrate of these nations, and to govern according to this petition and advice, in all things therein contained, and in all other things according to the laws of these nations and not otherwise; which was read. The main question was put,— That this House doth agree with the committee. The House was divided: — Sir Lislebone Long, Mr. William Lister, tellers for the yeas, with the yeas, 53; Attorney of the Dutchy and Mr. Grove, tellers for the noes, with the noes, 50: it was resolved, That this House doth agree with the committee herein. The question being put, That this paragraph, "That Your Highness will be pleased to assume the name, stile, title, dignity, and office of King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the respective dominions and territories thereunto belonging, to hold and exercise the office of chief magistrate of these nations, and to govern according to this petition and advice in all things therein contained, and in all other things according to the laws of these nations, and not otherwise:" it passed with the negative; and resolved, That instead of that paragraph this clause be inserted, namely, the fore-mentioned first resolution upon the report.

Saturday, May 23. Resolved, upon the main question, That a committee be appointed to attend upon His Highness the Lord

Protector with this humble petition and advice; and that the committee do wait upon His Highness so soon as the House riseth.

Monday, May 25. The Lord Chief Justice Glynn reports this attendance, and the Protector's appointment for that morning, at ten of the clock, in the painted chamber.

Resolved, That this petition and advice be carried up by the House, and presented to the Lord Protector, who is to be acquainted by Mr. Speaker what alteration hath been made in it; and that the said alteration be read, and if His Highness should desire it, the whole petition and advice; and that thereupon His Highness's assent be desired to the whole petition and advice. The House attending accordingly: His Highness gave his consent. It consists of eighteen articles, given at length by Whitelock.

Journals, May 27. (1657.) The House, according to former order, proceeded upon the report made yesterday by Mr. Speaker. The additional votes to the petition and advice were read. Resolved, That all the rest of the votes be read; and they were read accordingly. Ordered, That these resolves be referred to a committee, to peruse and methodise them; and to prepare one or more bills thereupon. Resolved, That the debate, concerning the constitution of parliaments, the distribution of members to sit in parliaments, and continuance of parliaments, be taken up in the House on this day seven-night, and nothing to intervene.

Whitelock gives a particular description of the ceremony of the Protector's inauguration in Westminster Hall, on the 26th June, 1657.

August. News of the death of General (or Admiral) Blake, on ship-board, in his return from the Spanish coast. He, says Whitelock, was a man of as much gallantry and sincerity as any in his time, and as successful. He was interred, he adds, in Westminster Abbey with great ceremony.

Lord Clarendon, relating the victories over the Spanish fleet by Admiral Blake, and his (the Admiral's) death in his way home,

and his burial with great state in Henry the Seventh's chapel, says of him, that he was a man of a private expense, yet had enough left him by his father to give him a good education, which his own inclination disposed him to receive in the University of Oxford, where he took the degree of Master of Arts; and was enough versed in books for a man who intended not to be of any profession, having sufficient of his own to maintain him in the plenty he affected, and having then no appearance of ambition to be a greater man than he was. That he was of a melancholic and a sullen nature, and spent his time most with good fellows, who liked his moroseness and freedom he used in inveighing against the licence of the time, and the power of the court. They who knew him inwardly discovered that he had an antimonarchical spirit, when few men thought the government in any danger. When the troubles begun, he quickly declared himself against the King. After having done eminent service to the parliament at land, he betook himself wholly to the sea, and quickly made himself signal there. He was the first man that declined the old track, and made it manifest that the science might be attained in less time than was imagined; and despised those rules which had been long in practice, to keep his ships and his men out of danger, which had been held in former times a point of great ability and circumspection; as if the principal art requisite in the captain of a ship had been to be sure to come home safe again: that he was the first man who brought the ships to contemn castles on shore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were discovered by him to make a noise only, and to fright those who could rarely be hurt by them: that he was the first that infused that proportion of courage into the seamen, by making them see by experience what mighty things they could do if they were resolved; and taught them to fight in fire as well as upon water: and that, though he had been very well imitated and followed, he was the first that gave the example of that kind of naval courage, and bold and resolute achievements.

December 11. Writs of summons, continues Whitelock, under the Great Seal, were sent to divers persons to sit in the ensuing

parliament as members of the other or Upper House of parliament, in all sixty; amongst whom were divers noblemen, knights, and gentlemen of ancient families and good estates, and some colonels and officers of the army: he gives their names.

January 20. The parliament met according to their adjournment, and also the members of the other House, and sat in the Lords' House. The Protector came thither; and the Speaker, with the House of Commons, being sent for by the Black Rod, came to the Lords' House, where the Protector made a solemn speech to them, but was short, by reason of his indisposition of health; and after him the Lord Commissioner Fiennes spake at considerable length.

Journals, January 21. The Speaker reported to the House of Commons the above speech of the Protector. The House of Lords, says Whitelock, appointed a committee for privileges, and a committee for petitions, and sent to the House of Commons for a day of humiliation to be appointed. The messengers were two of the judges, who all sat assistants, as formerly, in the House of Lords.

January 25. The Speaker reported the above speech of the Lord Commissioner Fiennes. A letter from the Protector to the Speaker, Sir Thomas Widdrington, was this day read, desiring a meeting with them in the Banqueting-house, at three of the clock in the afternoon, where they accordingly met; and he, says Whitelock, exhorted them to unity, and to the observance of their own rules in the petition and advice.

Journals, January 29. Mr. Nathaniel Bacon reports from the committee appointed yesterday to attend His Highness with some resolves of this House, concerning his speech made in the Banqueting-house on the 25th instant. That the committee in a full appearance attended His Highness at the withdrawing chamber at Whitehall, and presented to him the resolves of this House; and further reported the substance of His Highness's answer to the commitee: the which was read, and was as follows:—

That His Highness could not have looked upon the committee as

a committee of the House of Commons, had he not seen the paper and the persons of the committee.

That what he spake in the Banqueting-house, was delivered to both the Houses, the House of Lords and the House of Commons; and that he was exceeding tender of the breach of privilege of either House, whereunto he had sworn, and by the blessing of God would maintain. And that he did not know nor was satisfied, that it was not against the privilege of either House for him to give an answer to either of the Houses apart.

That he spake to the Houses those things that did lie upon his own heart; and that he did acquaint them honourably and plainly how things stood in matters of fact; but of the particulars he doth not remember four lines.

That he had considered with some persons about the papers relating to money, and found some particulars short and some over; but he would take them into consideration and set them right, and would give a timely account thereof. He desired his affections might be presented to the House, and that he would be ready to serve them faithfully in the capacity that he is in.

Journals, January 29. The House, according to former order, took into consideration what answer they would return to the message brought from the other House by Mr. Justice Wyndham and Mr. Baron Hill, on Friday last, and resolved, That this debate be adjourned till to-morrow morning at nine of the clock.

The question being propounded, That the House shall be resolved into a grand committee to-morrow morning, at nine of the clock, to take the matter, now in debate, into consideration; the numbers were, upon the previous question, Sir Thomas Rous, Mr. Wyndham, tellers for the noes, with the noes, 78; Sir John Thorowgood, Sir John Coppleston, tellers for the yeas, with the yeas, 84: so it passed with the affirmative. And the main question being put, it passed with the negative.

January 30. The House resumed the debate, concerning an answer to be returned to the message from the other House.

Resolved, That the first thing to be debated shall be, the appellation of the persons to whom the answer shall be made;

and adjourned the debate to Monday; and which was again adjourned.

Mr. Speaker acquainted the House that there were two of the judges without at the door, with a message from the Lords. The question being put, That the messengers be now called in: it was resolved in the affirmative.

The messengers were called in; and Mr. Justice Wyndham and Mr. Justice Newdigate acquainted the House that they were commanded by the Lords to desire of this House, that they would join with that House in an address to His Highness the Lord Protector, that he would be pleased to issue a proclamation by the advice of both Houses of parliament, commanding all papists, and all other persons, who had been in arms against the commonwealth, by a certain day, to depart out of the cities of London and Westminster, and the late lines of communication, and twenty miles of the same; and not to return to the said cities or either of them, during the space of three months, nor to any other place within the limits aforesaid, save only to such place or places in the country, where such person or persons aforesaid had habitations. The same message was also delivered in writing; but the House informed the messengers, that they would send their answer by messengers of their own.

Thursday, February 4. The House resumed the debate touching the appellation of the other House; but the Speaker informing the House that the usher of the black rod was at the door, with a message from His Highness; he was called in, and delivered his message in these words: "Mr. Speaker; His Highness is in the Lords' House and desires to speak with you;" whereupon the question was adjourned to the House's return, and the Speaker went with the House to His Highness, who declared the parliament dissolved.

Whitelock, referring to the above proceedings between the two Houses, observes, that Sir Arthur Heselrigge and some others, would not allow the House of Lords; fomenting by their dissatisfied spirits a difference between the two Houses. That this caused distaste in the other House, and in the Protector, and was

contrary to what themselves had, at their last meeting, assented unto. That many were against calling them the House of Lords, and some were against the having such another House; perhaps, because they were not thought fit to be members of it; and others were against it upon other fancies, and upon a spirit of contradiction; and some spake reproachfully, in the House of Commons, of the other House.

The commissioners of the seal and of the treasury, the judges, and many others were nominated commissioners under the great seal for the trial of the present conspirators, and Whitelock was one of them, but never sat with them, it being against his judgment. That Sir Roger Mostyn was secured and a prisoner at Conway; his liberty was procured upon his parol to be at his own house at Mostyn, engaging not to do any thing prejudicial to the present government. Sir John Borlace and several others were also secured. Thirty apprentices, prisoners in the Tower upon this new plot, were examined: it was advised that lenity should be used towards them. He relates the trial of Dr. Hewet before the new high court of justice: he did not, he says, carry himself prudently.

June 6. News of the total defeat of the Spanish army, which came to relieve Dunkirk, and of the gallant service performed by the English, wherein the Lord Ambassador Lockhart gained much honour.

June 8. Sir Henry Slingsby and Dr. Hewet were beheaded at Tower Hill.

June 15. Audience to the Duke of Crequi and Monsieur Mancini, sent from the King of France and from the Cardinal Mazarine, to the Protector, to congratulate the success of the King's and the Protector's joint forces, and to compliment His Highness; who answered their compliments and expressed like affection to the alliance with His Majesty of France.

June 21. Intelligence of the surrender of Dunkirk, and that the King of France, the Cardinal, and General Lockhart had entered the town with their forces, and that Lockhart was put into the possession and command of it.

August 7. (1658.) News of the death of the Lady Elizabeth Claypoole yesterday, at Hampton-court. She, says Whitelock, was a lady of excellent parts, dear to her parents, and civil to all persons, and courteous and friendly to all her acquaintance. Her death did much grieve her father, who was then ill at Hampton-court, as was thought, of an ague. And that this day, September 3, about two o'clock in the afternoon, the Protector died at Hampton-court, on the same day that he had obtained the victories at Dunbar and at Worcester: he now went to rest in the grave, after his many great actions and troubles — he now died quietly in his bed.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Cromwell's family descent illustrious, paternal and maternal.—His birth—early life—education—entry at Sidney College.—His scholarship.—His marriage and children. — Character of the Protectress vindicated. — The purity of his court. — His discouragement of vice, and the amendment of national manners. — His humanity and kindness to his enemies. — His liberal conduct towards the Duke of Gloucester. — His character by Mr. Maidston.—His private character vindicated as a husband, a parent, a friend, and in all other its relations and connections.*

The discussion of Cromwell's character, both public and private, will properly follow his death. This will be best and most impartially collected from the preceding extracts, aided by such collateral circumstances as may be derivable from other equally authentic sources. No one's memory has been more harshly treated than Cromwell's; he has been pursued from his cradle to his tomb. Almost every valuable quality has been denied to him; and, most extraordinary to say, even his courage (but, it is believed, by one writer only) has been impeached. The illustriousness of his family has also been, by some writers, affected to be doubted, or reluctantly allowed him.

It is certainly much more honourable to be good and great in ourselves, than, without any merit of our own, to derive all our consequence from illustrious ancestry: a good descent is nevertheless held in a certain degree of estimation and respect, and nothing can better prove its value in the eye of the world, than the eagerness with which it is claimed by those who frequently have no pretensions to it.

The pedigree from which Mr. Noble, in his Memoirs of the Protectorate House of Cromwell, principally takes the lineage of Cromwell remains in that family, and is correctly given from thence. Sir Richard Cromwell, alias Williams (Cromwell's great grandfather), who was the son of Morgan Williams, who married, as appears by the pedigree, a sister of Thomas Lord Cromwell,

Earl of Essex, appears to have been the first of his family that bore the name of Cromwell. The above Morgan Williams's father, whose name was William ap Yevan, appears in the pedigree to have been in some service of Jasper, Duke of Bedford, King Henry the Seventh's uncle, and also of that King himself. Mr. Noble says his, Morgan Williams's, marriage with the Earl of Essex's sister has been disputed; but the statement of this circumstance in the pedigree ascertains that fact. His naming his second son, Walter, which was the christian name of the Earl's father, is a further proof, if any were wanting. Mr. Noble gives verbatim the title of this pedigree, which renders its repetition unnecessary. It thereby appears to have been prepared in 1602, in the lifetime and by the direction of Sir Henry Cromwell, (who, Mr. Noble says, from the Huntingdon parish register, died in 1603, and who was the son of the above Sir Richard Cromwell,) by Ralph Brooke, York, herald; which leaves no room for doubt of the correctness of its statements. It commences with Glothyan, Lord of Powys, who married Morveth, the daughter and heir of Edwyn ap Tydwell, Lord of Cardigan: the time in which they lived is not mentioned; but by a note respecting their son, it appears that he, the son, died about the time of the Norman conquest; consequently the commencement of the pedigree must be about 1066.

Against Sir Richard Cromwell's name in the pedigree is the following note: — "The 1st of May, 1540, a solemne tryumph was held at Westminster, before King Henry VIII. by Sir Jo. Dudley, Sir Richard Cromwell, and four other challengers, which was proclamed in France, Spayne, Scotland, and Flanders. The 2d day at tourney, Sir Rich. Cromwell overthrewe Mr. Palmer of his horse. And the 5th day at barryers, he likewise overthrewe Mr. Culpep; to his and the challengers' great ho.:" Mr. Noble gives, from Stow, a particular account of this jousting; and adds from Fuller's Church History, that when the King saw Sir Richard's prowess, he was so enraptured that he exclaimed, "Formerly thou wast my Dick, but hereafter thou shalt be my diamond;" and thereupon dropped a diamond ring from his finger, which

Sir Richard taking up, His Majesty presented it to him, bidding him ever afterwards bear such a one in the foregamb of the demy lion, in his crest, instead of the javelin; and which, says Mr. Noble, the elder branch of the Cromwells constantly did, as did the Protector himself upon his assumption of that title; but that before, he used the same crest of the lion, only with the javelin in his paw. This may be questionable, but is immaterial. The above Sir Henry, the eldest son of Sir Richard Cromwell, appears by the pedigree to have been knighted in the 6th year of Queen Elizabeth (1563); and it appears in a book giving an account of the Queen's reception at the University of Cambridge, in 1564, intituled The Triumphs of the Muses, by Dr. Nicholas Robinson, chaplain to Archbishop Parker, and afterwards Bishop of Bangor, that the Queen, upon her departure from Cambridge, rode to dinner to a house of the Bishop of Ely, at Stanton, and from thence to her bed at Hinchinbrooke, a house of Sir Henry Cromwell's, in Huntingdonshire. Sir Henry's eldest son, Sir Oliver Cromwell, married, first Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Bromley, Lord High Chancellor of England: his second wife was Lady Ann, the widow of Sir Horatio Palavacina, of Babram, in Cambridgeshire. Mr. Noble says, from Morgan's Survey of Gentry, that Sir Oliver was knighted by Queen Elizabeth in 1548, 40th year of her reign: and he adds from Stow and other writers, that he entertained King James several times, namely, in 1603, in his coming from Scotland, upon his accession to the crown of England, in the most sumptuous manner, from the 27th to the 29th of April, and in 1616, and 1617; and Mr. Noble thinks that he also entertained King Charles the First, probably, more than once, upon his going to and in his return from the north. Previously to his coronation, the King (James) created Sir Oliver a Knight of the Bath. Mr. Noble adds, from the Journals of the House of Commons, that he appears to have been a conspicuous member from the year 1604 to 1610, and also in 1614, 1623, and 1624, during which years he is oftener named upon committees than any other member: also, that his name occurs once in a committee in the first parliament of King Charles I.

This is correct: he was of a committee to which a bill for the increase of timber and wood was referred. He supposes he sat for Huntingdon; but it appears from a search now made at the crown office, that he sat for the county of Huntingdon. The same writer says, that Sir Oliver was not an idle spectator in the civil wars; for that, remembering the many obligations he and his ancestors lay under to the crown, he determined to support the royal cause; for which purpose he not only, at a very heavy expense, raised men and gave large sums of money, but obliged his sons to take up arms and go into the royal army, and that he was of greater use to His Majesty than any person in that part of the kingdom, by which he rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the parliament; and that the great expenses that this attachment to an unfortunate party put him to, obliged him to dispose of his grand seat of Hinchinbrooke, which he sold to Sir Sidney Montague, the youngest of six sons of Edward Lord Montague, of Boughton. And that after this sale he resided at Ramsey, where he continued till his death; which, Mr. Noble says, from the register of the parish, was 28th August 1655, in the 93d year of his age, and where he was buried. His estates appear to have been very large.

Sir Oliver Cromwell's eldest son Henry's first wife, was, as Mr. Noble says, and as appears in the pedigree, Battina, daughter of the above Sir Horatio Palavacina; and his third wife, (who is not noticed in the pedigree,) he says, from the register of Ramsey, was Lady Elizabeth Ferrers, (she was the widow of Sir John Ferrers,) whom he there appears to have married May 4th, 1642. In the first edition of his work, he (Mr. Noble) declares himself ignorant of his second wife's name, only that her christian name was Mary. In the third edition, he says, she was Lucy, daughter of Sir Richard Dyer, of Great Stoughton, in Huntingdonshire, and widow of Sir Edward Car, of Sleaford, in the county of Lincoln. Accordingly so it appears in a small book in the possession of the Cromwell family, appearing to have been her pocket-book (covered with gold stuff or brocade) in her own handwriting, wherein she describes herself (not giving her christian

name) as having been married to Sir Edward Carre, the 11th October 1607; and then gives the issue of that marriage, the only daughter of which was Lucy, which was probably her mother's name, and not Mary. She then describes herself as having been married to Mr. Henry Cromwell, of Hinchinbrooke, 9th August 1619, at Upwood, and gives the issue of that marriage; the names of whom and times of their birth, correspond with Mr. Noble's account of Henry Cromwell's last right children, only Mr. Noble gives the times of their baptisms; she gives the names of the godfathers and godmothers of these children; amongst whom are,—the Lady Bridget Carre, the Earl of Somerset, the Countess of Bedford, the Lord Fitzwilliam, the Lady Peyton of Doddington, the Countess of Bolinbrooke, the Lady Arabella St. John, Sir Thomas Peyton, the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Leicester, Sir Thomas Grantham, the Lady Mary Dymoke, Sir Peregrine Bertie, &c. Mr. Noble gives a ninth daughter of this marriage, named Elizabeth, the first daughter of that name dying in her infancy. It appears, from his extracts from the parish register of Ramsey, that this second wife was buried at Ramsey, January 12. 1639–40; and that Henry Cromwell died September 18. 1657, and was buried in the chancel of the same church. He says, from the Journals of the House of Commons, that he was a very active man for the royal party; and that he was one of the members for the county of Huntingdon. The pedigree terminates with the issue of Sir Oliver Cromwell.

Amongst the collateral branches of the family, are to be found in the pedigree the St. Johns; and, amongst others of that name, Oliver St. John, Lord St. John of Bletsoe; Edward Lord Clinton, Earl of Lincoln, Admiral of England in Queen Elizabeth's reign; William Lord Howard, Chamberlain to the same Queen; Richard Gray, Lord Powis; Edward Lord Dudley: these are in the line of Sir Richard Cromwell:—in the next line are, Henry Cary, Baron of Hundsdon, Lord Chamberlain to Queen Elizabeth; Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral of England; Anthony Browne; Viscount Montacute:—in the next line, William Howard Earl of Effingham; Thomas Manners Earl

of Rutland; and two of Sir Henry Cromwell's daughters, married into the Hampdens' and the Barringtons' families. It is probable that from the St. John's family the name of Oliver came into the Cromwell family.

The above Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, was the great favourite and prime minister of King Henry the VIIIth, and his vicegerent in ecclesiastical affairs, and as such, says Bishop Burnet, had the precedence of all persons in the kingdom, next to the Royal family: he was also a Knight of the Garter. The Bishop describes him as the great support and vigorous promoter of the Reformation, and speaks highly of his great abilities as a statesman, and of his personal worth in private life; of the latter of which he gives from contemporary histories, some instances. The then prevailing influence of the Popish party procured his attainder, upon which he was condemned without a hearing, and suffered death by beheading on the 28th of July 1540, falling a sacrifice to his zeal for the Reformation. He left a son, Gregory, who was soon after his death created Baron Cromwell, of Okeham, in the county of Rutland, and afterwards made a Knight of the Bath. He married, according to the Cromwell family pedigree, Elizabeth, sister to Edward Seymour Duke of Somerset.

Mr. Noble has treated so largely of the Cromwell family and its alliances, that less would have been here said of them, had not Lord Clarendon, and some other writers of the Royal party, shown themselves anxious of every opportunity to treat slightingly and contemptuously Cromwell's descent and family connections and consequence, in the outset of his life. His Lordship, in relating the circumstances of the debate of the remonstrance in the Long Parliament, speaks of him as at that time but little noticed. In his character, upon his death, he describes him as of a private and obscure birth, (though of a good family,) without interest or estate, alliance or friendship; also, upon his first appearance in parliament, as having been a person in no degree gracious, no ornament of discourse, none of those talents which use to conciliate the affections of the stander-by. Sir Philip Warwick says, that the first time he ever noticed him was in the very beginning

of the Long Parliament (1640), when he, Sir Philip, vainly thought himself a courtly young gentleman; for, he adds, we courtiers valued ourselves much upon our good cloaths: that he, Sir Philip, came into the House well clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking whom he knew not, very ordinarily apparelled, for that it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor; his linen was plain and not very clean, and he remembered a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar; his hat was without a hat-band; his stature was of a good size; his sword stuck close to his side; his countenance swoln and reddish; his voice sharp and untunable, and his eloquence full of fervour, for that the subject matter could not bear much of reason, it being in behalf of a servant of Mr. Prynn, who had dispersed libels against the Queen for her dancing and such like innocent and courtly sports; and that he aggravated the imprisonment of this man by the council-table, unto that height, that one would have believed the very government itself had been in great danger by it. Sir Philip adds: I sincerely profess it lessened much my reverence unto that great council; for he was very much hearkened unto. And yet, says Sir Philip, I lived to see this very gentleman, whom out of no ill will to him I thus describe, by multiplied good successes, and by real (but usurped) power, having had a better tailor and more converse among good company, in my own eye, when for six weeks together I was a prisoner in his serjeant's hands, and daily waited at Whitehall, appear of a great and majestic deportment and comely presence. He says, in another place, that the interest of the Earl of Manchester and Cromwell lay, the one in Huntingdonshire and the other in Cambridgeshire. Mr. Hume says: Oliver, at that time a young man of no account in the nation, is mentioned in these debates as complaining of one who, he was told, preached flat Popery. He adds, it is amusing to observe the first words of this fanatical hypocrite correspond so exactly to his character. Mr. Hume here refers to a passage in Rushworth, mentioning the report from the committee to whom the consideration of the pardons granted by the King since the last session, to certain

persons questioned in parliament, had been referred. In this passage he, Rushworth, says, the Reporter informed the House that they did find upon examination, that Dr. Sibthorpe, and Mr. Cosins did solicit the obtaining of their own pardons; and that they said the Bishop of Winchester should get the King's hand to them; and that it did also appear to the committee that the Bishop of Winchester did promise the procuring Mr. Montague's pardon; that Dr. Manwaring solicited his own pardon, and that the Bishop of Winchester got the King's hand to it. Mr. Oliver Cromwell, continues Rushworth, being of this committee, informed the House what countenance the Bishop of Winchester gave to some persons that preached flat Popery, and mentioned the persons by name, and how, by this Bishop's means, Manwaring (who by censure the last parliament had been disabled for ever holding any ecclesiastical dignity in the church, and had confessed the justice of that censure) was nevertheless preferred to a rich living: if, adds he (Cromwell), these be the steps to church preferment, what may we expect? It should be observed, that this was said in the third parliament of the King's reign (which parliament commenced the 17th March 1627,) when Cromwell was not quite twenty-eight years of age. Mr. Hume has unfairly mutilated this short, or rather, probably, part of a longer speech; but it is not easy to discover, either in the passage given by Rushworth, or in the part of it given by Mr. Hume, the fanatical hypocrisy of Cromwell; it seems to be an observation, naturally arising out of the facts disclosed by the report, and sufficiently well expressed for the purpose intended. The preaching, here mentioned, refers to Dr. Manwaring's sermons recommending the forced loan; some account whereof has been already given in an early part of this history.

Sir Henry Cromwell's second son was Robert Cromwell, Oliver Cromwell's father. Mr. Noble says he represented Huntingdon in the parliament, 35 Eliz. He also says, that he was named a commissioner, in 1605, for draining the fens in the counties of Northampton, Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Cambridge. His, Robert's, wife (Cromwell's mother) was Elizabeth, the daughter,

some say, of Sir Richard Steward, Stewart, or Stuart; other authorities say, of Sir Thomas or Sir Robert. She is described, in an old pedigree of the Cromwell family, as co-heiress of her father (not giving his name) with her sister Mary, who married Sir Humphrey Foster. Mr. Noble, in his third edition, says, that she was the daughter of William Steward, of the city of Ely, Esq. and Widow of William Lynne, son and heir-apparent of John Lynne of Bassingbourne, Esq.; and who, he says, after remaining a widow about a year, married Robert Cromwell, Esq. by whom she had Oliver Cromwell and several other children. The following account of her family will show Cromwell's good descent on the maternal side. In the Cromwell family there is no account of her except the above; but Mr. Noble, in his same third edition, says, that she was descended from the royal house of Stuart, which ruled many years the kingdom of Scotland, and has given several kings to England. The pedigree given by Mr. Noble commences with Alexander, Lord High Steward of Scotland; from which office, which was made hereditary, the family received their surname of Steward. He appears to have had two sons, John or James, Lord High Steward, and Andrew Steward, Esq. From James descended, in a right line, King James VI. of Scotland and I. of England, and his sons Charles I. and Charles II. From Andrew Steward descended William, the father of Elizabeth Steward, who married Robert Cromwell.

By this table of descent, if correct, it appears, that King James, and consequently King Charles I., and Oliver Cromwell, were cousins.

Lord Hailes, in his annals of Scotland, says, that at Halidan, in 1333, two Stewarts fought under the banners of their chiefs; the one, Alan of Dughom, the paternal ancestor of Charles I. and the other, James of Rosythe, the maternal ancestor of Oliver Cromwell.

In the history of Ely, it appears that Dr. Robert Steward, one of the family, was the last prior, and, upon the Reformation, became the first dean of Ely. Some of the finest monuments in Ely cathedral are those of the Steward family.

The preceding accounts of Cromwell's family sufficiently prove, that Cromwell was not the obscure individual, either in or out of the House, that these writers wish him to be considered. His family interest, and probably his own talents, which appear very early to have disclosed themselves, procured him a seat for Huntingdon, his native place, in the third parliament of the King's reign.

Lord Clarendon, as before observed, describes him as early in the Long Parliament, but little noticed, and Sir Philip Warwick says he never noticed him till the beginning of that parliament; and His Lordship, in his own life, describing Cromwell's violent conduct (as he deemed it) at a committee of the Commons in that parliament, says, that Cromwell had never before been heard to speak in the House. This assertion is proved not to be true, by the preceding account of his speech in the third parliament (1627), and then, young as he was, he must have been of considerable account to have been a member of a committee of so much importance; and, it is probable he had been chairman of that committee, as he seems to have been the reporter of their proceedings. But Cromwell's obscurity and insignificance in the eyes of His Lordship and Sir Philip, if they really thought him so contemptible, must be owing to their own late entrance into the House, and their consequent ignorance of the proceedings of former parliaments; for, it appears, from the fore-mentioned life of His Lordship, that he (His Lordship) was not a member till the short parliament of the 3d of April 1640, when he was about 32 years of age. Sir Philip Warwick probably had not been in parliament before the Long Parliament; his name is not in Rushworth's list of the names of the members of the April parliament: but his (Sir Philip's) preceding account of the attention of the House to Cromwell's speech, trifling as Sir Philip describes the subject to have been, under all the alleged disadvantages of its delivery, and of his dress and appearance, prove him to have been at that time of no small consideration and importance in the House, which then contained the great abilities of the country. Mr. Noble says, that it appears by the Journals of the House of

Commons, that he was in no less than twenty committees between 17th December 1641, and 20th June in the following year.

The same writer (Mr. Noble), from the writers of those times, describes Cromwell's father as (having a small fortune) carrying on a large brewing business, the accounts whereof, he says, were wholly attended to by his wife; who, after his decease, continued to carry it on; whereby she was enabled to give her daughters sufficient fortunes to marry them into genteel families. Dr. Harris gives the same account from Dugdale and other authorities, and very justly adds, that, if true, it could not be deemed discreditable to the family, the youngest brothers of the best families in this country engaging in trade, and thereby raising themselves to fortune and independency. It has been also said that Cromwell himself was engaged in the same business for his support. All this has been said by Cromwell's enemies, for the purpose of degrading him; but no evidence to be relied on is produced in support of these assertions. The truth is, nothing certain is likely to be known of his early life, or the pecuniary circumstances of his parents. But it should be observed, that Cromwell, in his speech to his parliament, of 12th September 1654, says, "I was by birth a gentleman, neither living in any considerable height, nor yet in obscurity;" — and that he had been called to several employments in the nation, and to serve in parliaments. This account of himself, publicly given in the face of the nation, open therefore to contradiction if not true, is surely a sufficient confutation of all the stories of his and his family's narrow circumstances, and their engagements in trade in consequence. Lord Clarendon, in his anxious desire to lower Cromwell's consequence, would not have omitted to avail himself of these circumstances, had he credited them. In Peck's Memoirs of the Life and Actions of Cromwell, are three panegyrics of Cromwell, supposed by Peck to have been written by Milton, upon different occasions; in the third of which he describes him as grown rich at home. The time of his birth is ascertained to have been upon the 25th April, 1599, and it appears to have been at Huntingdon. That his father, during his life, and his mother, after his father's death,

were careful of his education, is probable; but his being first under the tuition of one person and then of another; his proficiency or non-proficiency in learning; his aspiring, stubborn, obstinate temper, incurring severe correction; and the accounts of the boisterousness of his disposition rendering him a terror to the neighbourhood; and, above all, the incredible story of his disagreement with and giving the King's son, the then Duke of York, afterwards King Charles, a blow, when at play at Hinchinbrooke; also his supposed dream of his future greatness, and his acting in the comedy of Lingua; — these must be the fabrications of the different writers after the Restoration, who chose to suppose there must be something marvellous and criminal in the very earliest moments of this extraordinary man's life. Indeed, it is quite improbable that all, or any of the trifling incidents of his childhood and youth, should have been noticed, and then preserved during a period of between fifty and sixty years; nor was it very likely that the witnesses to these things should have been then living, and in possession of memory and mental powers sufficient to have accurately remembered and related them. Lord Clarendon mentions Cromwell's supposed dream, and relates, that during his deliberation respecting the proposed taking upon himself the office of King, he revolved in his mind this dream or apparition, that had at first informed and promised him the high fortune to which he was then already arrived; which, he says, had been generally spoken of even from the beginning of the troubles, and that he remembered that it had only declared that he should be the greatest man in England, and should be near to be King, which seemed to imply, that he should be only near, and never actually attain the crown. How His Lordship should thus acquire the knowledge of Cromwell's inmost thoughts is not conceivable: had he for a moment indulged in his own mind a thought upon so silly a subject, he would probably have been ashamed to communicate it to his nearest friend. Sir Philip Warwick mentions this dream. He relates that, after the rendition of Oxford, (which was in June 1646), he was frequently with his wife's sister, near Huntingdon, where he had occasion to con-

verse with Cromwell's physician, Dr. Simcott, who assured him, that for many years, he (Cromwell, his patient) was a most splenetic man, and had fancies about the cross in that town; and that he had been called up to him at midnight, and such unseasonable hours, very many times, upon a strong fancy, which made him believe he was then dying. Sir Philip then adds, "And there went a story of him," that, in the day-time, lying melancholy upon his bed, he believed that a spirit appeared to him, and told him that he should be the greatest man (not mentioning the word king) in this kingdom; which his uncle, Sir Thomas Steward, told him was traitorous to relate. This must be the same story that Lord Clarendon relates; but, it is very evident, from Sir Philip's change of expression, that this story of the dream made no part of the doctor's relation, and that it was mere common report. Sir Philip does not say when Cromwell was in this low splenetic state. Had Cromwell had such a dream, the doctor must have heard it in his attendance upon him in the state of mind he describes him, most likely to produce unpleasant or extraordinary dreams; and, in his relation of his complaints, he could not have forgotten one so extraordinary. There can be no doubt that this dream was a fabrication after the event, and probably after the Restoration, when every idle story to his prejudice met with a welcome reception.

Robert Cromwell, Oliver Cromwell's father, was buried, as appears from Mr. Noble's extracts from the register of the parish of St. John in Huntingdon, on the 24th June, 1617. On the 23d April in the preceding year, he entered him (Cromwell) of Sydney Sussex College, in the University of Cambridge, as appears by the following copy of the entry now taken: — "A festo Annuntiationis 1616, ad festum Michaelis Archangeli, Oliverus Cromwell Huntingdoniensis admissus ad commeatum sociorum, Aprilis 23. tutore magistro Howlet." This entry of Cromwell as a fellow-commoner, is surely considerable proof of the case of his father's circumstances, and of his family consideration and consequence. Cromwell was, at the time of this entry, within a few days of seventeen years of age. Mr. Hume says, that his genius was little

fitted for the calm and elegant occupations of learning, and that consequently he made small proficiencies in his studies: others describe him as dissolute and vicious, and of a rough and boisterous disposition, consequently but little disposed to study. — Sir Philip Warwick says he spent the first years of his manhood in a dissolute course of life, in good fellowship and gaming; but, he does add, of which he afterwards seemed very sensible, and for which he was very sorrowful; and as if, says he, it had been a good spirit that had guided him therein, he used a good method upon his conversion; for that he declared he was ready to make restitution to any man who would accuse him, or whom he could accuse himself to have wronged. To his honour, says he, I speak this, for I think the public acknowledgements men make of the public evils they have done, to be the most glorious trophies they can have assigned to them. He adds, that when he was thus civilized, he joined himself to men of his own temper, who pretended unto transports and revelations. Mr. Noble probably refers to the same circumstance in mentioning his (Cromwell's) repayment of a sum of thirty pounds to a Mr. Calton, of whom he had won that sum; observing that he had obtained it in an unlawful manner, and could not therefore without sinning, detain it longer.

Mr. Noble gives this from a book entitled Heath's Flagellum, or Life and Death of Oliver Cromwell, whom he describes as a very scurrilous low writer; and whose object in writing this book was well known to be to abuse his (Cromwell's) memory. That he should happen to relate the above circumstance so honourable to it, is extraordinary. If to be credited, it would render very difficult of belief much that has been said of the hypocrisy and guilt of his subsequent life.

Great obstacles oppose themselves to the belief of these stories, independent of the length of time which had elapsed from the times of their supposed occurrence, to those of their relation. His father is described by Mr. Noble (how he is so informed he does not say) as a gentleman of good sense, and of competent learning, and fond of a private life. The youth of those days were not so forward as those of after-times; they

were much longer under the strict authority of their parents: it is not therefore to be believed that, previous to the early age of sixteen or seventeen years, he could have become the outrageous character before described; it is impossible, particularly, that the story of his violent assault upon the King's son can be true. Supposing there had been provocation, he could at no age so far have forgotten himself as to strike his sovereign's son; nor is it likely that the prince should have been permitted to amuse himself with other children without attendants upon his person, who would have prevented such an outrage. This story has upon the face of it every appearance of absolute falsehood. At the time of the King's forementioned first visiting Hinchinbrooke, in his way from Scotland, which was in 1603, Cromwell was not more than four years old; and in 1616 and 1617, when the King is said again to have visited Hinchinbrooke, he must have been between seventeen and eighteen years of age, and the prince one year older than him; and the two latter times, Cromwell must have known better than thus to conduct himself, supposing nothing to have prevented him. At college, he is described by different historians, — one, to save the trouble of examination, following another, — as living a dissolute and disorderly course of life, being more famous whilst there for foot-ball, cricket, cudgelling, and wrestling, than for study, and as being of a rough and blustering disposition, acquiring the name of Royster. Some writers say, he continued at college one year, others two: upon the strictest search and enquiry at the college, no trace is to be found there of the time of his quitting, and it is not likely that there should be any other authentic source of information, after the lapse of forty years to the Restoration. No ground, therefore, of belief is left that he quitted the college before the usual time of quitting, or that he misbehaved himself whilst there. The discipline may be presumed to have been very strict, and consequently the youth kept very orderly, to afford Archbishop Laud, then bishop of London, cause to complain (as he does in his considerations, presented by him to the King in the year 1628, for better settling the church-government) of this college and of Emanuel

being the nurseries of puritanism. All, therefore, that is related of Cromwell's dissipated life at college, and his short continuance there, must be wholly invention, for the purpose of vilifying him, and rendering him odious and contemptible from the very outset of his life. In the pursuit of this object, he is supposed to be sent by his mother to Lincoln's-inn, soon after his return from Cambridge, where his mind is said to have been ingrossed by the juice of the grape and the charms of the fair, with a habit of gaming, instead of attending to his law studies. For the purpose of carrying on the story, he is then described as returning to Huntingdon a finished rake, where he followed his vicious courses, — the taverns the chief places of his residence; but that his rude and boisterous behaviour prevented his equals consorting with him. This conduct, it is added, with forgetting to pay his reckoning, made him an unwelcome visitor, even to the publicans; nor were the young women less fearful of him, from the rude incivilities they received from him. This climax is reached by the relation of a story of his filthily bedaubing his cloaths, and dancing in that state at a Christmas festival given by his uncle Sir Oliver Cromwell; and by other irregularities, whereby he is said to have forfeited his uncle's good opinion. The stories of his excesses whilst in town, in Lincoln's-inn, must fall to the ground, because he never was there. The most diligent search has now been made, and his name is not found in its records; and Sir James Burrows, in his anecdotes and observations relating to Cromwell and his family, also says, that upon search his name does not there appear. Nor is it likely that in those days, a youth of eighteen or nineteen years of age should be sent to an inn of court. His son Richard was certainly of that society. To conclude the subject of the supposed vices and follies of Cromwell's early life, — the short time allowed for their commission, presents a powerful obstacle to the belief of them. Some of them do not belong to the early age of sixteen or seventeen; nor was he, during his father's life, likely to be guilty of excesses of any sort. If he remained only one year at college, he would be eighteen years of age when he quitted it; and he must have been married

before he was twenty-one, his first child appearing to have been baptized in the year 1621, when he could not be more than about twenty-two; so that three years must have been the utmost of the vicious part of his life; but no evidence to be relied on, is afforded of his having improperly quitted his college, or of his having resided in town, or of his having there or elsewhere lived a licentious life: his early marriage is a circumstance in favour of his previous sobriety. A letter is certainly referred to by some of the writers anxious to establish this fact as corroborative proof of these supposed irregularities: it is the first letter in Thurloe's state papers; it is dated, Ely, 13th of October, 1638; and is addressed to his beloved cousin Mrs. St. John. In it he says, "You know what my manner of life hath bine. O, I lived in and loved darkness, and hated the light: I was a chief, the chief of sinners. This is true, I hated godliness, yet God had mercy on me." This is only a part of a letter. The writers that wish to establish this charge of irregularity, deem this passage a strong proof of its truth: they say the words undoubtedly imply some personal vice to which he (Cromwell) had been addicted. But by a strictly religious person, either of those times or of these times, they would not, it is conceived, be so construed. His living in, and loving darkness, he means to say, Mrs. St. John knew to have been the manner of his life, and that his hatred of godliness rendered him the chief of sinners. This, it is conceived, would be the language of any person of the present day, who, after professing Christianity in the common loose way in which it is generally professed, and even preserving themselves free from the commission of all gross sins, and immoral acts, should become a convert to the stricter doctrines and precepts of the Scriptures, as held by those who are deemed to be the evangelical or orthodox believers of these times: they would thus, in like manner with them, describe themselves; they would consider themselves sinners, in so far as they had theretofore lived in a faith and practice short of those doctrines and precepts that they in a state of conversion or repentance should feel to be those inculcated by the Scriptures. Neither should this language appear strange to a Christian.

St. Paul, although a perfect model of a religious and moral character, under the Jewish ritual, when become a convert to Christianity, deeply laments his sins, both of omission and commission, describing himself as the chief of sinners, when his conduct appeared to the world irreproachable. We, the members of the established church, should also remember, that in our liturgy we confess ourselves miserable sinners and offenders, and pray for mercy. We are not to presume these solemn professions to be made without meaning.

Cromwell's scholarship is next attacked: he is described as dissipated and inattentive to his studies, both at college and at Lincoln's Inn, where (at Lincoln's Inn) as before said, he never was. Bishop Burnet says, that Cromwell had no foreign language, but the little Latin that stuck to him from his education, which he spoke very vitiously and scantily.

In the first of the fore-mentioned panegyrics, it is said, " his younger years he spent in his studies and other honest exercises with such a diligence and application, that it might be said of him as of Cato,—' In this man there was such a strength of mind and parts, that, let him have been born wherever he would, he would still have been observed to be the maker of his own fortunes.' " In the third panegyric he says, " being now arrived to a mature and ripe age, (all which time he spent as a private person,) noted for nothing so much as the culture of pure religion, and an integrity of life, he was grown rich at home, and had enlarged his hope (relying upon God and a great soul) in a quiet bosom for any the most exalted times." This kind of evidence may be thought objectionable, as derived from one so immediately under the influence of Cromwell as Milton, (if he was the writer,) may be supposed to have been ; but it should be considered, that the panegyrist, in celebrating the actions of his public life, was not necessarily led to speak of those of his private life. Had he, or Cromwell, been conscious that he (Cromwell) had been in his early life inattentive to his studies at college or elsewhere, or idle or vicious and immoral, he would not have ventured, nor would Cromwell have permitted him, to have praised him in those parti-

cular instances, but would have passed them over in silence. On the contrary, the bringing them prominently forward to public notice unnecessarily upon this occasion, affords sufficient grounds for belief that he had been diligent in his studies in his early years, and orderly in his conduct; leaving no room for the belief of his having been the idle and profligate character described by Heath and other such writers; who found their best recommendation to the then ruling party to be, their unrestrained and unlimited abuse of Cromwell and his family.

In Waller's Life, by Dr. Johnson, he (Waller) is described as received by Cromwell, as his kinsman, to familiar conversation, who found him sufficiently versed in ancient history. Dr. Harris, in quoting this passage from an early edition of Waller's Life, uses the words, "Greek and Roman story," in which, he (Waller) says, "he was well read."

In Thurloe's State Papers is a letter from Beverning, the Dutch deputy in England, to Jongestall, at the Hague, dated August 12-22, 1653, wherein he says, "Last Saturday I had a discourse with His Excellency Cromwell above two hours, being without any body present with us. His Excellency spoke his own language so distinctly, that I could understand him. I answered again in Latin." Mr. Noble says he (Cromwell) answered, which is a mistake. Beverning writes to the same effect to Nieuport, on the same 22d of August. Although Cromwell did not here speak Latin, yet he must have well understood the language, as he could not then have had an interpreter with him, nobody being present at the meeting besides Cromwell and the writer; who, though he appears to have understood the English language when clearly and distinctly spoken to him, did not sufficiently understand it to converse in it; he therefore preferred carrying on the conversation in Latin, in which Cromwell must have been well versed to be able to continue it for more than two hours. Hence, it also appears that Cromwell spoke his own language well and correctly, and expressed himself clearly and intelligibly, and not in the confused manner generally attributed to him.

Whitelock, in his account of Cromwell's reception of the Swedish ambassador in 1655, when Protector, says, the ambassador spoke in the Swedish language, and that after he had done, being but short, his secretary did interpret it in Latin; and that after the interpreter had done, the Protector stood still a pretty while, and putting off his hat to the ambassador, with a carriage full of gravity and state, he answered him in English. That this speech was not interpreted, because the ambassador understood English; and that after it was done, the ambassador gave copies of his speech in Swedish and in Latin to the Protector. This is surely a further proof of Cromwell's familiar acquaintance with the Latin tongue, in which he would probably have answered the ambassador, had he not understood English. The same writer, in his journal of his Swedish embassy in the years 1653 and 1654, also says, that at a dinner at Grocer's Hall, in the city of London, Cromwell discoursed in Latin with the Swedish ambassador.

Enough, it is conceived, has been said in disproof of the common assertion of Cromwell's deficiency in the knowledge of the Latin language, and of his own tongue, and of his supposed early loss of time in idleness and dissipation.

Dr. Harris gives a passage from the life of Dr. Manton, to show that the Doctor, having an opportunity to examine Cromwell's library, found it a noble collection; adding, "Manton was a judge."

Mr. Noble says that it must not be forgot that he (Cromwell) ever patronised men of learning and science, but he does not enumerate them. Neal, in his History of the Puritans, says, though Cromwell was no great scholar, he was a patron of learning, and learned men; that he settled one hundred pounds a year on a divinity professor in Oxford, and purchased and gave twenty-four rare Greek manuscripts to the Bodleian Library; that he erected and endowed a college in Durham, for the benefit of the northern counties, Mr. Frankland, Master of Arts, being one of the first fellows. But that these, and some other

designs that he had formed for the advancement of learning, died with him.

Another instance of Cromwell's attention to men of learning, and of his freedom from religious prejudice, is his care of Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of Ireland, in which station he continued till the dissolution of the hierarchy by the civil wars. He lost all his revenues in Ireland, by the Irish rebellion. The Protector, says Neal, had a high esteem of this excellent prelate, and consulted him about the proper measures for advancing the Protestant interest at home and abroad. He died 21st March 1655, in the 76th year of his age, and was buried, says Whitelock, in Westminster Abbey, and two hundred pounds were given by Cromwell to defray the expenses of his funeral. In the preface to the sermon then preached by Dr. Nicholas Bernard, (remaining with the Cromwell family papers) it is said that the great esteem His Highness (Cromwell) had of him, had been manifested, not only in his funeral, but in extending afterwards to his, what was before intended to himself, in the grant of some of the lands of the primacy of Armagh, for twenty-one years. And in the life of the Archbishop, contained in the same sermon, it is said, that in his distresses by his losses in Ireland, the parliament, for some years, had been bountiful towards him in an annual stipend; but that the last two years of their sitting it fell out to be suspended; and that after their dissolving the care of him was renewed by His Highness the Lord Protector, by whose order a competent allowance was given him for his subsistence, which contented him, and which he (Dr. Bernard) received from him (Cromwell) to his (the Archbishop's) last, with other very considerable sums extraordinary. Neal says of the Archbishop, that he was one of the most learned men of his age, that he had a penetrating judgment, a tenacious memory withal, and was a most pious, humble, and modest Christian.

Dr. Harris, mentions from Howe's Life, by Calamy, another instance of Cromwell's regard to, and encouragement of, literary merit; — that Dr. Seth Ward, (after the Restoration, Bishop of Exeter and Sarum successively) standing candidate in the year

Elizabeth, the Wife of Oliver Cromwell.

Drawn and Engraved by W. Bond: from a
half length Portrait, in the Possession of Oliver Cromwell Esq.re

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1657, for the principalship of Jesus College, in Oxford, lost it through means of Cromwell's pre-engagement to another. But that, upon being informed of the merit and learning of Ward (who had succeeded the very learned Mr. John Greaves, as astronomy professor, in that University) he received and conversed with him with great freedom; and enquiring of the value of the principalship, promised to allow him the like sum annually.

Dr. Harris adds, from different writers, that when Cromwell was Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and within a year after his assuming the Protectorate, he, at his own charge, bestowed on the public library there, twenty-five ancient manuscripts, ten of which were in folio, and fourteen in quarto; all in Greek except two or three. This must be the forementioned donation Neal refers to; that he also ordered to a private divinity reader there, (newly chosen to that place,) an annuity of one hundred pounds per annum out of the exchequer, for his encouragement; that when the great design was on foot of publishing the Polyglott, by Dr. Walton, Cromwell permitted the paper to be imported duty free. And he adds, that it is a fact attested by his very enemies, that he hindered the sale of Archbishop Usher's valuable library of prints and manuscripts to foreigners, and caused it to be purchased and sent over to Dublin, with an intention to bestow it on a new college or hall, which he had proposed to build and endow there.

Cromwell married Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir James Bourchier, of Fitsted, in Essex, Mr. Noble says, August 22. 1620, at St. Giles's church, Cripplegate, London, which he seems, by a note, to take from MS. Register, Coll. Arm. London; but it seems that the parish register of this marriage is not to be found. Mr. Noble says she survived Cromwell seven years, finding an asylum in the house of her son-in-law, Mr. Claypoole, at Norborough, in Lincolnshire, where she continued until her death, and was buried in a vault in the chancel of that church; but that no memorial is to be found to her memory. In his first edition

he says, she died 16th September 1672, aged 74, which he collects from an inscription on a tomb, within the communion rails of the chancel of the church of Wicken, in Cambridgeshire, but in this third edition he says, it is now incontestable that she was buried at Norborough. Mr. Noble appears to found his conviction of her interment at Norborough, upon a passage in the will of Cromwell Claypoole, the eldest son of Cromwell's daughter, Mrs. Claypoole, by which he directs the interment of his body to be at Norborough, as near his grandmother Cromwell as convenience would admit.

Cromwell had nine children, five of whom survived him: namely, Richard, who succeeded him in the Protectorate; Henry, the Lord Deputy of Ireland; Bridget, who married first General Henry Ireton, and then General Charles Fleetwood; Mary, married to Thomas, Viscount. afterwards Earl Fauconberg, and Frances, who married Robert Rich, grandson and heir apparent of Robert, Earl of Warwick, and afterwards Sir John Russell, Bart.; Elizabeth, his second daughter, who married Mr. Claypoole, died in less than a month before her father.

Up to the time of Cromwell's marriage, which was soon after he came of age, no evidence, to be relied on, has been brought forward sufficient to prove the alleged dissoluteness and profligacy of his former life; but there is much reason for the belief of the contrary. His conjugal fidelity, or his moral character since his marriage, have never been seriously impeached. From the time of his marriage to the year 1636, he appears to have resided at Huntingdon, the baptisms of eight of his children being in the register of the parish of St. John Baptist, in that town; the last on the 9th of February of that year. Between that time and the year 1638, he must have removed to Ely, his last child, Frances, appearing in the register of St. Mary in Ely, kept at St. Mary's church at Cambridge, to have been baptized at Ely in the December of that year. And so far forward as 1649, he appears to have considered himself a resident of Ely, being described as the Right Honourable Oliver Cromwell, of Ely, in a settlement re-

*Lady Frances Russell.*

*fourth and youngest daughter of Oliver Cromwell.*

*Drawn and Engraved by W. Bond, from a three quarter Portrait, in the Possession of Oliver Cromwell Esq.r*

*Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, London, Jan.y 1.st 1820.*

Mary Countess of Faucomberg;

third daughter of Oliver Cromwell.

Drawn and Engraved by W. Bond, from a three quarter Portrait, in the Possession of Oliver Cromwell Esq.r

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maining in the Cromwell family papers, dated 28th April 1649, made previous to the marriage of his son Richard Cromwell, with Dorothy Major. He must have removed very soon after the birth of the above eighth child; as, in the records of the Dean and Chapter of Ely, (with the inspection whereof the writer hath been favoured by the present most respectable Dean,) is a lease, dated the — and-twentieth day of October, in the twelfth year of the reign of King Charles I., which was in 1637, (with a copy whereof the writer has been also favoured,) whereby the Dean and Chapter demise to him, Cromwell, therein described, of Ely, Esq., for a term of twenty-one years, at rents of 48 pounds, and 20 pounds, and a certain portion of wheat, the rectory of the Holy Trinity, and the blessed Mary the Virgin of Ely, within the town of Ely, and the chapel of Chetesham within the Isle of Ely, and a barn called the Sextrey barn, and divers parcels of land, and the tithes of the said rectory in Ely and Chetesham. And it also appears from the same records, that leases were granted to him, Cromwell, by the same Dean and Chapter, of other large farms in the same Isle of Ely, in the fourteenth year of the same reign (1639), for the like term of twenty-one years. In these several farms he appears to have succeeded his uncle Sir Thomas Steward, to whom leases thereof had been theretofore granted.

Cromwell, from the above circumstances, appears to have been a regular settled character, as a husband and the father of a large and increasing family, from his attainment of the age of twenty-one years, first at Huntingdon, and then at Ely; it is therefore curious to observe the different writers of his life and acts, gravely relating, from no authority to be relied on, the one from the other without examination, the various instances of his supposed early profligacy and later private misconduct. The object of the first writers undoubtedly was, to recommend themselves to the then ruling powers, by vilifying and traducing the memory of Cromwell and his family, which they knew they could do with impunity, and without fear of contradiction, in its then fallen and perilous state. But it should not be forgotten that more than

fifty years had elapsed since the occurrence of some of these supposed misdeeds; and though fewer, yet very many years since that of others, and no record likely to have been made of them at the time; many of them also carrying with them their own confutation. Had the power of Cromwell and his family continued, nothing of the kind would have appeared: the writers of Cromwell's time discovered in him no faults; Dryden and Waller could not praise him too highly, though sufficiently ready to abuse him and his family on their reverse of fortune.

Waller, in one of his poems addressed to Cromwell, says:—

> Your private life did a just pattern give,
> How fathers, husbands, pious sons, should live.
> Born to command, your princely virtues slept,
> Like humble David's, while the flock he kept.

Another verse, referring to his family extraction:—

> One, whose extraction from an ancient line,
> Gives hope again that well-born men may shine,
> The meanest, in your nature mild and good,
> The noble, rest secured in your blood.

The following is the last verse of Dryden's heroic stanzas on the death of Cromwell:—

> His ashes in a peaceful urn shall rest;
> His name a great example stands, to shew
> How strangely high endeavours may be blest,
> Where piety and valour jointly go.

All Cromwell's supposed excesses are, it is observable, confined to the years preceding his coming of age; because then he is to be produced in a state of repentance preparatory to his marriage, which is supposed to have been brought about by his relations, the Hampdens and the Barringtons; and then, it is said, that his settling part of his paternal estate upon his wife, is a proof that he had not spent it, as some imagined, adding, that there had not been time for it.

Then comes a charge of a very serious nature, of his endea-

vouring to mend his supposed broken fortune, by annexing the estate of his maternal uncle, Sir Thomas Steward, to his own, by representing him as a person unfit to govern it, and petitioning His Majesty for a commission of lunacy, which the King refused. But, most extraordinary to relate, this same uncle, for the purpose of reconciling this story with his uncle's will in his favour, is supposed to have been prevailed upon to forgive him, and to leave him his estate. This supposed attempt to deprive his uncle of his estate, would have been so atrocious and unpardonable, that the reasonable conclusion must be, that this disposition in favour of Cromwell proves the falsehood of the story. Mr. Noble, in his third edition, gives a copy of this will, which is dated January 29. 1635, by which he gives all his landed property to his nephew, Oliver Cromwell. He desires to be buried in the cathedral church of Ely, in the tomb of his grandfather.

In continuance of these farcical representations, Cromwell is now, upon his marriage, to become too good: the strictness of his manners, it is said, had recommended him to the notice of the austere non-conformists, who weaned him from the established church, and he became sometimes a preacher amongst them. This is not likely to be true; all his children appear, by the foregoing registers, to have been baptized according to the rites of the established church; nor are the above grants to him of the leases by the dean and chapter of Ely, an inconsiderable proof that he had not yet become a non-conformist, which was at that time a hated character. Nor does he appear to have been considered by the then government as its inveterate enemy, although he had opposed some of its measures in the parliament of 1627; for, in the sixth year of the reign of the King (1631), it appears, in the records of Huntingdon, that by the charter then granted to that town, Thomas Beard, D.D., Robert Barnard, Esq., and Oliver Cromwell, Esq., burgesses for their lives, together with the high-steward, the recorder, the mayor, the senior alderman, and the chamberlain for the time being, were created justices for that borough.

Huntingdon, it is said, soon became disagreeable to him, partly in consequence of his uncle, Sir Oliver Cromwell's loyalty, and his influence in the corporation of Huntingdon; of a supposed quarrel with Dr. Beard for precedency; and the supposed embarrassment of his fortune; all which is said to have determined him to quit the place; also, that he did not think it beneath him to commence farmer at St. Ives, in Huntingdonshire, to which place he is said to go upon leaving the place of his birth, and there to have injured his fortune by spending too much time with his servants in prayer, detaining them after dinner very late, to hear a market lecture retailed, and the servants playing at cards to make up lost time, instead of ploughing and other businesses.

Mr. Noble says, that he finds nothing respecting the Cromwell family in the St. Ives's register; and there does not seem any interval for Cromwell's removal to and residence there, unless between 1631, the year of his son James's birth and burial, and the birth of Mary in 1636, during which five years Mr. Noble supposes him to have been resident at St. Ives, and then to have returned to Huntingdon, which is to account for Mary's baptism at Huntingdon.

It certainly does appear that Cromwell was resident at St. Ives in the years 1633 and 1634, by two entries signed by him in the parish books; also in 1635, by a letter written by him on the 11th January in that year from that place, given by Dr. Harris from the original in the British Museum. His removal from thence to Ely must have been upon the death of his maternal uncle, Sir Thomas Steward, in the year 1636. The account of his supposed waste of time, and of his substance at St. Ives, is incredible and ridiculous; Cromwell never thus mixed and confounded his temporal and spiritual duties.

Some of these writers describe Cromwell as having been, whilst in the isle of Ely, at the highest pitch of enthusiasm; his mind, disengaged from every thing but religious melancholy, heightened by dissatisfaction to both the religious and civil establishments of the kingdom, constantly reflecting upon some disappointments in his fortunes, rendered him gloomy in the extreme; the foibles

of his youth were swelled by his imagination into the greatest of crimes. All this seems to have originated from the fore-mentioned letter of 13th October 1639, from Cromwell to his cousin, Mrs. St. John. The passage from thence, before given, brought forward by Dr. Harris to prove Cromwell's early debauched life, has been already considered in that view. It is used to show his enthusiasm and religious melancholy, occasioned by reflection upon his youthful follies, and his disappointments in his fortunes. Supposing him to have been the faulty character described, his penitence was, no doubt, sincere, and did him honour. This letter was a private confidential letter to his relation Mrs. St. John, who was probably a religious character, and who, he had therefore reason to believe, would be highly gratified to find him also becoming more strictly so, than he might theretofore have been. The remainder of the letter is here given, which, it is not conceived, would, to a religious person, appear either enthusiastic, or too serious for the occasion, allowing for the accustomed use in those times of scripture language upon all occasions, civil as well as religious. This letter is dated Ely, 13th of October, 1638, and is addressed "To my beloved cozen, Mrs. St. Johns, att Sir William Masham his house, called Oates, in Essex, present theise:" —"Deere cozen, I thankfully acknowledge your love in your kind remembrance of mee upon this opportunitye. Alas, you do too highly prize my lines and my companie! I may be ashamed to owne your expressions, considering how unproffitable I am, and the meane improvement of my tallent. Yett, to honour my God by declaringe what hee hath done for my soule, in this I am confident and I will be soe. Truly then, this I finde, that hee giveth springes in a drye and barren wildernesse, where noe water is. I live (you know where) in Mesheck, which they say signifies prolonginge; in Kedar, which signifieth blacknesse: yet the Lord forsaketh mee not. Though Hee doe prolonge, yett Hee will (I trust) bring mee to his tabernacle, to his restinge place. My soule is with the congregation of the first-borne; my body rests in hope; and, if heere I may honour my God, either by doeinge or sufferinge, I shal be most glad. Truely noe poore creture hath more cause to

putt forth himself in the cause of his God then I. I have had plentiful wadges beforehand; and I am sure I shall never earne the least mite. The Lord accept me in his Sonn, and give mee to walke in the light, and give us to walke in the light, as hee is in the light: He it is that enlighteneth our blacknesse, our darknesse. I dare not say he hydeth his face from mee; hee giveth mee to see light in his light. One beame in a darke place hath exceeding much refreshment in it; blessed be his name for shininge upon soe darke a hart as mine." Then follows the passage heretofore given. Then — "This is true, I hated godlinesse, yett God had mercy on mee. O the riches of his mercy! praise him for mee, pray for mee, that hee, whoe hath begunn a good work, would perfect it to the day of Christ. Salute all my good freinds in that family, whereof you are yett a member. I am much bound unto them for ther love; I blesse the Lord for them, and that my sonn by there procurement is soe well. Lett him have your prayers, your councile; lett mee have them. Salute your husband and sister from mee; hee is not a man of his word; hee promised to write about Mr. Wrath of Epinge, but as yett I receaved noe letters; putt him in minde to doe what with conveniency may be donn for the poore cozen I did sollicit him about. Once more farewell; the Lord bee with you, soe prayeth,

"Your trulye loving cozen,

"Oliver Cromwell."

"My wife's service and love presented to all her friends."

This letter, in the first place, is sufficient proof, if any had been wanting, of the falsehood of Lord Clarendon's assertion of the privacy and obscurity of Cromwell's birth, and of his being without interest, alliance, or friendship. Here he appears to have been upon the most affectionate and intimate terms with his relations, the St. Johns and the Mashams; he expresses himself highly gratified by the pleasure Mrs. St. John had expressed herself to have in his correspondence and his society; he thanks her and the family for the care they were taking of his son; and he appears to be using his interest with Mr. St. John on behalf of their mutual relation in some difficulties. This was two years

before the Long Parliament, and before Cromwell had much appeared in public life.

This letter is deemed by the writers that give it, highly enthusiastic and extravagant; but, it is very certain, that the religious conversation and correspondence of those days were very generally in the same stile, however ridiculed after the Restoration, in the licentious reign of King Charles the Second, and indeed by the irreligious of subsequent times, as hypocritical cant. The correspondence of the strictly religious of these days would no doubt be found in much the same language; and, whenever disclosed to public view, is therefore treated by the world in like manner. Nothing can be more easy than to fasten upon any person or profession an opprobrious name, to render them hateful or contemptible; it was the practice of the times, after the Restoration, and is too much in use in the present day. There could be no hypocrisy in this letter, it could answer no purpose with Mrs. St. John and her family; their intimate knowledge of Cromwell, and of his mode of living and conducting himself, would have instantly detected him, and it was not likely to meet the public eye. But Cromwell must be the grand hypocrite of his time, by which all his subsequent conduct was to be explained.

It is conceived that it has not been proved that Cromwell had been irregular in his life up to the time of his quitting Huntingdon for Ely, which must have been, for the reasons before mentioned, in or about the year 1636 or 1637; and that, from what has been brought forward, the contrary appears. He settled at Ely upon his uncle, Sir Thomas Steward's death, in 1636, with a numerous family, having, the fore-mentioned panegyric says, a most excellent wife, and having lived not only void of all vices, but full of all virtues.

When at Ely, his mind does not appear wholly engrossed by this supposed religious melancholy and dissatisfaction: he is found engaged in the public business of his neighbourhood. In the books of record of a charitable institution in Ely, the members whereof are stiled Ely Feoffees, is the following entry, so late as

1641, (whereof the writer has been permitted to take a copy) he then being an active member of the Long Parliament: — " 1641. Gave to divers poor people in the presence of Mr. Archdeacon and Mr. Oliver Cromwell, 16l. 14s." This also shows that he had not then ceased to associate with the clergy of the establishment. There is also a petition at Ely, addressed to Matthew Wren, bishop of Ely, by the inhabitants of the isle of Ely, in the reign of King Charles I., stating that Aldreth was a great market for fat cattle, but that it had been discontinued in consequence of the decay of Aldreth-bridge, which should be kept in repair by the Earl of Suffolk as lord of the manor of Haddenham. The object of this petition is to request the bishop to lay their case before the King for redress. This petition is signed by Cromwell and many others. With these records is also a letter of Cromwell's, of which the following is a copy:

" Mr. Hand;

" I doubt not but I shall be as good as my word for your monie. I desier you to deliver 40s. of the town monie to this bearer, to pay for the phisicke for Benson's cure. If the gentlemen will not allow it at the tyme of account, keep this noat, and I will pay it out of my own purse. Soe I rest

" Your lovinge friend,

" Sept. 13. 1638. " Oliver Cromwell."

It is said by some, that Cromwell's estate was entirely lost or greatly impaired by extravagance: that he retired to St. Ives with a broken fortune, having dissipated the greatest part of his uncle Steward's bequest; and that from his ill success in the farming business he entirely exhausted the small remains of his property. And it is added, that he was insolvent when returned a member of the Long Parliament.

The above letter to Mr. Hand refers to a money transaction, of what nature does not appear. He thereby appears to have been kind and attentive to some poor sick person, and though the sum disbursed was small, his indifference about its repayment shows

him not anxious upon the subject of money. Hitherto nothing has been shown in proof of this supposed extravagance and necessity. The contrary is very evident from the following circumstances: — He subscribed five hundred pounds towards reducing Ireland. By the journals of the House of Commons, he appears to have subscribed, in February, 1641, three hundred pounds as a loan for the service of the commonwealth. 1642, July 15. The House ordered, That Mr. Cromwell having sent down arms for the defence of the county of Cambridge, Sir Dudley North forthwith to pay him one hundred pounds which he had received of the sheriff of the county. It was at the same time ordered, that Mr. Cromwell should move the lord-lieutenant for the same county to grant his deputation to some of the inhabitants of the town of Cambridge, to train and exercise the inhabitants of that town. Whitelock says, he raised a regiment of horse of his countrymen, most of them freeholders, and freeholders' sons, and who, upon matter of conscience, engaged in this quarrel and under Cromwell. This could not have been done without considerable expense to himself. The above sufficiently prove that he was not in distressed circumstances; also (contrary to Lord Clarendon's assertions) his great influence in his own county and neighbourhood, and which he must have lost by a vicious and dissolute course of life.

He is said to have dissipated his uncle Steward's bequest. If he had no other landed property in the isle of Ely than what came to him by this bequest, then he had not dissipated or disposed of it. He, indeed, had no time to squander this part of his property whilst at St. Ives, because he must have quitted that place in the year 1637 at the latest, and his uncle's death was not till 1636; and in the settlement upon his son Richard's marriage with the daughter of Mr. Major, dated the 28th April, 1649, he is described as of Ely, and thereby settles a considerable estate (so far as can be judged by the description) in the isle of Ely; also considerable estates in the counties of Hants, Gloucester, and Monmouth, making some provision for his own wife Elizabeth. And, by another deed of settlement, dated the 3d of August,

1653, whereto Cromwell and his second son Henry are parties also, they settle certain estates in the counties of Leicester and Glamorgan upon themselves successively, subject to a further provision for his (Cromwell's) wife. In the schedule of Richard Cromwell's debts delivered into the parliament, and to be found in the Journals of the House of Commons, also given by Mr. Noble, Cromwell's wife's jointure is stated to be two thousand pounds per annum. Part of this might, and probably did, arise from the grants of parliament, but not the Ely estate. There can be no doubt that he was a most dutiful and affectionate son of a most affectionate mother. She was interred in great state, in Westminster Abbey. Ludlow says, that she very much mistrusted the issue of affairs, and would be often afraid when she heard the noise of a musket, that her son was shot, being exceedingly dissatisfied unless she might see him once a day at least. Mr. Noble describes her person and dress, as appearing in a portrait of her at Hinchinbrooke-house: her dress, he says, is rich, as became her situation in life when drawn, which must have been in her husband's life-time, as his portrait is there also in the dress of a gentleman of that time, and consequently in Cromwell's minority. Modern copies of these portraits in water-colours are in the possession of one of the Cromwell family.

The Protectress Cromwell does not escape the general abuse of the Cromwell family at the Restoration. She is said indeed, in one place, to have compensated for the want of personal attraction by the fortune she brought him, and by her virtue and great good sense. She does not appear to have taken any part in public affairs, nevertheless she has been accused of disposing of places in the army during Cromwell's generalship; that she as deeply interested herself in steering the helm as she had done in turning the spit; and that she was as constant a spur to her husband in the career of his ambition, as she had been to her servants in their culinary employments. She is also accused in some of the loyal ballads and inflammatory publications of the day, as defective in chastity; also of drinking to excess. Mr. Noble says, the Protectress certainly was not happy in her person, which may be seen by her

portrait; which he gives, and says; there is reason to suppose one of her eyes to have been defective. This print is evidently a caricature; a monkey is represented at her ear; and it has been said to have been, in a scurrilous publication, entitled "Joan Cromwell's court and kitchen." But in the Cromwell family is a very good portrait of her, representing a handsome face and person — no defect in her eyes — a dignified manner, and dressed suitable to her then station. Dr. Harris says of her, from Heath's Flagellum, (universally allowed to be a scandalous performance, and not to be relied on,) that she was not wanting in pride, though he allows her to have been a woman of spirit and parts. He (Dr. Harris) says, the Bouchiers were an ancient family, from whence, he says, probably arose this spirit and pride. To show, nevertheless, that she rendered to him (Cromwell) all due submission, he gives the following letter from her to him, from Milton's State Papers, published by Nicholls in the year 1643:

"My dearist; "Desember 27th, 1650.

"I wonder you should blame me for writing nowe oftnir, when I have sent thre for one: I canenot but think they ar miscarid. Truly if I knog my one hart, I should ase soune neglect myself ase to the least thought towards you, hoe in douing of it I must doe it to myself; but when I doe writ, my dear, I seldome have any satisfactore anser, which makse me think my writing is slited, as well it mai; but I cannot but thenk your love coverse my weknisis and infirmetis. I should rejoys to hear your desire in seing me, but I desire to submit to the providens of God, howping the Lord, houe hath separated us, and hath oftene brought us together agane, wil in heis good time breng us agane to the prase of heis name. Truly my lif is but half a lif in your abseinse, deid not the Lord not make it up in heimself, which I must acknoleg to the prase of heis grace. I would you would thenk to writ sometims to your deare frend me Lord Chef Justes, of hom I have oftune put you in mind: and truly, my deare, if you would thenk of

what I put you in mind of sume, it might be to ase much purpos ase others, writting sometims a letter to the Presedent, and sometimes to the Speikers. Indeid, my deare, you cannot thenk the rong you doe yourself in the whant of a letter, though it wer but seldume. I pray thenk of, and soe rest yours,

" In all faithfulnise,

" Eliz. Cromwell."

This letter is a correct copy from the above publication of Milton's State Papers, excepting a few immaterial errors. It shows much more than mere submission, and that which is much better between man and wife: it proves much good sense and affection on both sides. Cromwell could not have been a morose lordly husband to receive kindly the above advice in his then exalted situation; nor, had he been such, would she have ventured to give it. He appears to have thought well of her understanding and judgment, in consulting her in his family concerns. In a letter to his friend Colonel Richard Norton (given by Dr. Harris), upon the subject of his treaty with Mr. Major, preparatory to his son Richard's marriage with his (Mr. Major's) daughter; after mentioning part of the terms proposed by Mr. Major, he says, " wherein I desired to be advised by my wife." The following letter, without direction, is given by Dr. Harris, from the original in Harl. MSS. It is dated Edinburgh, 3 May, 1651. It must be addressed to the Protectress Cromwell:

" My dearist;

" I could not satisfie myselfe to omitt this poast, although I have not much to write, yet indeed I love to write to my deere, whoe is very much in my hart. It joys mee to heere thy soule prospereth; the Lord increase his favors to thee more and more. The great good thy soule can wish is, that the Lord lift upon thee the light of his countenance, which is better then life. The Lord blesse all thy good councell and example to those about thee, and heere all thy prayers, and accept thee alwayes. I am glad to heere thy

sonn and daughter are with thee. I hope thou wilt have some good opportunitye of good advise to him. Present my duty to my mother, my love to all the familye. Still pray for thine

" O. Cromwell."

Had the Protectress Cromwell been the depraved character above represented, Lord Clarendon, and Ludlow, and Sir Philip Warwick would have gladly availed themselves of the opportunity thus afforded them of disclosing it; but His Lordship and Sir Philip are silent upon the subject; and Ludlow, mentioning Cromwell's removal from the Cockpit to Whitehall upon his becoming Protector, only says, that his wife seemed at first unwilling to remove thither, though afterwards she became better satisfied with her grandeur. This is no proof of her pride or love of power; and Cromwell, in the above letter, speaks of her good counsel and example to those about her. And Dr. Harris says, that what confirms him in the opinion of her real good character is, that Dugdale and Bates, who have drawn the most ugly pictures of Cromwell, have left hers untouched; which, he says, he is persuaded they would not have done, could they have found any thing to fasten on; that Bates, being physician to the family, must have had opportunities sufficient for information; and that after the Restoration, it was making court to abuse any part of Cromwell's family. This observation refers to a publication by a Dr. George Bates, in Latin, in 1663, entitled, " Elenchi (or Elenchus) Motuum Nuperorum;" afterwards translated into English, and published, in 1685, under the English title of " A short Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Late Troubles in England." In these titles he is described as Principal Physician to the Kings Charles the First and Second: his having held the same employ under Cromwell is not noticed; but in the preface to this translation he is so described, and so, says the writer, must have, of necessity, been intimately acquainted with many things which were not known to others. He says, that the first part was published in Cromwell's time; and yet that it is written in an

air and style which shows the author durst speak truth, when, if discovered, his life would have paid the price of his veracity; that it was first printed about 1651, but anonymous. This account does not accord with the time of the publication of the Latin publication, which is 1663, and is not described to be the second edition.

The writer appears to hold the highest monarchical principles. To prove the great power of the King over the lives and fortunes of his subjects, he says, that mediately or immediately they all hold their estates of the King, owing more to his bounty than to fortune. Under the influence of this principle, and that consequently all resistance must be rebellion, he gives his narrative of the rise and progress of these troubles in the most acrimonious terms, not sparing any one engaged against the King.

Cromwell's parental care of his children, and his affectionate solicitude for their proper settlement and future welfare, appear in various instances: — by the fore-mentioned settlements upon his two sons, Richard and Henry: by the letters that passed upon the marriage treaty of his son, Richard; some given by Dr. Harris, and others from originals remaining in the Cromwell family. In one of these letters, given by Dr. Harris, as copied from the original, in the possession of a Mr. Symmer, addressed to his noble friend, Colonel Richard Norton, dated 25th February, 1647, Cromwell writes, that "he had sent his son to him, being willing to answer Providence; and although," says he, "I confess I have had an offer of a very great proposition from a father, of his daughter; yet truly, I rather incline to this in my thoughts, because, though the other be very farr greater, yett I see different tyes; and not that assurance of godlynesse, yett indeed fairness. I confess that which is tould mee concerning estate of Mr. M. (Major) is more than I can look for as thinges now stand. If God please to bring itt about, the consideration of pietye in the parents, and such hopes of the gentlewoeman in that respect, make the businesse to mee a great mercy, concerning w$^{ch}$ I desier to waite upon God."

The following is also given by Dr. Harris, as copied from another letter in Mr. Symmer's possession: it is addressed to the same Colonel Norton, and dated 28th March, 1648.

"Dear Dick; — It had been a favour indeed to have met you here at Farnham, but I heere you are a man of great businesse, therefore I say noe more; if itt be a favor to the House of Commons to enjoy you, what is itt to me? But, in good earnest, when we .... you and your brother Russell be a lit .... honest and attend your charge, suerly so .... [some] expect itt, especially the good fellowes wh .... chose you. I have mett w^th^ Mr. Major: wee spent two or 3 howers together last night. I perceave the gentleman is very wise and honest, and indeed much to be vallewed; some thinges of comon fame did a little sticke I glad ... heard his doubts, and gave such answare as was next att hand, I believe, to some satisfaction; neverthelesse I exceedingly liked the gentleman's plainnesse, and free dealinge w^th^ mee. I know God has been above all ill reports, and will in his own tyme vindicate me; I have noe cause to cumplaine. I see nothinge but that this particular business between him and mee may go onn. The Lord's will be donn. For newes out of the north there is little, only the mal partye is prevailinge in the parliament of S. They are earnest for a warr; the ministers oppose as yett."

The following is an extract from another letter upon the same subject, dated April 3. 1648, in the same Mr. Symmer's possession.

"Dear Norton; — I could not, in my last, give you a perfect account of what passed between me and Mr. M. (Major), because wee were to have a conclusion of our speech that morninge after I wrote my letter to you, w^ch^ we had; and having had a full interview of one another's mindes, wee parted with this, that both would consider with our relations, and according to satisfactions given there, acquaint each other with our mindes. I cannot tell how better to doe itt, to receive or give satisfaction then by you, whoe, (as I remember) in your last, sayd, that if thing did stick between us, you would use your endeavor towards a close."

He then mentions the terms insisted on by Mr. Major, and his (Cromwell's) own offer; and as to some parts of the terms, he says, " he had desired to be advised by his wife." Referring to a sum of money he should require of Mr. Major, as part of the terms, he says, that he shall need that for his two little wenches, (meaning his daughters,) whereby he shall free his son from being charged with them. He says, " Mr. Major parts with nothing in present, but that monie, saving their board, which I should not be unwilling to give them, to enjoy the comfort of their societye, which its reason he smarts for, if he will robb mee altogether of them.

" I thought fitt to give you this account, desire you to make such use of itt as God shall direct you, and I doubt not but you will doe the part of a friend between two friendes: I account myself one; and I have heard you say, Mr. Major was entirely soe to you. What the good pleasure of God is, I shall write; there, is only rest. I desire you to carrie this business with all privacie; I beseech you to do so, as you love mee. Let me entreat you not to lose a day herein, that I may know Mr. Major's minde; for I think I may be at leisure for a week to attend this business, to give and take satisfaction, from which, perhaps, I may be shut up afterwards by employment. I know thou art an idle fellow; but, prithee, neglect mee not now: delay may be very inconvenient to mee. I much rely upon you," &c.

Copies only of the two last letters are with the Cromwell family. By a letter dated February 1. in the same year (1648,) one of seventeen that Dr. Harris says were transcribed from the originals found at Pusey, in Berkshire, the seat of the Dunches, by the Honourable Horace Walpole; which letter is addressed to Mr. Robinson, preacher at Southampton; it appears that the treaty for the marriage had terminated unsuccessfully. By this letter, Mr. Robinson appears, by the desire of Mr. Major, to propose the renewal of the treaty, to which Cromwell expresses his willingness to accede, upon Mr. Robinson's " testimony of the gentlewoeman's worth, and the common report of the pyetye of

the familye." The subsequent letters, until the marriage, are to Mr. Major, upon the same subject.

The marriage was on the 1st May, 1649.; and on the 27th July following, Cromwell, writing from Newbury to Mr. Major, one of the fore-mentioned letters, says, " Sir; discompose not your thoughts nor estate for what you are to pay mee. Let me knowe wherein I may complye with your occasions and minde, and be confident you will finde mee to you as your own hearte; wishinge your prosperitye and contentment very sincerlye, with the remembrance of my love."

In another of these letters, dated 28th June, 1651, he (Cromwell) says: " I hear my sonn hath exceeded his allowance, and is in debt: truly I cannot comend him therein; wisdom requireing his livinge within compasse, and callinge for it at his handes; and in my judgement, the reputation arisinge from thence would have beene more real honour, then what is attained the other way. I believe vain men will speake well of him that does ill. I desier to be understood, that I grudge him not laudable recreations, nor an honorable carriage of himselfe in them; nor is any matter of charge likely to fall to my share, or stick with mee. Truly, I can finde in my heart to allow him, not only a sufficiency, but more, for his good; but if pleasure and selfe-sattisfaction bee made the businesse of a man's life, soe much cost laid out uppon it, so much tyme spent in itt, as rather answers appetite then the will of God, or is comely before his saints, I scruple to feede this humor; and God forbid that his being my sonn, should bee his allowance to live not pleasinglye to our Heavenly Father, who hath raised mee out of the dust to what I am. I desier your faithfullnesse (hee being alsoe your concernment as well as mine) to advise him to approve himself to the Lord in his course of life, and to search his statutes for a rule to conscience, and to seeke grace from Christ to enable to walke therein. This hath life in itt, and will come to somewhat; what is a poore creature without this? This will not abridge of lawfull pleasures, but teach such an use of them, as will have the peace of a good conscience goinge alonge with itt. Sir, I write what is in my heart; I pray you comuni-

nicate my minde herein to my sonn, and be his remembrancer in theise thinges. Truly, I love him; he is deere to me, soe is his wife, and for their sakes doe I thus write. They shall not want comfort nor incoragement from mee, so far as I may afford itt; but indeed I cannot thinke I doe well to feede a voluptuous humour in my sonn; if he should make pleasures the businesse of his life, in a time when some precious saints are bleeding and breathinge out their last for the good and safetye of the rest. Memorable is the speech of Urijah to David, 2 Chron. xi.

" Sir, I beseech you, believe I heere say not this to save my purse, for I shall willinglye do what is convenient to satisfie his occasions, as I have opportunitye; but as I pray hee may not walke in a course not pleasing to the Lord, soe think itt lyeth upon mee to give him (in love) the best councell I may, and know not how better to conveigh it to him, then by so good a hand as yours.

" Sr, I pray you acquaint him with theise thoughts of mine; and remember my love to my daughter, for whose sake I shall be induced to do any reasonable thinge. I pray for her happie deliverance, frequently and earnistly."

The following is a copy of an original letter, in the British Museum, from Cromwell to his daughter Ireton, given by Dr. Harris: it is dated, London, 25th October, 1646, and is addressed to her at Combury, the general's head quarters.

" Deere Daughter,"

" I write not to thy husband, partly to avoyd trouble; for one line of mine begitts many of his, w$^{ch}$ I doubt makes him sitt up too late; partly because I am myself indisposed att this tyme, havinge some other considerations. Your friends at Ely are well; your sister Clapole is (I trust in mercye) exercised with some perplexed thoughts: she sees her own vanitye and carnal minde, bewailinge itt; she seekes after (as I hope alsoe) that w$^{ch}$ will satisfie; and thus to be a seeker, is to bee of the best sect next a finder; and such a one shall every faythfull humble seeker bee att the end. Happie seeker, happie finder. Whoe-

ever tasted that the Lord is gracious, without some sence of self-vanitye and badnesse? Who ever tasted that graciousnesse of his and could goe lesse in desier, and lesse then pressinge after full enjoyment. Deere hart, presse on; lett not husband, lett not any thinge cool thy affections after Christ. I hope hee will be an occasion to inflame them. That w^ch^ is best worthy of love in thy husband is, that of the image of Christ he beares; look on that, and love it best, and all the rest for that. I pray for thee and him; doe soe for me. My service and deere affections to the generall and generalesse; I heere she is very kind to thee; it adds to all other obligations. My love to all. I am thy deere father.

"Oliver Cromwell."

The following is a copy of an original letter in the possession of the Cromwell family. It is dated 13th Aug. 1649, and is addressed, "For my beloved daughter Dorothye Cromwell (Richard Cromwell's wife) at Hurslye, theise.

"My deere Daughter;

"Your letter was very welcome to mee, I like to see any thinge from your hand, because indeed I stick not to say I doe intirelye love you, and therefore I hope a word of advise will not be unwelcom nor unacceptable to thee; I desire you both to make itt above all thinges your businesse to seeke the Lord, to be frequently calling upon him that Hee would manifest himselfe to you in his Sonn and bee listninge what returnes Hee makes to you, for Hee will be speakinge in your eare and in your hart, if you attend thereunto, I desire you to provoake your husband likewise thereunto. As for the pleasures of this life and outward businesse lett that bee upon the by, bee above all theise thinges by fayth in Christ and then you shall have the trewe use and comfort of them, and not otherwise. I have much satisfaction in hope your spirit is this way sett, and I desire you may growe in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and that I may heere thereof, the Lord is very near w^ch^ wee

see by his wonderfull workes, and therefore Hee lookes that wee of this generation draw neere him, this late great mercye of Ireland is a great manifestation thereof. Your husband will acquaint you with itt, wee should bee much stirred up in our spirits to thankfullnesse, wee much need the Spirit of Christ to enable us to prayse God for soe admirable a mercye: the Lord blesse thee my deere daughter. " I rest thy

" loveinge father,

" O. Cromwell."

" I heere thou didst lately miscarrie; prithee take heede of a coach by all meanes; borrowe thy father's nagg when thou intendest to goe abroad."

The following is also a copy of an original letter in the possession of the Cromwell family. It is date Carricke, 2d April 1650; and is addressed " For my beloved sonne Richard Cromwell, Esq., at Hurstly, in Hampshire."

" Dick Cromwell;

" I take your letters kindlye: I like expressions when they come plainlye from the heart, and are not strayned nor affected. I am perswaded its the Lord's mercye to place you where you are; I wish you may owne itt and be thankefull, fulfillinge all relations to the glory of God. Seeke the Lord and his face continually, lett this bee the businesse of your life and strength. And lett all thinges bee subservient and in order to this. You canott finde, nor behold the Face of God but in Christ, therefore labor to knowe God in Christ, w$^{ch}$ the Scripture makes to bee the sum of all, even life æternall. Because the true knowledge is not literall or speculative, but inward, transforminge the minde to itt, its unitinge to, and participatinge of the Divine nature. (2 Pet. i. 4.) Its such a knowledge as Paul speakes off. Philip. the 3d. 8, 9, 10. How little of this knowledge of Christ is there amongst us! My weake prayers shal be for you, *take heede of an unactive vaine spirit. Recreate yourselfe w$^{th}$ S$^{r}$ Walter Raugh-*

*leye's Historie; its a bodye of historie, and will add much more to your understandinge* then fragments of storie. Intend to understand the estate I have setled: its your concernment to knowe itt all, and how itt stands; I have heeretofore suffered much by too much trustinge others; I know my brother Maior wil be helpfull to you in all this: you will thinke (perhaps) I need not advise you to love your wife. The Lord teach you to how to doe itt, or else itt wil be done ilfavouredly. Though marriage bee noe instituted sacrament, yett where the undefiled bed is, and love, this union aptly resembles Christ, and his church. If you can truely love your wife what doeth Christ beare to his church and every poore soule therein, whoe gave himselfe for itt and to itt. Commend mee to your wife; tell her I entyerly love her, and rejoyce in the goodnesse of the Lord to her. I wish her every way fruitfull. I thanke her for her lovinge letter. I have presented my love to my sister and cozen Ann, etc. in my letter to my brother Maior. I would not have him alter his affaires because of my debt. My purse is as his, my present thoughtes are but to lodge such a sum for my two little gyrles: its in his hand as well as any where. I shall not be wantinge to accomodate him to his minde. I would not have him sollicitous. Dick, the Lord blesse you every way, " I rest,

" Your lovinge Father,

" O. Cromwell."

The above must, surely, be allowed to prove, that which they are brought forward to prove, — Cromwell's parental affection for and anxious care for his children's present and future welfare, which he never appears to lose sight of in his most arduous public engagements. They also show a most unusually liberal allowance (for those strict times) for youthful extravagances and weaknesses, accompanied nevertheless by the most serious and affectionate exhortations to reform; and a generosity in his pecuniary concerns that is very honourable to him. To his more distant relations he also appears to have been equally kind, although supporting the royal cause. Sir Philip Warwick, indeed,

relates of him a circumstance to prove the contrary: he says "that whilst he (Sir Philip) was about Huntingdon visiting old Sir Oliver Cromwell his uncle and godfather, at his house at Ramsey, he (Sir Oliver) told him this story of his successful nephew and godson; that he visited him with a good strong party of horse, and that he had asked him his blessing; and that the few hours he was there, he would not keep on his hat in his presence, but that at the same time he not only disarmed, but plundered him: for he took away all his plate." This is an unfair representation. The truth is;—in or about November 1642, the Earl of Newcastle associated several counties in the northern parts of England for the raising of forces for the King; which determined the parliament to form the like association for divers other counties, and, amongst others, for Essex and the eastern counties, under the Earl of Manchester. In the preceding month of June the parliament issued certain propositions and orders to encourage the people to bring in money and plate for the maintenance of horse and horsemen, and for the purchase of arms; also a subsequent order for the staying of all arms and ammunition and horses; also a subsequent order for disarming Popish recusants and other ill-affected persons, and for the taking from them their plate, arms, ammunition and horses fit for service. Cromwell commanded in these last-mentioned associated counties under the Earl of Manchester, and in consequence, it became his duty (however painful it must have been) to execute these orders of parliament upon his uncle Sir Oliver in common with all other the adherents of the royal cause in those counties: he therefore was under the necessity of taking away his plate and arms and horses for the use of the state: but Sir Philip allows (though not meaning to do so) that he performed this distressing duty in the most respectful manner. Sir Philip should in candour have added, that (at the instance of his nephew, Cromwell, there can be no doubt though not so expressed) it appears in the Journals of the House of Commons, that the sequestration of Sir Oliver's estates both real and personal was discharged and taken off by an order of the House of the 17th April 1648; Whitelock says,

for his kinsman Lieutenant-general Cromwell's sake. He (Cromwell) also appears to have been equally kind to Henry Cromwell, Sir Oliver's eldest son. He having likewise espoused the royal cause, Cromwell appears in his favour:—by an order of the House of Commons of the 9th July 1649, upon his, Henry Cromwell's, petition, and at the request of the Lord-lieutenant of Ireland (Cromwell), the fine due and imposed for his delinquency was remitted and discharged. This is the unfair way in which Cromwell's enemies represent all his actions: he is to have no one good quality, nor is to do one good or kind act.

Some of the scurrilous writers of those times go the length of charging Cromwell with illicit amours, and that as his wife had no small regard for him, she could not, without the greatest uneasiness see him lavishing his tenderest regards upon others: for it is added by another writer, that Oliver with all his saintship was but a frail vessel; they even hint at her supposed jealousy of Christina Queen of Sweden: this queen and another lady are mentioned as his mistresses, and then a supposed illegitimate child. Could all this be shown to be true, his religious and moral character must be given up; he must then indeed be the hypocrite his enemies describe him. But sufficient proof of the falsehood of this charge is, the silence of the several principal royalist writers: Lord Clarendon speaks of his strict and unsociable humour in not keeping company with the other officers of the army in their jollities and excesses, to which most of the superior officers under the Earl of Essex were inclined, and by which he, the Earl of Essex, often made himself ridiculous and contemptible. Sir Philip Warwick says, that he was six weeks a prisoner in his (Cromwell's) serjeant's hands, and daily waited at Whitehall, where he appeared of a great and majestic deportment and comely presence; and does not even hint at any irregularities in his life. Mrs. Hutchinson appears to have had a great dislike of Cromwell, seemingly owing to some supposed affront of Colonel Hutchinson her husband; and she appears to have been a strictly religious character: but she is quite silent as to these supposed irregularities of Cromwell: she only says of him, (upon his be-

coming Protector, after censuring him for so doing, and expressing her disapprobation of some parts of his public conduct,) " to speak the truth of him, he had much natural greatness, and well became the place he had usurped."

Dr. Harris says, his (Cromwell's) court was free from vice. All there, he says, had an air of sobriety and decency; nothing of riot or debauch was seen or heard of; that Cromwell's own manners were grave, and such were the manners of those around him, though seasoned on occasion with pomp, state, and pleasantry. He then gives a passage from the Unparallel'd Monarch. " What palace," says this contemporary writer, " was ever less adulterated than his? Nay, in that very place where pimps and panders were used to traffique and sport in the base revellings of lust, there is now sitting a religious covent of our best and most orthodox divines; and whereas, formerly, it was very difficult to live at Court without a prejudice to religion; it is now impossible to be a courtier without it. Whosoever looks now to get preferment at Court, religion must be brought with him instead of money for a place. — Here are none of those usual throngs of vicious and debauch swash bucklers; none of those servile and taylshaking spaniels, none of those moehair, linsie-woolsy nits and lice gentlemen; no such changeable camelions." Let us add hereunto, continues Dr. Harris, the testimony of an adversary, meaning the forenamed Dr. Bates, (who, upon the Restoration, forgot all his obligations, and became one of the defamers of his memory:) — " His own Court (says this writer) was regulated according to a severe discipline; here no drunkard nor whoremaster, nor any guilty of bribery was to be found, without severe punishment." The doctor (Bates) introduces the above passage, (after commending his attention to the administration of public justice.) " Men's manners, also, at least outwardly, seemed to be reformed to the better, whether by really subtracting the fuel of luxury, or through fear of the ancient laws now revived and put in execution. Trade began again to prosper, and, in a word, gentle peace to flourish all over England." These passages must be admitted to be a complete refutation of these charges of Cromwell's supposed

irregularities and vicious conduct. To these may be added the two following passages in Whitelock, which Dr. Harris also cites, with some immaterial words in addition, not in Whitelock:—"The Queen of Sweden's intention to come into England was made known to the Protector; but he would not give her any encouragement: he put it all upon the ill example she would give here by her course of life." This does away completely the foolish suggestion of Cromwell's attachment to her, whom he had never seen. The following is the other passage from the same writer (Whitelock): "Graef Hannibal Sisthead, and a lord of Denmark, who had married the King's half-sister there, and been viceroy of Norway, but afterwards grew out of favour of his King, came into England to see the Protector, and made his applications to Whitelock, whom he had been acquainted with in Germany, who brought him to the Protector, and he used him with all courtesie; he dined with him several times, and the Protector was much taken with his company, he being a very ingenious man, spake many languages, and English perfectly well, and had been employed in several great charges and ambassies; but he was a very debauched person; which, when the Protector knew, he would not admit him any more into his conversation; and not long after he departed out of England." Cromwell's daughter Mary (afterwards the Countess Fauconberg), in a letter to her brother, Henry Cromwell, dated 23d June, 1656, to be found in Thurloe's State Papers, also cited by Dr. Harris in further proof of Cromwell's regular conduct, apologises for so long omitting to write to him, but supposes he could not be ignorant of the reason, which was the business of her sister Frances and Mr. Rich. She supposes that he (Henry Cromwell) had heard of the breaking off the business, and proceeds to give an account of the circumstances that led to it. She thinks it was not so much estate, as some private reasons, that her father (Cromwell) discovered to none but her sister Frances and his own family; which was a dislike to the young person, which he had from some reports of his being a vicious man, given to play and such like things; which office, she says, was done by some that had a mind to break off the match,

Dr. Harris adds, the reports, on examination, proving false, the marriage took place; observing, that these passages sufficiently evince Cromwell's care to avoid giving any countenance to vice, and also the regularity of manners in those who partook of his favour and encouragement. We may well suppose, says he, the nation must be improved in their morals by such examples.

Dr. Harris says, Cromwell was naturally humane and benevolent, and kind and condescending to his enemies. He then gives several instances: — The act of oblivion, which was passed on the 24th of February, 1651, which, Ludlow says, "the parliament was prevailed on to pass by the importunities of some of their own members, particularly of Cromwell, that so he might fortify himself by the addition of new friends for the carrying on his designs, and whereby many persons who deserved to pay towards the reimbursement of the public no less than those who had been already fined, escaped the punishment due to their misdemeanours, and the commonwealth was defrauded of great sums of money, by which means they were rendered unable to discharge many just debts, owing to such as had served them with diligence and fidelity." In another place, he (Ludlow) referring to Cromwell's supposed visible change of temper and behaviour after the battle of Worcester, says: "He now began to despise divers members of the House, whom he had formerly courted; and grew most familiar with those whom he used to show most aversion to; endeavouring to oblige the royal party, by procuring for them more favourable conditions than consisted with the justice of the parliament to grant, under colour of quieting the spirits of many people, and keeping them from engaging in new disturbances, to rescue themselves out of those fears, which many who had acted for the King yet lay under; though, at the same time, he designed nothing, as by the success was most manifest, but to advance himself by all manner of means, and to betray the great trust which the parliament and good people of England had reposed in him. To this end (continues Ludlow), he pressed the act of oblivion with so much importunity, that, though some members earnestly opposed its bearing date till after some months, as well

in justice to those of that party who had already fined for their delinquency, that others as guilty as themselves might be upon an equal foot with them, as that the state might by that means be supplied with money, which they wanted, and that such who had been plundered by the enemy might receive some satisfaction from those who had ruined them: yet nothing could prevail upon the general; and so the act passed; the parliament being unwilling to deny him any thing for which there was the least colour of reason."

It is curious to observe Ludlow's construction of the part he describes Cromwell as taking in the procuring this act of oblivion. It seems to have been so very humane and judicious a measure, that it could not be supposed that the most ingenious and ill-disposed could have discovered in Cromwell any sinister or selfish design in proposing it. Dr. Harris justly observes, that the passing this act of oblivion was right, is manifest from the conduct of all wise princes and states after civil commotions; that it is better on these occasions to incline to mercy than severity: that Cromwell pressed the act is probable; it became him, as a good politician, considered merely as a member of the parliament; as a man of ambition and great designs, it was wise and well judged; nothing so easily procuring friends as generosity and forgiveness; though, adds he, it is not at all unlikely that natural temper had a good share in all this transaction, for that he was humane and benevolent. He (Dr. Harris) then instances Love's plot, and refers for his authority to Thurloe's State Papers. The passage referred to is in a letter dated 24th March, 1659, from a Mr. John Maidston, in England, (whom Dr. Harris describes as steward of the household to Cromwell, and a member of his parliament), to Mr. Winthrop, the governor of the colony of Connecticut, in New England. He says, "Charles's interest," (meaning King Charles the Second, who was then in Scotland,) "likewise wrought here in England, carried on by the presbyterian party; and in this quarrel honest Mr. Love, who doubtless was a godly man, though indiscreet, lost his head, and many of his brethren were endangered; being detained prisoners, till Cromwell came

home (from Scotland) and procured their release." Dr. Harris refers to another instance of his (Cromwell's) humanity and benevolence, — his endeavouring to free the estate of the Countess of Arundel and Surry from sequestration. In a letter from her to Cromwell, to be found in Milton's letters and papers of state addressed to Cromwell, dated 16th September, 1650, she acknowledges her obligation to him for his endeavours to free her estate from sequestration, requesting him to recommend her petition, which had been presented to the House of Commons, to the attention of the House. And, in continuation of his proofs of this disposition to assist even his enemies, says, that this was so well known, that the Marchioness of Ormond is found addressing herself to him for favour, though the Marquis had publicly treated his character but scurvily. The following is the letter (in Milton's letters) referred to by Dr. Harris, (though not given by him,) in proof of this fact: — " My Lord; Havinge by a very generall fame reseved ashuranse of Your Lordship's inclinations to make use of your power for the oblidginge of such in generall as stand in niede of protectione and assistanse from it, and havinge heard that some expretions have fallene from you, that maye give mee hope that I, in my perticular may bee thought by you not uncapabill of being made one of the instansess of that dispositione in you, I have adventured to make this address unto Your Lordship for your favour, and to acquant you with my condistione, and tharupon shall hope for your assistanse, with that clearnes and generositye wherwith I have heard you have oblidgede outhars in a state not unlike that I am in. Your Lordship may please to undarstand that thar desendede to me ane estate of inheritanse in Irland, which, togethar with the rest of my Lord's fortune, is now by warr and pestelanse very much depopulated, and not like to bee, without much troubill, profitabill for a longe time; yet out of this estate it is, that by Your Lordship's permistione and furtharanse, I would propose to raise a subsistanse for myselfe and chilldren, if by Your Lordship I shall be incoridged to endevour it, and derected how most advantagiouslye to apply myselfe to it; being outherwiss as ignorant how to goe about it,

as I am unabell to compass it by tedious applications. Soe as from bouth this Your Lordship may gather how great ane obligatione you have in your power to plase upon mee. My desier is to owe my acknowledgements in this perticular unto Your Lordship, and to reseve your pleasure with such passess for myselfe and necesary attendants, as you shall judge fitt, and that with what speide Your Lordship shall think convenient, that accordinglie I may prepare myselfe with thankfullnes to reseve the favour hearin sought from you by,

" My Lord, Your Lordship's humble servant,

" E. Ormonde."

" To the Lord General Cromwell."

This request appears to have been complied with.

In a note this letter is said to appear, by the indorsement, to have been written in 1652. It is dated Caen, 1st May.

In Mr. Morris's Life of Lord Broghill, afterwards Earl of Orrery, is a passage that supplies a further proof of this lenity and mild treatment of Cromwell, of those who were hostile to him : " Soon after Lord Broghill's return from Scotland, Cromwell was informed that the Marquis of Ormonde was in London, of which he told my Lord, saying there is a great friend of yours in town, acquainting him with the time he came to London. My Lord declared he was ignorant of it ; and Cromwell bid him send the Lord of Ormonde notice, that he knew he was in town. Upon this my Lord took care to inform the Marquis of what Cromwell had said, which made the Marquis instantly hasten out of England. A little after, somebody had acquainted Cromwell that the Lady Ormonde was practising against his government with her husband ; upon which all Lady Ormonde's papers were presently seized, she living at that time in London. This lady had no friend to speak for her but Lord Broghill, and therefore applied herself to him. His Lordship immediately went to Cromwell ; but before he could speak to him, Cromwell began with his Lordship, saying in an angry, taunting way, ' You have undertaken indeed for the quietness of a fine person : the Lady Or-

monde is conspiring with her husband against me, though by your procurement I have allowed her 2000l. *per annum* of her husband's estate, because they are sufferers in Ireland; (this must have been in consequence of her above application;) but I find she is a wicked woman, and she shall not have a farthing of it; and I will have her carted besides.' My Lord, seeing Cromwell in this fury, gave a soft answer, and told him he was sorry my Lady Ormonde had given any occasion for such a disturbance: he could not tell what to think of it; but he humbly desired to know what grounds he had for so severe a censure of the lady, Cromwell answered, enough, for he had letters under her hand for it; and then threw him a letter to peruse, which had been found in rifling the cabinet. My Lord perused the letter, and smiled. — Cromwell asked him what he thought of it. His Lordship replied it was a mistake, for that was not Lady Ormonde's hand-writing, but Lady Isabella Thynne's, between whom and the Lord of Ormonde there had been some intrigues. Cromwell immediately asked Lord Broghill how he could prove it? My Lord told him he could easily do that, by showing him some letters of Lady Isabella's; by which he soon convinced Cromwell so fully, that his anger was turned into a merry drollery, and the Lady Ormonde had her estate and liberty continued to her, which kindness the Marchioness heartily acknowledged." Dr. Harris gives the same passage from other writers.

Bishop Burnet, in his History of his Own Times, says, " He, (Cromwell) understood that one Sir Richard Willis was Chancellour Hyde's chief confidant, to whom he wrote often, and to whom all the party submitted, looking on him as an able and wise man, in whom they confided absolutely. So he found a way to talk with him. — He said he did not intend to hurt any of the party; his design was rather to save them from ruin: they were apt after their cups to run into foolish and ill-concerted plots, which signified nothing but to ruin those who engaged in them: he knew they consulted him in every thing; all he desired of him was to know all their plots, that he might so disconcert them, that none might ever suffer for them: if he clapt any of them up

in prison, it should only be for a little time, and they should be interrogated only about some trifling discourse, but never about the business they had been engaged in. He offered Willis whatever he would accept of, and to give it when or as he pleased. He durst not ask or take above 200l. a-year. None was trusted with this but his Secretary Thurloe, who was a very dextrous man at getting intelligence. Thus Cromwell had all the King's party in a net: he let them dance in it at pleasure; and upon occasions clapt them up for a short while, but nothing was ever discovered that hurt any of them."—Dr. Harris gives the same passage, only making the sum to be given to Willis two thousand instead of two hundred pounds a year.

In the battle of Gainsborough, in 1643, Sir Philip Warwick does not actually charge Cromwell with the death of General Cavendish, whom he calls the brave young Cavendish, killed with many others, he says, in cold blood, after quarter given; but he attributes this supposed cruelty to the principles Cromwell's soldiers had imbibed from him, which is not very distant from charging him personally with the act. Now Cromwell's letter, containing the particulars of this action, describes it as very sharply contested. He says General Cavendish charged the Lincolneers, (the Lincolnshire troops) and routed them, when he, Cromwell, immediately fell on his rear and forced him down the hill, and drove him and part of his troops into a quagmire, where his captain-lieutenant slew him. This appears to have been done in the heat of action, nor is there a hint of any asking or giving of quarter. The pursuit appears to have been continued and ardent, and from the description of this part of the action General Cavendish must have been killed in the very act of resistance: but supposing it otherwise, a general cannot be chargeable with every act of his soldiers in the heat and eagerness of action and pursuit.

Cromwell's lenity and liberality farther appears by the moderate terms of capitulation he granted to the garrisons of different places, besieged by and surrendered to him. To the garrison of Sir Thomas Coggin's house, at Bletchington, he permitted the

commission officers of horse, and the governor of the garrison, to march away with their horses, swords, and pistols; the soldiers to leave their arms, colours, and drums; the gentlemen who were visitors to the governor, to be at liberty to march away with their horses, swords, and pistols; the lady of the house and her family to enjoy her goods without plunder. To the garrison of the Devizes, which he took by storm, — the commanders permitted to march to any of the King's garrisons within thirty miles, with their horses and arms; and the soldiers, leaving their arms, to the same garrisons; the gentlemen at liberty to go to their own houses, or beyond the seas. To the garrison of Winchester, also, terms equally favourable and honourable. The severity exercised upon the garrison of Drogheda, upon its being taken by storm, may seem an exception to this alleged lenity of Cromwell; but it was fully justified by the consequences, as appears in the account of that proceeding. Another instance of Cromwell's lenity is his conduct towards the Duke of Gloucester, the King's youngest son. Dr. Bates represents the King's remaining children in England, the Princess Elizabeth, and Henry Duke of Glocester, as basely used, and that some of the regicides had repeatedly proposed to put them apprentice to trades: that from the gentle tuition of the Earl of Northumberland she (the Princess) is turned over to the severer discipline of another, with orders that, when there should be no occasion for it, she should not be treated as the daughter of a King. He relates that she was afterwards confined to Carisbrooke Castle, in the Isle of Wight, under the custody of one Mildmay, where she died, and that the Duke of Gloucester was sent into banishment, allowing him a small piece of money to carry him over into Flanders. How different is Lord Clarendon's account! He says, that after the Princess Henrietta had been secretly conveyed from Oatlands into France, by the Lady Moreton, her governess, and the Duke of York had made his escape from St. James's, where he and the rest of the royal family that remained in England, were under the care and tuition of the Earl of Northumberland; the parliament would not suffer, nor did the

Earl desire, that the rest should remain longer under his government; but that the other two, the Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester, were committed to the care of the Countess of Leicester, to whom such an allowance was paid out of the treasury as might well defray their expenses, with that respect that was due to their birth; which, he says, was performed towards them as long as their father lived: but that as soon as the King was murdered, the children were removed into the country, that they might not be the objects of respect, to draw the eyes and application of people towards them: that the allowance was retrenched, that their attendants and servants might be lessened; and order was given that they should be treated without any addition of titles, and that they should sit at their meat as the children of the family did, and all at one table. And that thereupon they were removed to Penshurst a house of the Earl of Leicester, in Kent, where they lived under the tuition of the same Countess, who observed the order of the parliament with obodience enough: yet they were carefully looked to, and treated with as much respect as the lady pretended she durst pay to them. That there, by an act of Providence, Mr. Lovel, an honest man, who had been recommended to teach the Earl of Sunderland, whose mother was a daughter of the House of Leicester, became likewise tutor to the Duke of Gloucester, who was, by that means, well taught in that learning that was fit for his years, and very well instructed in the principles of religion and the duty that he owed to the King his brother: all which made the deeper impression in his very pregnant nature, by what his memory retained of those instructions which the King his father, had with much fervour given him before his death; but that shortly after, the Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester were removed from the government of the Countess of Leicester and sent into the Isle of Wight, to Carisbrooke castle, where Mildmay was captain; and the care of them committed to him, with an assignation for their maintenance; which he was to order, and which in truth was given as a boon to him; and he was required strictly, that no person should be permitted to kiss their hands, and that they

should not be otherwise treated than as the children of a gentleman; which Mildmay observed very exactly: and the Duke of Gloucester was not called by any other stile than Mr. Harry. That the tutor was continued and sent thither with him; which pleased him very well. And that here they remained at least two or three years. That the Princess died in this place, and according to the charity of that time towards Cromwell, very many would have it believed to be by poison; of which there was no appearance, nor any proof ever after made.

But whether, proceeds His Lordship, this reproach and suspicion made any impression in the mind of Cromwell, or whether he had any jealousy that the Duke of Gloucester, who was now about twelve years of age and a Prince of extraordinary hopes, both from the comeliness and gracefulness of his person and the vivacity and vigour of his wit and understanding, which made him much spoken of, might at some time or other be made use of by the discontented party of his own army to give him trouble, or whether he would show the contempt he had of the Royal family, by sending another of it into the world to try his fortune, he did declare one day to the parliament, that he was well content that the son of the late King should have liberty to transport himself into any parts beyond the seas as he should desire: which was at that time much wondered at, and not believed; and many thought it a presage of a worse inclination; and for some time there was no more speech of it. But that notice and advice being sent to the Duke by those who wished his liberty, that he should prosecute the obtaining that order and release, he, who desired most to be out of restraint, sent his tutor, Mr. Lovel, to London to be advised by friends what he should do to procure such an order and warrant as was necessary for his transportation. And he, by advice of those who wished well to the affair, did so dexterously solicit it, that he did not only procure an order from the parliament that gave him liberty to go over the seas with the Duke and to require Mildmay to permit him to embark, but likewise five hundred pounds from the commissioners of the treasury, which he received, to defray the charges and expenses of the

voyage; being left to provide a ship himself, and being obliged to embark at the Isle of Wight, and not to suffer the Duke to go on shore in any other part of England. That he came safely to Paris, to the satisfaction of all who saw him.

It would hardly be credited, did it not come from His Lordship himself, that so unfavourable a construction could possibly have been put upon this very magnanimous act of Cromwell; but this is only another proof of His Lordship's inveteracy towards him; — he will not allow him the merit of a good and disinterested motive in any his best actions. He first takes the chance of the effect that may be produced by the insinuation of Cromwell's procuring the poisoning the Princess Elizabeth; his inward conviction of the falseness of this insinuation obliges him, awkwardly and reluctantly enough, to declare his belief of its being unfounded. But he is determined to make some use of it to destroy the merit of Cromwell's generosity towards the Duke of Gloucester: accordingly he supposes it to be the consequence of Cromwell's feelings of this reproach and suspicion; for which he has just declared his belief of there being no foundation. His Lordship knew Cromwell to be incapable of such an act. In his character of him upon his death, truth compels him to acknowledge that Cromwell was not so far a man of blood, as to follow Machiavel's method, which prescribes, upon a total alteration of government, as a thing absolutely necessary. to cut off the heads of all those, and to extirpate their families, who are friends to the old one. And that it was confidently reported that in the council of officers, it was more than once proposed, that there might be a general massacre of all the royal party, as the only expedient to secure the government; but that Cromwell would never consent to it. "It may be," adds His Lordship, in the same ill disposition towards Cromwell, "out of too great a contempt of his enemies;" certainly implying that this contempt only, and not any other higher motive, prevented him from following Machiavel's maxim. It is not however probable, from the characters of the principal officers, that such a proposal was ever made. But it does not appear that the King was equally abhorrent of a work of this nature, if the account given by Mr.

Noble from Bishop Hacker's Life of Archbishop Williams be true ; who (the Archbishop) recommending to the King to secure Cromwell by some signal favour, or to take him off by violence, the King smiled ; yet that afterwards, he was heard to say : " I would that some one would do me the good service to bring Cromwell to me alive or dead :" the bringing him dead must be by assassination. This mode of disposing of his enemies, it is very evident from His Lordship's own account, however disposed to qualify it to Cromwell's prejudice, he (Cromwell) abhorred. The other motives His Lordship assigns for this liberation of the Duke of Gloucester, is not only ill-natured, but absurd. The extraordinary qualities and rank of the duke would render him, when at liberty, a most dangerous enemy, instead of an object of contempt ; and would, had Cromwell been influenced by political and interested views, have rather determined him to keep him closely restrained in his own power, than to have given him his liberty, and sending him to his family. But the truth must be, that his great mind could not be satisfied in keeping this innocent young prince in a state of lonely confinement ; he therefore, unsolicited, proposes his unconditional liberation, and that, in the handsomest and most dignified manner, in the persuasion of the parliament to present him with five hundred pounds to defray his expenses, that he might depart from this country in a manner suited to his rank. All this was Cromwell's uninfluenced act, and incapable of misconstruction. It should not have been forgotten, as it was at the Restoration, in the cruel unmanly treatment of his remains, and in various other instances ; Mr. Fox, in his History of James the Second, observing it to be a degrading fact to human nature, that even the sending away of the Duke of Gloucester was an instance of generosity almost unexampled in the history of transactions of this nature.

Mr. Hume, without citing any authority, says, that the Commons intended " it is said, to bind the Princess Elizabeth apprentice to a button-maker, and the Duke of Gloucester was to be taught some other mechanical employment." But he adds, " the former soon died of grief, as is supposed, for her father's tragical

end: the latter was by Cromwell sent beyond sea." And a later writer, also not citing any authority, says, " To disgrace royalty, the republicans meant to put this princess apprentice to a button-maker, and her brother the Duke of Gloucester to a shoe-maker." And that " His Royal Highness, who was arrived at his twelfth year, and was a youth of the best expectations and handsome in his person, becoming an object of jealousy to Cromwell, because it had been recommended by many of monarchical principles near him, to place the Duke upon the throne under particular stipulations; he therefore informed the Queen mother, as well as the Duke, that he might withdraw to the Continent, and Sir Henry Mildmay (who had the superintendence of the prince and his sister) was directed to pay his tutor, Mr. Lovel, five hundred pounds for the use of His Royal Highness; but a ship was to be found out of this sum, and it was to sail from the Isle of Wight, without his going on shore in any other part of England."

It is really inexcusable in writers of history thus to misrepresent facts, to serve party purposes, thereby misleading inattentive readers of present and future times. It defeats the use of history, and renders it most mischievous. There can be no pretence for these assertions of the intentions of the Commons thus to dispose of the prince and princess. Lord Clarendon does not hint such an idea; on the contrary, he describes them as treated suitably to their rank during the King's life, and afterwards respectfully, as gentlemen's children. His Lordship acknowledges his disbelief of the princess's death by poison; and Mr. Hume supposes she died of grief for her father's death. He (Mr. Hume) suppresses the particulars related by His Lordship of the liberation of the prince, for the gratification of making Cromwell appear to have dismissed and sent him off as would be done of the meanest person. It is done for the purpose of lowering Cromwell and increasing the prejudice against him. Other writers appear equally anxious to deprive Cromwell of the merit of this very magnanimous action, by attributing it to little motives of jealousy and apprehension. But it was the act of a great and generous

mind, and will stand the test of the nicest and most prejudiced scrutiny; and it would have been no more than fair and candid in his adversaries (amidst all the obloquy with which they have loaded him) to have allowed him the merit of this action.

Whitelock gives another instance of Cromwell's kindness, in directing the lieutenant of the tower to discharge Mrs. Lucy Barlow from her imprisonment: she had a young son with her, which she publicly declared to be King Charles's son, and that she was his wife: the officers found a grant, when she was apprehended, signed Charles R., by which she had an annuity or yearly pension of 5000 livres granted to her for her life, with an assurance to better the same, when it should please God to restore him to his kingdoms; and it was subscribed by His Majesty's command. Lucy Walter is said to be her real name, though she assumed that of Barlow. The King created this youth Duke of Monmouth.

The following is a copy of an original letter from Cromwell, to his son Henry Cromwell, in the possession of the Cromwell family; to be found also in Thurloe's State Papers, it having been permitted to be transcribed into that collection: it is dated 21st November, 1655:—

" Sonne;

" I have seen y^r^ letter writt unto Mr. Secretary Thurloe, and doe finde thereby that you are very apprehensive of the carriage of some persons with you, towards yo^r^self & the publique affaires. I doe beleeve there may be some perticular persons, who are not very well pleased w^th^ the present condition of things, and may be apt to shew their discontents as they have opportunitie; but this should not make too great impressions in you. Tyme and patience may worke them to a better frame of spirit, & bring them to see that, w^ch^ for the present seemes to be hid from them; espetially if they shall see yo^r^ moderation and love towards them, whilst they are found in other ways towards you; which I earnestly desire you to studye & endeavour all that lyes in you,

whereof both you & I too shall have the comfort, whatsoever the issue & event thereof be.

" For what you write of more help, I have longe endeavourd it, & shall not be wanting to send you some further addition to the councell, as soone as men can be found out who are fitt for y^t^ trust. I am alsoe thinkinge of sendinge over to you a fitt person who may command the north of Ireland, w^ch^ I believe stands in great need of one, and am of y^r^ opinion that Trev^r^ and Col. Mervin are very dangerous persons, & may be made the heads of a new rebellion; and therefore I would have you move the councell, that they be secured in some very safe place, & the further out of their own countryes the better. I commend you to the Lord, and rest, " Your aff^t^ father,

" Oliver, P."

" For my sonne, Henry Cromwell, at Dublyn, Ireland."

This kindness of temper is further shown in the fore-mentioned letter in Thurloe's State Papers, written by Mr. Maidston to Mr. Winthrop; in which he, (Mr. Maidston,) after relating Cromwell's death, writes thus of him, which, he says, by reason of his nearness to him, he had opportunity well to observe: — " His body was wel compact and strong; his stature under six foote, (I believe about two inches;) his head so shaped as you might see it a storehouse and shop both of a vast treasury of natural parts. His temper exceeding fyery, as I have known; but the flame of it kept downe, for the most part, or soon allayed with those moral endowments he had. He was naturally compassionate towards objects in distresse, even to an effeminate measure; though God had made him a heart, wherein was left little roume for any fear but what was due to himselfe, of which there was a large proportion, yet did he exceed in tendernesse towards sufferers. A larger soul, I thinke, hath seldome dwelt in a house of clay than his was. I do believe, if his story were impartially transmitted, and the unprejudiced world wel possest with it, she would add him to her nine worthies, and make up that number a decemviri. He lived and dyed in comfortable communion with God, as judicious persons neer him wel observed."

Mr. Maidston, in the rest of this letter, writes freely of Cromwell's public measures.

Whitelock's foregiven account of Cromwell's taking the Great Seal from himself and Sir Thomas Widdrington, for declining to execute the ordinance for regulating the practice of the court of chancery, and soon afterwards appointing them commissioners of the treasury, describes him as " good natured, and sensible of this harsh proceeding, for keeping to that liberty of conscience which himself held to be every one's right, and that none ought to suffer for it; and as then intending to make some recompense to them, by giving them this appointment."

All these instances fully prove the humanity and kindness of Cromwell's disposition.

Cromwell's supposed religious hypocrisy is the grand instrument of attack; it is a favourite weapon in Lord Clarendon's hands; and has been adopted, without examination, by Mr. Hume, and by every subsequent writer to His Lordship to the present day.

It is certainly the readiest and surest mode of destroying character, inasmuch as it is the attribution, without the labour of proof, of ambitious, base, and unworthy motives to the best actions, under a religious mask.

## CHAPTER IX.

*Cromwell's public character. — Represents Cambridge in the parliament of 3d April, 1640, and in the succeeding parliament of 3d November following, being the Long Parliament. — Is immediately put upon various committees. — Lord Clarendon's observations upon his supposed boisterous manners considered. — Considerations of some of the causes of the contest between the King and his parliament. — The first opposers of the court's measures. — Complaints of grievances. — The difficulty of reconciliation from the want of mutual confidence. — The Earl of Bristol's speech, recommending accommodation. — Bill for vesting the power of the militia in the parliament. — Ludlow's observations upon this measure, and upon the King's attempt to seize the five members — Upon his withdrawing to York — Upon his attempt upon Hull — Upon the parliament's propositions sent to the King, and his rejection of them — And his setting up his standard at Nottingham.*

It is unnecessary to say more of Cromwell's private character: even Lord Clarendon does not charge him with any one vicious or immoral act in his private life. And it might have been reasonably hoped and expected, that this irreproachableness of life and manners might have led to a more favourable construction of the views and motives of his public conduct. But herein he meets with no mercy. His public character comes next to be considered.

On the 25th March, 1640, Cromwell was chosen one of the representatives of the town of Cambridge in the short parliament that commenced the 3d April following.

The following extracts have been most obligingly permitted to be made from the records of the Corporation of Cambridge.

In the Common day-book of the Corporation of Cambridge are the following entries.

> " Villa Cantabr. dies comm'is lctime sum ibidem tent die Martis septimo die Januarii, anno Regni dni nri Caroli Dei gra. nunc Regis Ang. &c. decimo quinto, 1639.
>
> " Oliverus Cromwell de Huntingdon in com. Hunt. Ar. ad requi-

sitione maioris ville scdm antiquam consuetud ville predte noitut heat libtatem ville predce gratis et solvet pix 1d. pauper et jur. est."

" 25 March, 1640, Thomas French, gen Maior.

" This day, the greatest part of the burgesses of this town being present in the Guild-Hall, have chosen for burgesses, for the next ensuing parliament for this town, Thomas Meautys, Esq^r. & Oliver Cromwell, Esq^r."

In the preceding parliament of 1628, the above Mr. Meautys and Mr. Thomas Purchas, Alderman, were the members for Cambridge.

The above parliament of the 3d April having been dissolved, and another called to meet on the 3d November in the same year, being the Long Parliament, the following entry appears : —

" Com^n day, 14 Oct^r. 16 Charles.

" This day a letter was read, that was sent from the Right Hono^bl. John Lord Finch, Lo. Keep. of the Great Seal of England, and High Steward of this town, the tenor whereof is as follows :

" To my verie loveing friends, M^r. Maior of Cambr. Alder^n, his brethren, and the rest of the corporation.

" After my verie hartie commendacons unto yo^u.

" I must, in the first place, give you manie thanks for that expression of your love and respect unto me, which I found at my being with you. And I shall pray you to rest assured, that nothing in my power shall be wanting, whereby I may give you assurance how ready I shall ever be to requite your love with my indeavours for the good of your corporation upon all occasions. It hath pleased His Majesty to somon a parliament to be holden at Westminster, the third of November, and I hope it will be a happy one. The last parliament I recommended unto you, my cosen and frind M^r. Thomas Meautys, in whom I always found abilitie and affection to serve you; herein I shall, this time also, desire you (the rather for my sake) to make choice of again for

one of the burgesses. If you chuse with him anie stranger, I build so much upon your loves that I shall recommend unto you my brother, Sir Nathaniel Finch, Knight, His Majesty's serjeant-at-law, for whose care of you and affection to do you anie service I will undertake. But my meaning is not that for choice of him you should p'termit my cousin Meautys or any of your corporation, whom you should have a desire to elect; but, only, in case that with my cousin Meautys you join a stranger. And in this, as in all things, I shall sett this limit to my desires and requests unto you, that it be without anie inconvenience to yourselves or your corporation. The bearer hereof brings with him the writ to the sheriff of Cambridgeshire, from whom the warrant is to come both to the University and to you, of which I thought fit to give you timely notice. And so, with the remembrance of my hartie love unto you, I rest your verie loveing & assured friend,

" Yorke, 2°. Octobr. 1640." " Jo. Finch, S."

" Aldermen present: — Mr. Foxton, Mr. Holland, Mr. Wicksted, Mr. Tevells, Mr. Cropley, Mr. Wrench.

" Dies comunis ltmie sumoint ib'm tent vicessimo septimo die Octobris, anno regni dni nri Caroli Dei gra. nunc Regis Angliæ, &c. decimo sexto, 1640. Magister Robson, Maior."

" This day, the greatest part of the burgesses of this town being present in the Hall, have chosen for burgesses of the next ensuing parliament, for this town, Oliver Cromwell, Esq^r. and John Lowrey, of the Common Council or 24."

" Dies, &c. 11. May, 1641. 17 Car.

" This day, a letter sent from the Wo^ll Oliver Cromwell, Esq^r. and the said M^r. John Lowrey concerning a protestation herewith sent, was openly read; and it was agreed that the same should be entered as followeth: —

" To the Right Worshipful the Mayor and Aldermen of Cambridge, with the rest of that body, these:

" Gentlemen;

" We heartily salute you; and herewith (according to the custom of the House of Commons in this present parliament assembled) send unto you a protestation by them lately made, the contents whereof will best appear in the thing itself. The preamble herewith printed, doth declare the weighty reasons inducing them in their own persons to begin: we shall only let you know, that with charity and willingness the members of that body entered hereinto; it was in them a right honourable and necessary act, not unworthy your imitation; you shall hereby, as the body representing, avow the practise of the representation; the conformity is in itself praise-worthy, and will be by them approved; the result may, through the Almighty's blessing, become stability and security to the whole kingdom. Combination carries strength with it: its dreadful to adversaries, especially when its in order to the duty we owe to God, the loyalty we owe to our king and sovereign, and to the affection due to our country and liberties,—the main ends of this protestation now herewith sent you. We say no more, but commit you to the protection of Him who is able to save you, desiring your prayers for the good success of our present affairs and endeavours, which indeed are not ours but the Lord's, whom we desire to serve in integrity. And, bidding you heartily farewell, rest your loving friends to be commanded.

OLIVER CROMWELL.
JOHN LOWREY."

" After the reading of which letter, the said protestation was likewise read, and afterwards subscribed by the Mayor, Aldermen, and all others present at the hall at the said Common-day."

" Common-day, 24. August, 1646, 22 Car.

" Memorandum, That whereas the differences between the town and university are referred to Mr. Irmiston and Mr. Bacon

on their part, it is agreed that Mr. Oliver Cromwell, and such other one as Mr. Lowrey shall chuse, shall be for the part of the corporation."

It has been said by some writers that he (Cromwell) carried his last election by artifice; and Mr. Noble gives the particulars of this supposed management of his Cambridge friends from the Biographia Britannica, which, he says, is taken from Heath's Flagellum. Mr. Noble supposes this artifice to have been used to introduce him (Cromwell) to the Long Parliament; but it does not so appear in the narrative given by him. The artifice alleged to have been used, is described to be the obtaining Cromwell's freedom of the town of Cambridge, to qualify him for being chosen, by deceiving the mayor into a belief that Cromwell's only view in desiring this freedom was, to live in the town and be of use to it. If the Long Parliament is intended, the story must be false; because the first extract herein-before given from the Cambridge records show, that he had obtained, as was necessary, his freedom previously to his election to the parliament of April, 1640. And, supposing this story should be found to relate to his obtaining such freedom preparatory even to this his first election, it is, as Mr. Noble observes, utterly impossible that Cromwell should be then unknown to the corporation, whose favour he is said to have obtained by his supposed opposition to the drainage of the fens. But it is perfectly ridiculous to conceive that Cromwell should be a stranger in Cambridge; his family residing upon their estates of great extent and value in its vicinity, and Cromwell himself then residing so near as Ely, and having been already in parliament (in 1625 and 1627) for Huntingdon, and publicly known as an active member of those parliaments. The Lord-keeper Finch's above attempt to impose his own two relations upon Cambridge, as their representatives, passes without observation; but, it probably had the effect of not only the rejection of Sir Nathaniel Finch, but also of leaving out Mr. Meautys.

Cromwell is, by many, supposed to owe his introduction to

parliament to his opposition to the drainage of the fens in Lincolnshire and other adjoining counties.

Mr. Nalson Cole, register to the corporation of the Bedford Level, gives an account of this drainage of the fens, in his introductory history to his collection of laws forming the constitution of this level, which, he says, he gives from the manuscripts in the Fen-office. He describes this level, or large plain, as consisting of near 400,000 acres, all of which, except some few small hills, were covered with water: that the drainage began to be seriously thought of about 20 Eliz.: that her death put a stop to it, and nothing effectual was done therein during King James's reign: that Francis, Earl of Bedford, who was owner of a large quantity of this level, undertook the work in the 6th year of the King (Charles's) reign, joined by thirteen gentlemen of high rank: that the Earl, and his adventurers, were to have 95,000 acres of the drained lands, in satisfaction of the expense of the undertaking: that the work was instantly begun; and, in the 10th year of the same reign, a charter of incorporation was granted by the King to the Earl and his adventurers, with divers privileges: that the work was finished at a great expense, in the 13th year of the same reign; and was determined, by the commissioners of the sessions of sewers, to be well drained, and the 95,000 acres to be set out to the Earl and his adventurers as the agreed recompense: that the King's surveyor assisted in the work, and nothing was left to be done but the putting them into the possession of what they had so dearly earned: that, whether from the King's dislike to the Earl of Bedford, who was an utter enemy to the dangerous politics of those times, and was of great weight with all those who opposed the paces the King was making towards an establishment of absolute government, or owing to the pressing exigences of his private finances, which his unpopular treasurer, the Bishop of London, might think the measure the King took might relieve,—at that distance of time could not be determined, but that certain it was, that very soon afterwards the disposition of the King towards the Earl and his adventurers was entirely changed; that King, who, by his charter of 13th May, 1635, (the above charter,)

expressed his highest approbation of their proceedings, in less than four years, by such means as ill became a King, persecuted those very men to the almost entire ruin of the undertaking, and the destruction of the private fortunes of most of the undertakers: for that a commission of sewers was directed to officers and servants of the crown, and those whom the court had obliged, (who were entirely unacquainted with the business, and as little interested in the event of it as strangers could be,) to examine into the Earl's and his adventurers' proceedings. That these commissioners met at Huntingdon, 12th April, 1639: that, fixed in their judgment before they enquired, but ignorant, they were to determine the work incomplete, and to put the Earl and his adventurers under such difficulties, as should make them relinquish the undertaking, and throw the whole advantage resulting from it into the hands of the crown: that the King himself condescended to write to the commissioners immediately after the high-treasurer had written: he knew that to be a fact before examination, which the commissioners were to make a fact after they had examined; he declares himself perfectly satisfied that the Earl had not drained the country, and offers himself to be the undertaker of the work: that the commissioners accordingly began by arraigning the Earl's conduct; they determined the work to be incomplete and defective; they adjudged the Earl and his adventurers not to have performed their contract, and therefore not entitled to their recompense; and, with scandalous adulations, extolling His Majesty's great goodness in offering to undertake the work, they most meanly accepted his proposals, with a free-will offering of 57,000 acres more for his princely care of this distressed country: that the business of this court-commission was transacting at the time when the fire was first lighted up in Scotland, where a rebellion was actually began, and the country was in arms.

Sir Philip Warwick states the King becoming principal undertaker for this draining; and adds, that by this time the vulgar were grown clamorous against the lords and undertakers who had joined with the King in this second undertaking; though, he adds,

they had much better provisions for them than their interest was ever before; and the commissioners must, by multitudes and clamours, be withstood; and that, as a head of this faction, Mr. Cromwell, in the year 1638, at Huntingdon, appears; which, he says, made his activity so well known to his friend and kinsman Mr. Hambden, that he, in this parliament, (must mean of 1640,) gave a character of Cromwell, of being an active person, and one that could fit well at the mark; and that thus he is early joined unto the most busy contrivers of the new intended changes.

All the writers of those times, hostile to Cromwell, appear anxious to represent his first appearance in parliament to have been in that of November 1640, known as the Long Parliament; probably for the purpose of having it believed, (as it has been very generally,) that he owed his introduction to parliament to the influence of a discontented tumultuous rabble, who disliked the drainage of these fens. It did not suit this object to mention his being in parliament for Huntingdon, and a conspicuous character in the second and third parliaments of 1625 and 1627, and again in the Short Parliament, for Cambridge, in April, 1640. He could not owe his introduction to these two first-mentioned parliaments to his opposition to this drainage; because, it appears that nothing had been done in it since King James's reign, till the 6th of King Charles's reign, which which was in the year 1631, and Sir Philip Warwick does not place him at the head of the faction till 1638. No opposition is heard of to the Duke of Bedford's undertaking, who appears to have finished it quietly in the 13th year of the same reign, about that year 1638. These supposed opposers of the drainage must have been strangely inattentive to their interests, to have remained idle spectators of the Duke's proceedings, had they disapproved the drainage itself. The fact appears to be, that the dissatisfaction expressed (whether tumultuously or otherwise) was not of the drainage, which could not but be seen by all, and more especially by so discerning a mind as Cromwell's, residing so near the fens, to be a great national benefit; but, it must have been to the injustice of taking it out of the hands of the Earl of Bedford, after the great expense

he and his undertakers had incurred in carrying it on to completion; and the point of time (1638 and 1639) fixed on by Sir Philip Warwick as the beginning of the supposed tumultuous proceedings, determines the opposition to have been to these unjust proceedings of the King, and not to the drainage itself. And Cromwell must have strangely altered his mind in seven years, to be found receiving, in 1649, the thankful acknowledgements of the then William Earl of Bedford and his adventurers, through that earl and the Earl of Arundel, for the part he had taken in forwarding the ordinance which had been passed in that year, for this drainage. But Cromwell must not be permitted to get into parliament in the regular way: to support the obloquy of his character, even this must be done by lawless and outrageous means. There is, however, no question upon any of his elections, upon the Journals of the House of Commons; and, there is no reason to doubt, that his family connections, and his own great and well-known abilities, and these alone, procured him his seats both for Huntingdon and Cambridge.

The following extracts have been also permitted to be made from the Cambridge corporation records:—

"Cambridge, M. A common day, lawfully summoned, and holden at the Guildhall of the same town, the 8th day of May, 1652.

"This day Mr. Mayor propounded the Lord Gen'al Cromwell to be high-steward of this town.

"Whereupon it was unanimously agreed unto; and a patent of the said office was then and there sealed with the common seal of the said town, granting unto him 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per an. during his natural life. The tenour of which said patent is intered in the register book.

"Aldermen present:— Mr. Spaldyng Mr. Tymbs
Mr. Trench Mr. Gifford
Mr. Robson Mr. Bryan.

"Cambridge, M. The common day lawfully summoned and then holden before the said Mayor and Bailiffes, the 27th day of February, 1653.

" This day, the sum of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* being for the Lord High Steward's fee, now Lord Protector, and due at Mich'mas last, was taken out of the chest, and delivered to Mr. Mayor, to be by him paid to the Lord Protector, on his now going to London.

" A common day, &c. 2d day of March, 1653.

" Whereas the sum of twenty nobles, due to our Lord High Steward, now Lord Protector, for the year ended at Michs. last past, and it is conceived that a piece of plate will be more acceptable to His Highness, being unwilling to receive the money; it is therefore ordered, that twenty nobles more shall be added to the former, to make it up twenty marks, and that a piece of plate of that value be provided by the Mayor, on his next going to London, and by him presented to His Highness, for and in the name of this corporation: whereupon the sum of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* was taken out of the chest and delivered to Mr. Mayor for that purpose."

In further proof of his not being the obscure unknown person in the House of Commons Lord Clarendon describes him, it appears in the fore-mentioned journals, that he was, on the 9th November, six days only after the commencement of the Long Parliament, appointed one of the committee upon Leighton's and Lilburn's petitions, with Mr. Hampden, Mr. Holles, Lord Digby, Mr. St. John, Mr. Selden, Mr. Grimston, and others. He was of the committee of the 3d December, for taking into consideration the petitions of Mr. Pryn, Mr. Burton, Nath. Wickins, Mr. Pryn's servant, and others, with Mr. Holles, Mr. Comptroller, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Capell, Lord Digby, Mr. Selden, Mr. Grimston, and many others. This is probably the business upon which Sir Philip Warwick treats so slightingly Cromwell's speaking; but, by the number and respectability of the committee, it appears to have been considered as a matter of very considerable importance;— the committee was to consider of the jurisdiction of the high commission court of Canterbury and York, and of the Star-chamber, and of their several abuses. He was of a committee of the 13th February, upon a bill for the abolishing of superstition and idolatry, and for the better advancing of the true worship and

service of God, with Mr. Hampden, Lord Falkland, Mr. Hyde, (afterwards Lord Clarendon,) Mr. Holles, Mr. Selden, and several others; and he was of several other committees of this parliament. — Mr. Noble says, from the same Journals, that he was in no less than twenty committees between 17th December, 1641, and June 20, in the following year, and several of them of great importance.

In proof of Cromwell's supposed rudeness and boisterous manners, a writer gives a passage from the life of Lord Clarendon: — That Mr. Hyde was often heard to mention one private committee in which he was put accidentally into the chair, upon an inclosure which had been made of some great wastes belonging to some of the Queen's manors without the consent of the tenants, the benefit whereof had been given by the queen to a servant of near trust, who forthwith sold the lands inclosed to the Earl of Manchester, lord privy seal, who, together with his son Mandevile, were now most concerned to maintain the inclosure, against which, as well the inhabitants of other manors, who claimed common in those wastes, as the Queen's tenants of the same, made loud complaints, as a great oppression, carried upon them with a very high hand and supported by power: that the committee sat in the Queen's court, and Oliver Cromwell being one of them, appeared much concerned to countenance the petitioners, who were numerous, together with their witnesses; the Lord Mandevile being likewise present as a party, and by the direction of the committee, sitting covered: that Cromwell (who had never before been heard to speak in the House of Commons) ordered the witnesses and petitioners in the method of the proceeding, and seconded and enlarged upon what they said, with great passion; and the witnesses and persons concerned, who were a very rude kind of people, interrupted the council and witnesses on the other side, with great clamour, when they said any thing that did not please them; so that Mr. Hyde (whose office it was to oblige men of all sorts to keep order) was compelled to use some sharp reproofs, and some threats, to reduce them to such a temper that the business might be quietly heard: that Cromwell, in great fury,

reproached the chairman for being partial, and that he discountenanced the witnesses by threatening them; the other appealed to the committee, which justified him, and declared that he behaved as he ought to do; which more inflamed him, who was already too much angry: that when, upon any mention of matter of fact, or the proceeding before, and at the inclosure, the Lord Mandevile desired to be heard, and with great modesty related what had been done, or explained what had been said, Mr. Cromwell did answer and reply upon him with so much indecency and rudeness, and in language so contrary and offensive, that every man would have thought, that as their natures and their manners were as opposite as it was possible, so their interest could never have been the same. In the end his whole carriage was so tempestuous, and his behaviour so insolent, that the chairman found himself obliged to reprehend him, and to tell him, if he proceeded in the same manner, he would presently adjourn the committee, and the next morning complain to the House of him; which he never forgave, and took all occasions afterwards to pursue him with the utmost malice and revenge, to his death."

It is curious, but disgusting, to observe the avidity with which the different party writers catch at every circumstance unfavourable to Cromwell, without stopping to examine the probability of its truth. His Lordship says, that Cromwell had never before been heard to speak in the House of Commons. His forementioned speech in the third parliament, of 1627 and 1628, upon the King's grant of pardons to Dr. Sibthorpe and others, proves this assertion to be untrue. His Lordship's introduction to this passage, in his above Life, upon reference to the Life itself, describes himself as in the chair in many committees upon private complaints; he, according to his usual practice, gives no date to this meeting of the committee. In the Journals of the House of Commons, it appears that the petition of the Lord Mandevile was referred to the committee for the Queen's jointure, of which Cromwell was one;—this committee was not appointed till February, 1641, before which time he had been upon the forementioned several committees; and, it is not probable, that a

person of his arduous mind and great ability, should have been silent upon the several important businesses referred to them. His Lordship acknowledges the inclosure complained of to be an act of great oppression, carried by a very high hand, and supported by power. Cromwell appears to have espoused the cause of the oppressed commoners; his warmth is probably over-told and exaggerated, according to His Lordship's usual mode of representing Cromwell's actions. He (Cromwell) charged his Lordship, the chairman, with partiality towards the Lord Mandevile, the representative of the grantees of the crown; which was not very unlikely to be true in a young lawyer, who, according to his Life, had devoted himself wholly to public business, with a view, no doubt, to preferment, and which appears so far to have answered his purpose, as to recommend him early to the King's notice. Cromwell might be too warm and strong in his expressions, in his displeasure at what he conceived to be His Lordship's partiality, which might be heightened by a roughness and overbearing, or sarcastic supercilious manner of treating him; for, Bishop Burnet says of him, that he had too much levity in his wit, and that he did not always observe the decorum of his post; and that he was high, and apt to reject those who addressed themselves to him with too much contempt. Cromwell is not here to tell his own story: he might think himself equal to His Lordship in ability, and greatly superior to him in family and connections, and might consider him as deserting the parliament cause. They, probably, before this meeting, disliked each other. His Lordship says Cromwell never forgave him, and took all occasions to pursue him with the utmost malice and revenge to his death. Unforgiveness of temper was not Cromwell's character. Whitelock, and other writers, acknowledge his warm and sometimes fiery temper, but kept down or soon allayed; and all agree in his forgetfulness of injuries, and in his readiness to make amends to those whom he might have wronged in a moment of displeasure. It is not remembered that any instance is recorded of Cromwell's malice or revenge towards His Lordship; but every page of His Lordship's history, in which Cromwell's name is mentioned, abounds with the most rancorous

expressions of him, with which he certainly pursues him, not only to his death, but beyond it, when he consigns him to damnation and hell fire.

The determination of the side on which actual hostilities between the King and the parliament began, whether on the part of the King, or of the parliament, and the ascertainment of the precise day of their commencement, must be perfectly immaterial to the history of these troubles. The origin of this unhappy contest must be sought for and will be found in the arbitrary principles of government imbibed by the King from his father. It is not surprising that he should ascend the throne with the late King's prejudices in favour of absolute and irresistible power; and, it is perfectly certain, that those were his principles, if there were no other evidence than his encouragement and promotion of Dr. Sibthorpe, Dr. Mainwaring, and Dr. Montague, for their sermons in support of the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance; some, if not all of those sermons, preached in his presence, and in which those doctrines were carried to their greatest height. Unfortunately for the King, these arbitrary principles had been stretched as far as they would go, in the preceding reigns of King James and of his predecessors: and the nation becoming more enlightened upon these subjects, the parliaments were gradually preparing for resistance to those arbitrary measures which grew out of those principles.

The King, who was only about twenty-five years of age when he ascended the throne, had been taught to think little or nothing of the privileges of parliament, which both he and his father appear to have considered as usurpations, or indulgences from the crown, and resumable at its pleasure when found inconvenient.

The speeches of those, who first stood most prominently forward in their opposition to the court, show that the opposers of the King's measures were not those only that continued in opposition to the last; but also many, who afterwards, from various causes, went over to the King, and some of whom fought in his service:

such as, Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford: Sir Benjamin Rudyard, Surveyor-general of the Court of Wards, who was sentenced to suffer death for his subsequent adherence to the King; Mr. Bagshaw, who was slain at Newbury fight; Sir John Culpeper, who went to the King at Oxford; Mr. afterwards Sir Harbottle Grimston, who was made Speaker of the House of Commons at the Restoration, and subsequently Master of the Rolls; Lord Falkland, who lost his life in the King's service; Lord Digby, who was, soon after the passing the bill of attainder of Lord Strafford, in arms for the King; Lord Capel, who suffered death for his adherence to the King; and Mr. Edward Hyde (afterwards Lord Clarendon) who quitted the parliament, and went to the King at Oxford.

No one, surely, who reads their speeches and attends to the names and characters of the speakers, can continue to charge those opprobriously called puritans, sectaries, and fanatics, with being the beginners of hostilities against either the church or the state. None of these speakers, it is conceived, were puritans or sectaries; they, nevertheless, all agreed in the existence of those abuses that had made their way into the government of the church, and as tending very evidently to the introduction of Popery: and they did not scruple to charge the Archbishop (Laud) and the bishops, under his influence, with being the causers and promoters of these innovations. And, in like manner they charged the Archbishop and Lord Strafford with all the abuses and grievances complained of in the state, and described them as proper objects of severe and exemplary punishment. And Rushworth, referring to the several speeches concerning grievances, and the debates and discourses of other members, says, that they did so convince the rest of the House, as, when any question was put, concerning any considerable grievance, not one member of the House gave a No, thereunto. He instances a few: such as ship-money; extrajudicial opinions of the Judges in the Star-chamber; ship-writs; the clergy in convocation making canons without consent of parliament, and others. No doubt can then remain of the existence of great and numerous grievances,

both civil and religious; — both King James and King Charles acknowledged it, and promised their redress.

But holding, as the King did, these arbitrary doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, he must have considered, and certainly did, to the last, consider, all these complaints of grievances, and acts of opposition of his parliament to his will, nothing short of rebellion, and their supporters rebels, with whom no faith was to be kept. And no doubt therefore can be entertained that he considered the Petition of Right to which he consented with peculiar reluctance, and all those other acts of parliament, to which he had given his assent (and which Lord Clarendon so pompously enumerates and dwells upon with such complacency) as forced from him, and consequently to be avoided and recalled, so soon as a favourable opportunity should offer.

The parliament, well aware of these pervading principles of the King, and their necessary consequences in his dealings with them, despaired of finding security sufficiently strong to bind him to the performance of any engagements he might make with them, under the influence of those principles. In these sentiments they were afterwards confirmed by various circumstances in the King's conduct towards them; particularly by their possession of the King's letters to the Queen, taken in his cabinet at Naseby. They would not, therefore, rely upon his promises of redress of grievances; but suspended the supplies upon his performance of them. Hence the first misunderstandings between the King and his parliament: they were the beginnings of the strife, the letting out of the water; the breach widened every hour, and the King and his parliament soon became irreconcileable. From these letters it appeared that the King meant upon his again getting into power, to deny the legal existence of the parliament, and thereby to have avoided his agreements with them under that name; and also to have rid himself of the parliament itself, at his own convenience, notwithstanding the act he had passed in the beginning of the Long Parliament, forbidding it's dissolution, unless by act of parliament. — Thereby doubtless, intending to get into his power its obnoxious indivi-

dual members, whom in the above letters, he invariably calls rebels, and whom he would certainly have considered and treated as such.

However glossed over by Lord Clarendon, it must surely appear to the most cursory reader, of the preceding extracts, not only from Rushworth, but from Lord Clarendon himself, that the grievances so severely felt and complained of by the people, were not only real, but originated with the King and his ministers. That they, instead of advising and promoting conciliatory measures between him and his people, inflamed his mind by their ill-advised counsels, to the most violent acts, which His Lordship, nevertheless observes, produced no other resentment than the Petition of Right, of no prejudice to the crown. From these violences on the part of the King naturally arose strong resistance on the part of the people; necessarily productive of high expressions of displeasure and resentment on both sides, and which neither of them were likely to forgive or to forget.

The following speech of the Earl of Bristol, a very able man, and a friend to the King, delivered in the House of Peers so early as the 20th day of May (1642) preceding the King's setting up his standard, recommending accommodation between him and his parliament, shows that the Earl felt the difficulty of finding security, where all confidence was lost; unable himself, probably, to point out such security, he proposes nothing specific, but advises a committee of both Houses to whom the subjects of his speech should be referred. His Lordship introduces his speech by observing; that he had spoken so often upon the subject of accommodation, with so little acceptance and so ill success, that it was his intention not to have made any further essay in that kind; but, that his zeal for the peace and happiness of the kingdom, and his apprehension of the near approach of its unspeakable miseries and calamities, suffered him not to be master of his own resolutions.

Speaking of the prosperous state of the kingdom in former times, and their present internal distracted state, he conceived it to be high time to consider by what means it had been brought

into that state, and how it might be rescued therefrom. That its enemies were those of its own house, such as their own dissentions, jealousies and distractions had raised up; and that no other cause of the unhappiness and misery of a state need be sought for. The Scripture telleth us of the strength of a little city united, and of the instability of a kingdom divided within itself; so that, upon a prudent enquiry, we may assign our own jealousies and discords as the chief cause of our past and present troubles, and of our future fears. It must be confessed, says he, that by the conduct and counsel of evil ministers, the subject had cause to think their just liberties invaded; and from thence, had their former distempers grown: — for that it was in the body politic of a monarchy, as in the natural body, the health whereof is defined to be, *partium corporis, æqua temperies*, an equal temper of the parts, so likewise a state is well in health and well disposed, when sovereign power and common right are equally balanced and kept in an even temper, by just and equitable rules. And, truly my Lords, by the goodness of His Majesty, and by the prudent endeavour of the parliament, this state is almost reduced to that equal and even temper; and our sickness is rather continued out of fancy and conceit,—I mean fears and jealousies,—than out of any real distemper or defect. I well remember, that before the beginning of this present parliament, some noble Lords presented a petition to the King, and therein did set down all, or most of the grievances and distempers of the kingdom which then occurred to them. To these, as I conceive, the parliament have procured from His Majesty such redresses as are to their good satisfaction. Many other things, for the ease, security, and benefit of the subject, have been, by their great industry, found and propounded; and by His Majesty's goodness condescended unto; and now we are come so near the happiness of being the most free and settled nation in the Christian world, our dangers and miseries will grow greater, and nearer unto us every day than other, if they be not prevented. The King is willing to hearken to allour just and reasonable propositions for the good and comfort of his subjects. The rule of his government he professeth shall be,

the laws of the kingdom: and for the comforting and securing us, he offereth a more large and more general pardon than hath been granted by any of his predecessors. We on the other side, make profession, that we intend to make His Majesty a glorious King; to endeavour to support his dignity, and to pay unto him that duty and obedience which by our allegiance, several oaths, and late protestation, we owe unto him; and to maintain all his just regalities and prerogatives, which I conceive to be as much as His Majesty will expect from us. So that, my Lords, we being thus agreed, we should be most unfortunate if we should not bring forth inclinations and endeavours, so to propound and settle differences, as both King and people may know what will give them mutual satisfaction; which certainly, must be the first step to the settling a right understanding betwixt them. And in this I should not conceive any great difficulty, if it were once put in a way of preparation. But, the greatest difficulty may seem to be, how that which may be settled and agreed upon may be secured. This is commonly the last point in treaties betwixt Princes, and of the greatest niceness; but much more between a King and his subjects, where that confidence and belief which should be betwixt them is once lost: and, to speak clearly, I fear, that this may be our case: and herein may consist the chiefest difficulty of accommodation; for it is much easier to compose differences arising from reason, yea, even from wrongs, than it is to satisfy jealousies, which, arising out of diffidence and distrust, grow and are varied upon every occasion. But, my Lords, if there be no endeavours to allay and remove them, they will every day increase and gather strength; nay, they are already grown to that height; and the mutual replies to those direct terms of opposition, that if we make not a present stop, it is to be feared it will speedily pass further than verbal contestations. I observe, in some of His Majesty's answers, a civil war spoken of; I confess it is a word of horror to me, who have been an eye-witness of those unexpressible calamities, that, in a short time, the most plentiful and flourishing countries of Europe have been brought unto, by an intestine war.

I further observe that His Majesty protesteth against the miseries that may ensue by a war, and that he is clear of them. It is true that a protestation of that kind is no actual denouncing of war, but it is the very next degree to it, — *ultima admonitio*, as the civilians term it, the last admonition. So that we are upon the very brink of our miseries: it is better keeping out of them, than getting out of them. We must not then still dwell upon generals, for generals produce nothing; but we must put this business into a certain way, whereby particulars may be descended unto. And the way I shall offer, with all humility, is, that there may be a select committee of choice persons of both Houses, who may, in the first place, truly state and set down all things in difference between the King and the subject, with the most probable ways of reconciling them. Secondly, to descend into particulars, which may be expected by each from the other, either in point of our supporting of him, or his relieving of us. And lastly; how all these conditions, being agreed upon, may be so secured as may stand with the honour of His Majesty, and the satisfaction of the subject. When such a committee shall have drawn up the heads of the propositions, and the way of securing them, they may be presented unto the Houses, and so offered unto His Majesty by such a way as the parliament shall judge most probable to produce an accommodation.

His Lordship then refers to the distractions, — he might almost call them confusions, — in point of religion, which, of all other distempers, are most dangerous and destructive to the peace of a state.

He then points out the difficulties attending himself and the other individuals of the country, in acting under the differing and clashing authorities of the King and the parliament; for that, in contrary commands, a conformity of obedience to both was hardly to be lighted on.

I have said, says he, thus much, to give occasion to others to offer likewise their opinions; for if we should sit still, and nothing tending to the stay of the unhappy misunderstanding betwixt the King and his people be propounded, it is to be feared, that our

miseries will hasten so fast upon us, that the season and opportunity of applying remedies may be past.

His Lordship sees the difficulty of a secured and permanent reconciliation, but suggests no remedy.

Sir Philip Warwick in his memoirs, says, that the parliament having omitted the proper season of accommodation, after the Duke of Buckingham's death, and running all things to extremity, necessitated the King to have recourse to such ways of raising supplies, as upon great exigencies were formerly precedented by his predecessors, though long disused; and to revive old and obsolete laws, that so he might get that as a right and duty which he could not obtain from a free will and by a bounty; and to consider how to maintain his just and legal principles.

This is the way in which Sir Philip Warwick thinks proper to account for all the King's despotic proceedings between 1628, and 1638, for the purpose of raising money without the assistance of parliament; in which he much outruns Lord Clarendon, who, with all his disposition to extenuate these proceedings, is obliged to join in the condemnation of many of them.

The King, thus deeming all his concessions to the parliament forced from him in the moment of his necessities, and therefore to be avoided by him when opportunity should offer, and the parliament being aware thereof, and fully sensible of the danger of the King getting the better of and avenging himself upon them, for all their, as he considered it, rebellious opposition to his will; deemed it necessary to endeavour to obtain the power of the army and navy; which brought forward the bill for settling the militia of the kingdom, and putting all the forts, castles, and garrisons into the hands of persons in whom they could confide.

Ludlow in his memoirs, referring to the King's return to London from Scotland, and to the city's favourable reception of him, says, he became elevated to that degree, that in his first speech to the Commons after his return, he sharply reproved them; for that, instead of thanking him for what he had done, they conti-

nued to multiply their demands and dissatisfactions. Whereupon, adds he, the parliament were confirmed in their suspicions that he designed to break what he had already granted, so soon as he had opportunity and power in his hands to plead that he was under a force, as some of his predecessors had done; and so reverse what had been enacted for the good of the people, and to revenge himself on those who had been instruments in compelling him thereto, and to fortify himself against the like for the future: that these apprehensions made them earnestly insist upon settling the militia (the army and navy) of the nation in such hands as both Houses of Parliament should recommend: that the parliament particularly representing to him, the King, the great dissatisfaction of the city of London, Sir William Balfour, for refusing to permit the Earl of Strafford to escape, was dismissed from his charge of Lieutenant of the Tower, and its government put into the hands of one Lunsford, a soldier of fortune, of a profligate conversation, and fit for any wicked design: that with much difficulty this Lunsford was removed and Sir John Conyers put into his place; but the parliament and city not being satisfied with this choice, and having discovered that Sir John Suckling, under pretence of raising a regiment for Portugal, was bringing together a number of men to seize the Tower for the King, it was at last entrusted to the Lord Mayor of London. He, Ludlow, referring to the Irish rebellion, says, that the rebels pretended a commission from the King, which so alarmed the people of England, that the King thought himself necessitated to do something therein; and therefore, to carry on his design against the parliament, he acquainted them that when an army was raised, he would go in person to reduce them; but they, apprehending this pretended resolution to be, only in order to put himself at the head of an army, that he might reduce the parliament to his will, refused to consent, and procured the act for leaving of that war to the management of the two Houses.

He, Ludlow then referring to the King's attempt to seize the five members, says, — that, during the King's subsequent absence at Hampton-court, many papers passed between him and

the parliament; that the chief aim of the letters of the parliament was, to persuade the King to return to London and to settle the militia in such hands as the parliament should advise, that so all jealousies might be removed: that to these the King answered that he could not part from the militia, esteeming it the best jewel of his crown, nor return to London with safety to his person: that the declarations on both sides proving ineffectual, and the King's designs, both at home and abroad, being grown ripe, he expressed his dissatisfaction more openly, and withdrew to York, where several Lords, and others affected to his interest, resorted to him with plate, money, men, horses, and arms, amongst whom were many Papists. He then describes the King's attempt upon Hull. He adds, that the parliament, that they might leave no means unattempted to persuade the King to return to them, sent down the nineteen propositions, (which are given at large in Rushworth,) which Ludlow also here gives, because much, he says, of the intentions of the parliament appear in these propositions, and for that they were in effect the principal foundation of the war. — The following is the substance of the propositions sent to the King, with the humble petition and advice on the 2d of June, 1642. The removal of such of the lords of the privy council and officers and ministers of state as not approved by the parliament, and their places supplied by those to be approved: regulations of the mode of transacting the great affairs of the kingdom, in which parliament was to have a great share: the lord high steward and other great officers of state to be chosen with the approbation of parliament: the persons to whom should be committed the government and education of the King's children to be subject to the like approbation: also the marriage of the King's children: the laws against popish recusants to be executed: the votes of popish lords to be taken away, and their children educated by protestants in the protestant religion: reformation of church government and the liturgy as parliament should advise: ordering the militia: restoration of members of either House of Parliament that had been put out of any place or office, or satisfaction made to them: oath to be taken by

privy counsellors and judges for maintaining the Petition of Right, &c.: judges and officers placed by the approbation of parliament, to hold their places *quamdiu bene se gesserint:* the justice of parliament to pass upon all delinquents, &c: the general pardon offered by His Majesty to be granted, with such exceptions as parliament should think proper: the forts and castles to be placed under the command of such persons as the King should appoint, with the approbation of parliament, &c.: the extraordinary guards and military forces attending the King to be discharged, &c.: a strict alliance with Holland and other neighbouring protestant states: the King to clear the Lord Kimbolton and the five members of the House of Commons, so that future parliaments might be secured from the consequence of that evil precedent: the King to pass a bill for restraining Peers that should be made thereafter, from sitting or voting in parliament, unless they be admitted thereunto with the consent of both Houses of Parliament.

And then follows:— That those their humble desires being granted they, the parliament, would forthwith apply themselves to regulate His Majesty's revenue for his best advantage, and settle such an ordinary and constant increase of it as should be sufficient to support his royal dignity in honour and plenty, beyond the proportion of any former grants to his predecessors: also would put the town of Hull into such hands as the King should appoint, with the approbation of parliament, &c. He (Ludlow) adds, that these propositions were rejected by the King, he being resolved to steer another course, presuming he might obtain as good terms as those, if reduced to the last extremity; and that, if his arms succeeded according to his hopes, his will might pass for a law, pursuant to the opinions of those who thought no way so likely to render his authority absolute as the making war upon his people. And now, says he (Ludlow), the fire began to break out in the west, Sir John Stawell and others, drawing a party together in Somersetshire for the King, where a skirmish took place at Elm on Poldenhill, wherein some of those who had declared for the parliament were killed; whereupon the parliament ordered

some horse to be raised under the command of the Earl of Bedford to protect their friends in those parts; when Sherborn was taken by the parliament forces, and Portsmouth secured to the parliament: — which brings him (Ludlow) to the time of the King setting up his standard at Nottingham, when the parliament, he says, thought themselves obliged to make some preparations to defend themselves, having discovered that the King had sent abroad to procure assistance, particularly of the King of Denmark.

Sir Philip Warwick, giving this part of the history, and referring to the nineteen propositions, which, he says, were then published by the parliament and must be maintained, forced the King to set up his standard.

The absence of all confidence between the King and the parliament, left no alternative but the sword for the settlement of their differences. The nineteen propositions certainly contain very high terms, and such as the King could not be expected to submit to, but in the last extremity; nevertheless, it is not surprising that the parliament, perfectly aware as they were, of the King's secret reserves in his proceedings with them, should propose these terms, for the purpose of bringing the King so far under their power as to place him almost beyond the ability of breaking through his engagements with them; and against which they could find no other security. Unfortunately, none to be relied on was to be found against the King's probable breach of his engagements under his known high opinion of his own rights, and of his forced concessions, as he considered them, to the parliament. Bishop Burnet, in his History of his Own Times, referring to the King's concessions to the parliament, says, " that the King did not come into them seasonably, nor with a good grace: all appeared to be extorted from him. — That there were also grounds, whether true or plausible, to make it to be believed, that he intended not to stand to them any longer than he lay under that force that visibly drew them from him, contrary to his own inclinations." A war was become inevitable, — a sad necessity! The contest could be for nothing short of decided victory of the one side over the other; when the terms must be absolute submission

on the part of the subdued to the dictation of the victor. All the treaties and negociations, therefore, between the King and the parliament, must and did come to nothing: the parties themselves could not expect from them any successful result; and they were probably proposed with no other hope or view than to create a favourable impression on the minds of the nation, of their respective dispositions to peace.

The truth is, says Mr. Hume, that after the commencement of war, it was very difficult, if not impossible, to find security for both parties, especially for that of the parliament. Amidst such violent animosities, power alone could secure safety; and the power of one side was necessarily attended with danger to the other. Few or no instances, adds he, occur in history of an equal, peaceful, and durable accommodation that has been concluded between two factions, which had been inflamed into civil war.

The same writer (Mr. Hume) says of this parliament, that if we take a survey of the transactions of this memorable parliament during the first period of its operations, we shall find that, excepting Strafford's attainder, which he calls a complication of cruel iniquity, their merits in other respects so much outweighed their mistakes, as to entitle them to praise from all lovers of liberty. Not only, says he, were former abuses remedied, and grievances redressed; great provision for the future was made by law against the return of like complaints. And, adds he, if the means by which they obtained such advantages savoured often of artifice, sometimes of violence, it was to be considered that revolutions of government cannot be effected by the mere force of argument and reasoning: and that, factions being once excited, men can neither so firmly regulate the tempers of others, nor their own, as to ensure themselves against all exorbitances.

Mr. May, observing upon the act for continuing this parliament, says, that it was not only afterwards, by the King himself, much upbraided to them, but by many gentlemen, who were not well affected to the parliament; and by all the faction of prelatical clergy in their ordinary discourse, was censured as a greater grace than it was fit for the King to grant. To which the

parliament, when the great distraction happened, and the war was breaking out, in many of their declarations, answered, — That though there were in it some seeming restraint of the regal power in dissolving parliaments, yet that, really, it was no taking that power from the crown, but suspending the execution of it for this time and occasion only; which was so necessary for the public peace, that, without it, they could not have undertaken any of those great charges, but must have left both the armies to disorder and confusion, and the whole kingdom to blood and ruin: for that, to pay the armies and defray other necessary charges, money was to be borrowed upon the public faith, which had been nothing worth, if that parliament could have been dissolved at the King's pleasure: and that where it was objected, that no King ever granted the like before; they answered, that it was evident that no King ever before made so great a necessity for a parliament to require it: also that in the constitution of England's government, it was never the meaning of the lawgivers that the King should dissolve any parliament, whilst the great affairs of the kingdom were depending; and that though the King had used to do so, it was nevertheless unlawful: that the Scots, in their remonstrance (1640), told the King, that he had broken their laws in dissolving the parliament there, against the consent of their House; and that it was well understood by those that were skilful in the laws of both nations, that English parliaments had originally the same freedom: that it was nevertheless then probably thought by all, that the King would not have assented to that act, if at that time the freshness of those forementioned grievances in the people's hearts, and the present discovery of that odious treason, of bringing an army against the parliament, had not made it unsafe for him to deny it.

The same writer (Mr. May) observes, that the parliament, though at a great charge in supporting the Scots' army, not being well assured of the King, after the discovery of the forementioned conspiracies, nor fully trusting the English army, were content that the Scots' army should not be disbanded until the disbanding

of the English army; being also doubtful of the Irish army, which the King had told the parliament he could not disband, for some reasons best known to himself.

After mentioning the Irish rebellion and massacre during the King's absence in Scotland, and his return from thence, and the passing and presenting the remonstrance, he (Mr. May) observes, that the fears and jealousies that now reigned were of a sadder nature than the fears of any former times had been: that two years before, the people feared that whilst the King lived, they should never see a parliament; but now they began to fear that no parliament could do them good: that at this time began that fatal breach between the King and the parliament to appear visibly, and was daily wider, never to be closed, until the whole kingdom was by sad degrees, brought into a ruinous war: that from thenceforth no true confidence between him and that high court; every day almost, contributed somewhat to the division, and declarations upon several occasions were published to the world, of which, though the language, for the most part were fairly couched, and sweetened with frequent intermixtures of gracious expressions from the King, and affectionate professions from the parliament; yet the substance was matter of expostulation; and many intervening actions did so far heighten them, and sharpen by degrees the style, till those paper contestations became a fatal prologue to that bloody and unnatural war which afterwards ensued. Mr. May then mentions the King's setting up his standard at Nottingham, to which he says very few people resorted. Nor had, says he, the King, at this time a sufficient strength to guard his person, had any attempt been made to have taken him.

The same writer (Mr. May) referring to the trial, attainder, and execution of Lord Strafford, observes, that of so great moment and consequence was the result, that it could hardly be called the trial of the Earl of Strafford only; the King's affections towards his people and parliament, the future success of this parliament, and the hopes of three kingdoms depending on it, were all tried when Lord Strafford was arraigned.

After relating shortly the circumstances of the trial and attainder, and of his execution, the same writer observes, that of him it might be truly said, that as his life and counsels had been of great moment and concernment in the state before, so did his trial and death by unhappy accidents prove to be, that the divisions and disturbances which his life could make were not greater than those that his death occasioned. How far, adds Mr. May, the Earl did, in his lifetime, divide the King's affections from his people and parliament (which was part of the charge against him) I cannot surely tell; but certain it is, that his trial and death did make such a division in that kind, as being unhappily nourished, by degrees, afterwards, had almost ruined the three kingdoms; that the manner of his condemnation divided the parliament in itself, and the eager pressing of his death did discover or cause a sad division of the King from his parliament. He (Mr. May) considers the making public the names of the fifty-nine members who voted against the bill of attainder, as betrayers of their country, the cause of many of the members forsaking the parliament; and the public burning of Lord Digby's speech, which he had printed, to be the cause of his deserting the parliament, and proving so great an actor against it. And the worse consequence of all to be, the alienation of the King's heart from the parliament: which he instances in the conspiracy against the parliament to save Lord Strafford's life, by contriving his escape from the Tower, and to curb the power of the parliament, by bringing up the English army, which was in the North, as yet undisbanded, and by bringing a French and Irish army into England: to all which, the King was privy. All which, upon the discovery of these designs, he says, determined the parliament to apply to the King for, and which they obtained, the bill to prevent the dissolution of this present parliament without the consent of both Houses.

Up to the time of Lord Strafford's attainder, Cromwell acted with the parliament, against the measures of the King, and his ministers. The grievances of the country were undenied; Lord Clarendon acknowledges the motion for his, Lord Strafford's,

impeachment, to have been no sooner mentioned, than it found an universal approbation and consent from the whole House.

Whether Cromwell was or was not in the majority that voted for the bill of attainder of Lord Strafford, does not appear, his name is not mentioned in any part of the prosecution. The number that voted for and against the bill was 263, of which 59 were against the measure; and if the House had its original number of 497, it would appear that 224 did not vote either way. Whether he, Cromwell, was in that number, or in the majority, is immaterial, there can be no doubt that the members on both sides acted according to the best of their judgments.

Bishop Burnet, in his History of his Own Time, referring to the different effect of the King's death from what he supposes to have been Ireton's expectation, instances, in the Earl of Strafford's death, that it made all his former errors to be forgot: that it raised his character, and cast a lasting odium on that way of proceeding; whereas he would have sunk in his credit by any censure lower than death, and have been little pitied, if not thought justly punished: that the like effect followed upon Archbishop Laud's death; that he was a learned, a sincere and zealous man, regular in his own life, and humble in his private deportment; but was a hot, indiscreet man, eagerly pursuing some matter that were, either very inconsiderable, or mischievous; such as setting the communion table by the east walls of the churches, bowing to it, and calling it the altar; the suppressing the Walloon privileges; the breaking of lectures; the encouragement of sports on the Lord's day, with some other things that were of no value: and that yet all the zeal and heat of that time were laid out on these: that his severity in the Star-chamber, and in the High-commission Court; but above all, his violent, and indeed, inexcusable injustice in the prosecution of Bishop Williams, were such visible blemishes, that nothing but the putting him to death in so unjust a manner could have raised his character; which indeed it did, to a degree of setting him up as a pattern, and the establishing all his notions as standards by which judgments were to be made of men, whether they were true to the church or not: that his

diary, though it were a base thing to publish it, represented him as an abject fawner on the Duke of Buckingham, and as a superstitious regarder of dreams; that his defence of himself, writ with so much care when he was in the Tower, was a very mean performance; that he intended in that, to make an appeal to the world; that in most particulars, he excused himself by this, — that he was but one of many, who either in council, Star-chamber, or High-commission voted illegal things. Now, says the Bishop, though this were true, yet that a chief minister, and one in high favour, determines the rest so much, that they are generally little better than machines acted by him. That he (the archbishop) says, the charges were proved but by one witness. Now, continues the Bishop, how strong soever this defence may be in law, it is of no force in an appeal to the world; for that if a thing be true, it is no matter how full, or how defective the proof: that the thing that gave him (the Bishop) the strongest prejudice against him, in that book, was, that after he had seen the ill effects of his violent counsels, and had been so long shut up, and so long at leisure to reflect on what had passed in the hurry of passion, in the exaltation of his prosperity, he did not, in any one part of that great work, acknowledge his own errors, nor mix in it any wise or pious reflections on the ill usage he had met with, or the unhappy steps he had made; so that while his enemies did really magnify him by their inhuman persecutions, his friends, Heylin and Wharton, had as much lessened him, the one by writing his life, and the other by publishing his vindication of himself.

The first personal accusation of Cromwell is conceived to be, his supposed introduction and prosecution of the Self-denying Ordinance. Lord Clarendon takes upon himself to determine the motives of those who brought about that ordinance, the origin of which he attributes to the violent party, as he calls them, who had cozened the rest into a war, and had afterwards obstructed all the approaches towards peace, and who now found that the tools wherewith they had thitherto wrought could do no more for them, and that the unfinished work must be done by other

workmen. That they were dissatisfied with the Earl of Essex, and he as much with them, and that his part of the army were disaffected towards them and desired peace; which determined them, the parliament, never again to employ them. Also that the Earl of Manchester was become unapplicable to their purposes, between whom and Cromwell there had become an irreconcileable breach; he, Cromwell, having accused the earl of cowardice. His Lordship lays much stress upon the expression dropped by the Earl of Manchester in his altercations with Cromwell, that they should be treated as rebels and traitors in case his, the Earl of Manchester's, army should be defeated; which Lord Clarendon exultingly considers as an acknowledgment that the law was against them, notwithstanding the many declarations that had been made by the parliament, of the law being for them. But this is an unfair construction of the Earl of Manchester's words; he could not be supposed to acknowledge, whilst actively in arms against the King, that he and his party were engaged in an unlawful and treasonable act; he could only mean to say, that should his army be defeated and the King regain his power, he would treat them all as rebels, (of which there could be no doubt,) without regard to the law being for or against them, he having always so considered and so called them, deeming as he did, their resistance actual rebellion.

As to the reasons Lord Clarendon assigns for the parliament not proceeding to an investigation of the charges of the Earl of Manchester and Cromwell against each other, they may be founded or unfounded, for any thing His Lordship could be likely to know of the matter, as he was not upon the spot, and obnoxious as he must be to the parliament, not likely to be in their secrets. And so in like manner, he was probably equally ignorant of what passed in the minds of the Scots after the battle of York, respecting their supposed wishes for peace.

The desire of the Independent party, whom His Lordship describes as enemies to peace, to lay aside their generals the Earls of Essex and Manchester, is, it is conceived, improperly confined to that party; it must have been the desire of the parliament; and

it seemed to have become necessary by the late defeat of the Earl of Essex, and the failure of the Earl of Manchester at Dunnington castle, and his understood indisposition to engage the King's army, which, according to Cromwell's account, he might have defeated and thereby have successfully terminated the war. This must have been an equally desirable event to all parties in the House, as none of them could expect any mercy had the King been successful. The difficulty must certainly have been very great, of removing these commanders and the officers attached to them, with the least possible injury to their feelings, and without causing mutiny amongst the soldiers serving under them.

Lord Clarendon's relation of the manner in which this measure of the Self-denying Ordinance was introduced into the House is most extraordinary, and indeed is incredible. It is not to be conceived, that the party supposed to be in the secret should think it possible to deceive the rest of the House into the belief, that the first thoughts of this ordinance originated in the suggestions of the prayers and sermons of their ministers upon the fast-day, who, he says, had, for that purpose, been previously instructed by their employers to lead the thoughts of their hearers to the subject; or that Sir Henry Vane and his party should venture to assert to the House that they had never thought of this ordinance till thus brought to their minds;—it was too paltry and flimsy a device to deceive for a moment any one, but much less likely the men of great ability, of which His Lordship himself acknowledges the House to be composed: and Sir Henry Vane must surely be in earnest when he expresses his readiness to relinquish his probably lucrative employ of treasurer of the navy, to which he had been appointed by the King.

The following is Rushworth's account of the same transactions respecting this ordinance:—"Dunnington castle," says he, "was, soon after the battle of Newbury, relieved by the King's forces; at which the parliament was much dissatisfied, and ordered the whole management thereof to be enquired into; and particularly Lieutenant-general Cromwell exhibited a charge against the Earl of Manchester,—that the Earl had been always indisposed and

backward to engagements, and against the ending of the war by the sword, and for such a peace to which a victory would be a disadvantage; and that he had declared this by principles expressed to that purpose, and a continued series of carriage and actions answerable: — and that, since the taking of York, as if the parliament had then advantage full enough, he had declined whatever tended to further advantage upon the enemy, neglected and studiously shifted off opportunities to that purpose, as if he thought the King too low and the parliament too high, especially at Dunnington castle: that he had drawn the army into, and detained them in such a posture, as to give the enemy fresh advantages; and this, before his conjunction with the other armies, by his own absolute will, against, or without his council of war, — against many commands from the committee of both kingdoms, and with contempt, and vilifying those commands; and, since the conjunction, sometimes against the council of war, and sometimes persuading and deluding it to neglect one opportunity, under pretence of another, and that again of a third, and at last by persuading that it was not fit to fight at all."

In answer to this charge, continues Rushworth, the Earl, for his own vindication, gave in a paper to the House of Lords, being a narrative of his proceedings, and which Rushworth gives at length. He adds, that miscarriages in the armies, and contests between the commanders, gave occasion for that new model of the parliament forces, whereby the Earl of Manchester, Waller, and the Earl of Essex were laid aside.

## CHAPTER X.

*Rushworth's account of the origin and progress of the Self-denying Ordinance; a refutation of Lord Clarendon's account of the same transaction. — Whitelock's speech in opposition to the ordinance. — Consequences of its passing. — The necessity of the measure, and the suspension of the ordinance in favour of Cromwell considered. — Sir Thomas Fairfax's account of this proceeding, and of the new modelling the army. — Lord Clarendon's observations upon, and in favour of the new modelled army.*

Rushworth gives the following account of the origin and progress of the Self-denying Ordinance:—that the first remarkable affair which presents itself to consideration in the year 1645, is the matter of the Self-denying Ordinance, as it was called, and new model of the parliament army; which was designed and struggled for during some months before, but was not completely agreed upon and consented unto by both Houses till about the beginning of this year. And, says he, to give the reader a perfect deduction of this business, we must look back to the 9th of December, 1644, when it was first started in the House; and thenceforth sum up the particular proceedings therein.

He proceeds,—The province he had undertaken was to consign to posterity overt acts, (*facta, scripta, dicta, prout facta, scripta vel dicta sunt*), without either judging of their qualities or diving after the secret reasons of them; in assigning which, authors many times relate their own conceits, rather than the true motives which induced the actors to such resolutions: yet that it appeared in the preceding part of his (Rushworth's) collections, that the two Houses had taken notice of the bad success of their armies on several occasions, and at divers places; more especially of late at Dunnington castle, which was generally attributed to the ill conduct of certain eminent commanders, the General Essex not being then present; of whom some were thought

too fond of a peace, and others over-desirous to spin out the war, and others engaged in such particular feuds: that there was little vigorous action to be expected from such disagreeing instruments: and that yet to search too deep into past miscarriages, or determine in favour of either of those that mutually recriminated each other, might, under their then present circumstances, prove the next danger to suffering a continuance of the same inconveniences. Besides, says he, there were of the army (officers, especially since the coming in of the Scots,) of two apparent parties; the one zealous for setting up presbytery, the other, called Independents, endeavoured to decline that establishment; and of this latter party Lieutenant-general Cromwell was esteemed one of the chief: and as on that score he was little beloved by the Scots, so by reason of his popularity, General the Earl of Essex began to entertain some jealousies of him: that therefore he (the Earl), with the Scots' commissioners, had a consultation about the end of November, or beginning of December (1644), touching the means how to remove him; of which Whitelock gives the following account: —

That Colonel Cromwell being made Lieutenant-general of the Earl of Manchester's army, gave great satisfaction to the Commons touching the business of Dunnington Castle, and seemed, but cautiously enough, to lay more blame on the officers of the Lord-general's army than upon any other: — and the point of privilege was debated touching the Lords' transmitting of a charge from them before it was brought up to them: that this reflected upon Lieutenant-general Cromwell, of whom the Lord-general now began to have some jealousies, and was advised to put to his strength to rid Cromwell out of the way; and the means to be used to effect this was supposed to be by the Scots' commissioners, who were not well pleased with Cromwell, upon some words which he had spoken, as they apprehended, derogatory to the honour of their nation.

That one evening very late, Maynard and Whitelock were sent for by the Lord-general to Essex-house, and there was no excuse to be admitted, nor did they know beforehand the occasion of

their being sent for: that when they came to Essex-house, they were brought to the Lord-general; and with him were the Scots commissioners, also Mr. Holles, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir J. Meyrick, and divers others of his special friends.

That after compliments, and that all were sat down in council, the Lord-general spake to them to this effect:—

Lord-general. "Mr. Maynard and Mr. Whitelock, I sent for you upon a special occasion, to have your advice and counsel, and that in a matter of very great importance, concerning both kingdoms, in which, my lords, the commissioners of Scotland are concerned for their state, and we for ours; and they as well as we, knowing your abilities and integrity, are very desirous of your counsel in this great business."

Maynard. "We are come to obey Your Excellency's commands, and shall be ready to give our faithful advice in what shall be required of us."

Whitelock. "Your Excellency, I am assured, is fully satisfied of our affections and duty to yourself, and to that cause in which we are all engaged; and my lords the commissioners of Scotland will likewise, I hope, entertain no ill thoughts of us."

Lord-general. "My Lord Chancellor of Scotland, and the rest of the commissioners of that kingdom, desired that you two by name, might be consulted with upon this occasion; and I shall desire my Lord Chancellor, who is a much better orator than I am, to acquaint you what the business is."

Lord Chancellor. "Mr. Maynard and Mr. Whitelock, I can assure you of the great opinion both my brethren and myself have of your worth and abilities, else we should not have desired this meeting with you; and, since it is His Excellency's pleasu that I should acquaint you with the matter upon whilke your counsel is desired, I shall obey his commands, and briefly recite the business to you.

"You ken vary weele that General Lieutenant Cromwell is no friend of ours, and since the advance of our army into England, he hath used all underhand and cunning means to take from our honour and merit of this kingdom; an evil requital of all our

hazards and services: but so it is, and we are, nevertheless, fully satisfied of the affections and gratitude of the gude people of this nation in the general.

" It is thought requisite for us, and for the carrying on of the cause of the tway kingdoms, that this obstacle or remora, may be removed out of the way, whom, we foresee, will otherwise be no small impediment to us, and the gude design we have undertaken.

" He not only is no friend to us, and to the government of our church, but he is also no well-wisher to His Excellence, whom you and we all have cause to love and honor; and, if he be permitted to go on his ways, it may, I fear, indanger the whole business: therefore, we are to advise of some course to be taken for prevention of that mischief.

" You ken vary wele the accord 'twixt the two kingdoms, and the union by the solemn league and covenant; and, if any be an incendiary between the twa nations, how is he to be proceeded against? Now, the matter wherein we desire your opinions, what you tak the meaning of this word " incendiary" to be, and whether Lieutenant-general Cromwell be not sike an incendiary, as is meant thereby, and whilke way wud be best to tak to proceed against him, if he be proved to be sike an incendiary, and that will clepe his wings from soaring to the prejudice of our cause.

" Now you may ken that, by our law in Scotland, we clepe him an incendiary whay kindleth coals of contention, and raiseth differences in the state to the public damage, and he is *tanquam publicus hostis patriæ;* whether your law be the same or not, you ken best, who are mickle learned therein, and therefore, with the favour of His Excellence, we desire your judgements in these points."

Lord-general. " My Lord Chancellor hath opened the business fully to you, and we all desire your opinions therein."

Whitelock. " I see none of this honourable company is pleased to discourse further on these points, perhaps expecting something to be said by us; and, therefore, not to detain you longer, I shall, with submission to Your Excellence, and to these honourable

commissioners of Scotland, declare humbly and freely my opinion upon those particulars which have been so clearly proposed and opened by my Lord Chancellor.

" The sense of the word " incendiary" is the same with us as His Lordship hath expressed to be by the law of Scotland, one that raiseth the fire of contention in a state, that kindles the burning hot flames of contention; and so it is taken in the accord of the two kingdoms.

" Whether Lieutenant-general Cromwell be such an incendiary between these two kingdoms, as is meant by this word, cannot be known but by proofs of his particular words or actions tending to the kindling of this fire of contention betwixt the two nations, and raising of differences between us.

" If it do not appear by proofs that he hath done this, then he is not an incendiary; but, if it can be made out by proofs that he hath done this, then he is an incendiary, and to be proceeded against for it by parliament, upon his being there accused for those things.

" This I take for a ground, that my Lord-general, and my lords the commissioners of Scotland, being persons of so great honour and authority as you are, must not appear in any business, especially of an accusation, but such as you shall see beforehand, will be clearly made out and be brought to the effect intended.

" Otherwise, for such persons as you are, to begin a business of this weight, and not to have it so prepared beforehand, as to be certain to carry it, but to put it to a doubtful trial, in case it should not succeed as you expect; but that you should be foiled in it, it would reflect upon your great honour and wisdom.

Now, as to the person of him who is to be accused as an incendiary, it will be fit, in my humble opinion, to consider his present condition and parts and interest, wherein Mr. Maynard and myself, by our constant attendance in the House of Commons, are the more capable to give an account to Your Lordships; and, for his interest in the army, some honourable persons here

present, His Excellency's officers, are best able to inform Your Lordships.

" I take Lieutenant-general Cromwell to be a gentleman of quick and subtle parts, and one who hath, especially of late, gained no small interest in the House of Commons; nor is he wanting of friends in the House of Peers, nor of abilities in himself to manage his own part or defence to the best advantage.

" If this be so, my lords, it will be the more requisite to be well prepared against him, before he be brought upon the stage, lest the issue of the business be not answerable to your expectations.

" I have not yet heard any particulars mentioned by His Excellency, nor by my Lord Chancellor, or any other; nor do I know any in my private observations, which will amount to a clear proof of such matters as will satisfy the House of Commons in the case of Lieutenant-general Cromwell; and, according to our law, and the course of proceedings in our parliament, that he is an incendiary, and to be punished accordingly.

" However, I apprehend it to be doubtful, and therefore cannot advise that, at this time, he should be accused for an incendiary; but rather that direction may be given to collect such particular passages relating to him, by which Your Lordships may judge, whether they will amount to prove him an incendiary or not.

" And this being done, that we may again wait on Your Excellency, if you please, and upon view of those proofs, we shall be the better able to advise, and Your Lordships to judge, what will be fit to be done in this matter."

Maynard. " Your Excellency and my Lord Chancellor are pleased to require our advice in this great business, and we shall deal clearly and freely with Your Lordships, which I think will be most acceptable to you, and will, in conclusion, be best for your service. Mr. Whitelock hath begun thus, and, in speaking his own sense hath spoken much of mine, and left me the less to say; and I shall follow him in the same plainness and method as he hath begun, which I presume, will be most pleasing to Your Lordships.

" The word incendiary is not much conversant in our law, nor often met with in our books, but more a term of civil law, or of state, and so to be considered in this case, and to be taken according to the expression wherein it is used in the accord of the two kingdoms, and in the sense of the parliaments of both nations.

" That sense of it which my Lord Chancellor hath been pleased to mention, it doth bear *ex vi termini;* and surely he that kindles the coals of contention between our brethren of Scotland, and us, is an incendiary, and to be punished as it is agreed on by both kingdoms.

" But, my lords, as you have been told, there must be proof made of such particulars of words or actions, upon which there may be sufficient ground for a parliament to declare their judgement, that he who used such words or actions endeavoured thereby to raise differences and to kindle the fire of contention among us; and so, that he is an incendiary.

" Lieutenant-general Cromwell is a person of great favour and interest with the House of Commons, and with some of the House of Peers likewise; and therefore there must be proofs, and the more clear and evident against him, to prevail with the parliament to adjudge him to be an incendiary.

" I confess, my lords, I do not in my private knowledge assure myself of any such particulars, nor have we heard of any here; and, I believe it will be more difficult than perhaps some of us may imagine, to fasten this upon him.

" And if it be difficult and doubtful, it is not fit for such persons as my Lord-general and the commissioners of the kingdom of Scotland as yet to appear in it, but rather first to see what proofs may be had of particular passages, which will amount to a clear proof, upon which judgement may be grounded that he is an incendiary.

" And when such proofs shall be ready to be produced, we may again wait upon Your Excellency, and the business will then be the more ripe for Your Lordships' resolution; in the mean time, my humble opinion is, that it may be deferred."

Mr. Holles and Sir Philip Stapleton, and some others, spake smartly to the business, and mentioned some particular passages and words of Cromwell, tending to prove him to be an incendiary; and they did not apprehend his interest in the House of Commons to be so much as was supposed, and they would willingly have been upon the accusation of him; but the Scots' commissioners were not so forward to adventure upon it; for the reasons, they said, did satisfy them, which were given by Maynard and Whitelock, until a further enquiry were made of particulars for proof to make him an incendiary; the which was generally consented to: and, about two of the clock in the morning, with thanks and compliments, Maynard and Whitelock were dismissed: and, Mr. Whitelock adds, that they had some cause to believe, that at this debate, some who were present were false brethren, and informed Cromwell of all that passed among them; and after that, Cromwell, though he took no notice of any particular passages at that time, yet he seemed more kind to Whitelock and Maynard than he had been formerly, and carried on his design more actively of making way for his own advancement, as would, he says, thereafter appear.

Rushworth, after giving the account of this interview from Whitelock, adds, that it might well be presumed that he (Cromwell) was not likely to be behind-hand in artifices for removing of those that would have removed him; but, says he, from whatever grounds or motives it sprung, so it was, that on the 9th of December in the same year, the parliament's forces being settled in their winter-quarters, and most of the commanders-in-chief who were members of either House of Parliament, being in town, the House of Commons took into consideration the sad condition of the kingdom, in reference to its grievances by the burthen of the war, in case the treaty for a peace, which was then propounded, should not take effect, nor the war be effectually prosecuted: that, after a long debate of this matter, the House voted themselves into a grand committee, where there was a general silence for a good space of time, many looking one upon the other to see who would break the ice, and speak first, in so tender and sharp a

point, when, at length, Lieutenant-general Cromwell stood up, and spoke to this effect:

"That it was now a time to speak, or for ever to hold the tongue; the important occasion being no less than to save a nation out of a bleeding, nay, almost dying condition, which the long continuance of the war had already brought it into; so that, without more speedy, vigorous, and effectual prosecution of the war, casting off all lingering proceedings, (like soldiers of fortune beyond sea to spin out a war,) we shall make the kingdom weary of us, and hate the name of a parliament; for, what do the enemy say? nay, what do many say that were friends at the beginning of the parliament? — even this, that the members of both Houses have got great places and commands, and the sword into their hands; and, what by interest in the parliament, and what by power in the army, will perpetually continue themselves in grandeur, and not permit the war speedily to end, lest their own power should determine with it. This I speak here to our own faces, is but what others do utter abroad behind our backs. I am far from reflecting on any; I know the worth of those commanders, members of both Houses, who are yet in power; but, if I may speak my conscience without reflection upon any, I do conceive, if the army be not put into another method, and the war more vigorously prosecuted, the people can bear the war no longer, and will enforce you to a dishonourable peace. But this I would recommend to your prudence, not to insist upon any complaint or oversight of any commander-in-chief, upon any occasion whatsoever; for, as I must acknowledge myself guilty of oversights, so I know they can rarely be avoided in military affairs: therefore, waving a strict enquiry into the causes of these things, let us apply ourselves to the remedy, which is most necessary; and, I hope, we have such true English hearts and zealous affections towards the general weal of our mother-country, as no members of either House will scruple to deny themselves and their own private interests, for the public good, nor account it to be dishonoured to them, whatever the parliament shall resolve upon in this weighty matter." Another member spoke

to this purpose: — "Whatever is the matter, which I list not so much to enquire after, two summers are passed over, and we are not saved. Our victories, the price of blood invaluable, so gallantly gotten, and, which is more pity, so graciously bestowed, seem to have been put into a bag with holes; what we won one time, we lost another; the treasure is exhausted, the country wasted. A summer's victory has proved but a winter's story; the game, however, shut up with autumn, was to be new played again the next spring, as if the blood that had been shed were only to manure the field of war for a more plentiful crop of contention. Mens' hearts have failed them with the observation of these things; the cause whereof the parliament has been tender of ravelling into; but men cannot be hindered from venting their opinions privately, and their fears, which are various, and no less variously expressed; concerning which I determine nothing, but this I would say, 'tis apparent, that the forces being under several great commanders, want of good correspondency amongst the chieftains, has oftentimes hindered the public service."

But the first, proceeds Rushworth, that moved expressly to have all members of parliament excluded from commands and offices was Mr. Zouch Tate, wherein he was seconded by Sir Henry Vane, jun. and others. The debate lasted long; but, in conclusion, the grand committee came to this resolution, — That no member of either House of parliament should, during the war, enjoy or execute any office or command, civil or military, and that an ordinance should be brought in to that purpose: that this ordinance was afterwards reported to the House; and on the same day, December 11th, a fast, for imploring a blessing on the intended new model of the army, was appointed by the Commons, and next day agreed to by the Lords, to be held on the 18th of that month by both Houses in Lincoln's-Inn chapel; no strangers, not so much as their own attendants, to be admitted: and that, in further relation to this new moulding the armies, the House of Commons ordered letters to be sent to all the associated counties, forthwith to make payment of their forces, and to give

an account of what monies had come into the hands of their respective treasurers, and how disbursed.

That, on the 14th of the same month, the House of Commons, in a grand committee, again took this ordinance into consideration, and it was very seriously canvassed on both sides: the several speeches of those, who were for promoting it, centering in the following reasons: —

1. That, upon passing this ordinance, the proceedings of their armies would be more quick, both in determination and action, when commanders, upon any discontent arising, should have the less power to sway and bandy one against another.

2. That, if there were at present differences between commanders, being parliament men, and perhaps of several Houses, by this ordinance equal justice would be done, they would be recalled from command, and by consequence from further dispute or difference, thereby preventing divisions in the army, administering advantages to the enemy.

3. That the commanders would be the less able to make parties to secure themselves, when they had no interest in the Houses, and so become more easily removable or punishable for their neglects and offences committed in the army.

4. That His Majesty, by his late message, having acknowledged this to be the parliament of England, both Houses had need to be as full as they could; and that, by this vote, the members, taken off from other employs, would be better able to attend the public affairs in parliament, to which they were called by writ; and so the frequent objection of the paucity of members, at the passing of votes, would be prevented.

5. That, by the new model, the former weights that obstructed being taken off, the progress of the army upon new wheels would be more swift, and a speedy period put to the war, which was the general desire of the nation.

6. That, thereby the objection that the members sought their own profit, honour, and power, would be prevented, when the world should see them so ready to exclude themselves from all commands and offices.

But, continues Rushworth, these arguments did not satisfy divers members, amongst whom was Mr. Whitelock, who opposed the passing of the ordinance in a speech of considerable length. But, adds Rushworth, after several debates, the ordinance passed the House of Commons, 19th December; and on the 21st of the same month was sent up to the Lords, where it met with many delays and much opposition, and was finally rejected.

That in the mean time the Commons went on in forming a new model of the army, which they agreed should consist of 21,000 effective men, the whole charge whereof to be raised by assessment, proportionably throughout the kingdom. They nominated Sir Thomas Fairfax to be General, and Major Skippon, Major-general. And on the 28th of the same month of December, the ordinance for the raising and maintenance of these forces being completed and passed by the Commons, was sent up to the Lords for their concurrence, who read it twice, and committed it February 1st, and on the 4th of the same month returned it, having passed their House with some additions and alterations, which, after several conferences between the two Houses were finally settled and agreed to, and on the 15th of February was passed.

The substance of this ordinance was, to raise forthwith for the defence of the King and parliament, the true protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of the kingdom, an army consisting of a certain number of men, to be paid according to the establishment therein made, and to be under the immediate command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, thereby constituted commander-in-chief, who to be subject to the order and direction of the two Houses of parliament, or of the committee of both kingdoms: and Colonel Philip Skippon to be Serjeant-major-general. The commander-in-chief to nominate the other officers with the approbation of both Houses.

This narrative of Rushworth leaves no room for doubt of the incorrectness of Lord Clarendon's account of the mode of introduction to the House of Commons, of this ordinance: for Rushworth expressly states the Houses' theretofore notice of the ill

success of their armies, particularly in the affair of Dunnington Castle, which was generally attributed to the ill conduct of certain eminent commanders. He then states the day on which the House of Commons took into consideration the sad condition of the kingdom in respect to the war, to be the 9th of December, 1644. He then gives Cromwell's forementioned speech of that day introductory to the proposal of the ordinance, in which, or in another speech on the same day, and upon the same occasion, there is not the most distant allusion to the fast-day alleged by His Lordship to have been held the day before this meeting, as preparatory to the introduction of the ordinance. On the contrary, it appears from the same writer, that the ordinance was ordered on the same day (the ninth), and that on the eleventh of the same month, it was reported to the House by the committee appointed to draw it up: also, that on this latter day (the eleventh) a fast was ordered, to implore a blessing on the intended new model of the army, to be held on the 18th of the same month by both Houses only: and that on the 14th they again took it into consideration in a grand committee of the whole House, wherein the measure was seriously canvassed on both sides: this was all before the fast-day. In the Journals of the House of Commons it also appears that the fast was appointed on the above 11th of December, to be held on the Wednesday following (the 18th); and that the ordinance was on that day (the 11th) read the first time, and ordered to be read the second time on the morrow morning; but it was on that day deferred to Saturday the 14th, and then considered, and further consideration deferred to Tuesday the 17th, when divers amendments assented to, and some additions as amendments proposed, to be resumed on the Thursday following (the 19th), the fast of the 18th intervening. Thursday (19th) thanks ordered to Mr. Marshall, Mr. Hill, and Mr. Sedgewicke, for the great pains they took in their sermons of the preceding day. In the afternoon of that day (the 19th), the ordinance with some amendments, was passed and sent to the Lords for their concurrence: the numbers for, and against, the passing are not stated. Rushworth says the Lords

rejected it. By the Journals of the House of Commons, the consideration thereof appears to have been resumed 24th March following (1644), when it was read a first and second time and committed: and on the 31st of the same month (1645) passed and sent to the Lords. In consequence whereof, says Rushworth, the General (Earl of Essex), the Earl of Manchester, and the Earl of Denbigh, surrendered their respective commissions, which being done by their own consent, the ordinance was the next day passed by the Peers.

The above statement, it is conceived, proves beyond the possibility of contradiction, Lord Clarendon's account of the introduction of this ordinance to be a misrepresentation.

It is curious and amusing to observe how implicitly Mr. Hume follows His Lordship in his (Mr. Hume's) account of the methods by which this intrigue, as he calls it, was conducted; which, he says, was so singular, and showed so fully the genius of the age that he should give a detail of them from Lord Clarendon. From inattention, it is to be presumed, and too great a reliance upon His Lordship's correctness, he (Mr. Hume) falls into His Lordship's erroneous representation; which derives its consequence only from becoming a ground of a charge of religious hypocrisy, not, at least in that instance, merited, but which both His Lordship and Mr. Hume are too fond of finding every opportunity of bringing forward against the parliament party.

Mr. Whitelock's foregiven speech, so strongly expressive of his disapprobation of this measure, renders it quite improbable that he should vote for it; yet Lord Clarendon says he did vote for it, and he takes that opportunity to represent him as actuated in his adherence to the parliament by the mean fear of losing his estate, which was in their quarters, having he says, a nature that could not bear or submit to be undone; though, to his friends who were of the King's party, he used his old openness, and professed his detestation of all the proceedings of his party. Under this supposed self-interested influence it would not be probable that he should ever venture to oppose the ruling party in parliament, which he did in the present instance, and in other in-

stances occurring in the history of these transactions; nor is it likely that he should detest all the proceedings of the party with whom he continued to act to the end of these times.

Much has been said in reprobation of this measure of the Self-denying Ordinance: it has certainly a disingenuous appearance; it was displacing their then commanders by, as Whitelock says, a side-wind; but there did not seem any other way of doing it, but that of bringing forward regular accusations, which the Commons wished to avoid, as disrespectful to those whom they continued to esteem: and those who were affected by this ordinance could not be deceived, but must understand the measure not to be unkindly meant. The fact was, that from some cause, probably well understood, but perhaps not explicitly declared by the parliament, their armies had laterly been unsuccessful, and they had become apprehensive that the King would be victorious, which would put the parliament into his power, from whom they had no reason to expect any mercy. Before it should be too late, they therefore deemed it expedient to try another set of commanders, and a new modelled-army. The Commons candidly acknowledge their views in the adoption of this measure in their foregiven reasons in support of it; and in the successful result is to be found their justification.

Ludlow, referring to the circumstances preceding and producing this ordinance, describes the enemy, contrary to all expectation, appearing again in a body near Newbury, where the parliament army lay, who drew out to oppose them: that some small skirmishes happened between them; but that a general engagement was opposed in a council of war, by some of the greatest amongst them, and that thereupon the King, in the face of the parliament army, twice as numerous as his own, had time to send his artillery from Dunnington castle towards Oxford without any opposition, to the astonishment of all those who wished well to the public. But, adds he (Ludlow), by this time it was clearly manifest that the nobility had no further quarrel with the King, than till they could make their terms with him, having for the most part grounded their disaffections upon some

particular affront, or the prevalency of a faction about him: but that though it should be granted that their intentions in taking arms were to oblige the King to consent to redress the grievances of the nation, yet, that if a war of that nature must be determined by treaty, and the King left in the exercise of the royal authority after the utmost violation of the laws, and the greatest calamities brought upon the people, it did not appear to him (Ludlow) what security could be given them for the future enjoyment of their rights and privileges; nor with what prudence wise men could engage with the parliament, who being, by practice at least, liable to be dissolved, at pleasure were thereby rendered unable to protect themselves, or such as should take up arms under their authority, if, after infinite hardships and hazards of their lives and estates, they must fall under the power of a provoked enemy, who being once re-established in his former authority, would never want means to revenge himself upon all those, who, in defence of the rights and liberties of the nation, should adventure to resist him in his illegal and arbitrary proceedings. These appear to have been Ludlow's reasons for concurring in the measure of the Self-denying Ordinance.

Had there been no suspension of the ordinance in favour of any particular officers, there could have been no charge, or suspicion of any sinister views in the promoters of it. Whether the object of this ordinance really was to displace the then commanders and officers for the purpose of introducing those of their own party, cannot now with certainty be known; the suspension of the operation of the ordinance in favour of Cromwell, and of a few others, certainly affords ground for such a suspicion; but, it should be remembered, that Lord Clarendon, relating the circumstances of passing the ordinance in the Commons, describes the presbyterian party as passionately opposing the ordinance, and as believing their party much superior in number to the independent party, and as presuming upon a majority; and only accounts for their failure by the secession of the Earl of Essex's party. Now, if the two sides of the House had been so nearly balanced, many who had voted for the ordinance, upon finding it was likely to be

evaded by its suspension in favour of particular persons, would, in all probability, have joined the opposing party in preventing such suspension; when, on the contrary, it appears to have been agreed to without debate. The indulgence of the wishes of the general and of the parliament committee with the army, for Cromwell's continuance a short time longer, upon the eve of a battle that might decide the contest, was probably deemed by the Houses no great transgression of the ordinance: and, upon a motion after the battle of Naseby, for a further suspension as to Cromwell, during the pleasure of the House: the Lords limited the time to three months, to which the Commons agreed, without a debate in either House.

Rushworth only states, when referring to this suspension of the act, that the committee of the parliament, from whom the new-modelled army was generally to receive its orders, wrote to their general, Sir Thomas Fairfax, recommending the employment of Cromwell in the command of some horse to be dispatched beyond Oxford towards Worcester, to prevent an intended junction of part of the King's army with a part thereof under the command of Prince Rupert, he (Cromwell) having but the night before, arrived at Windsor from Salisbury, to take leave of the general, seeming now to be as good as discharged of all military employment by the new ordinance, which was to take effect within a few days. Also Sir William Brereton, Sir Thomas Middleton, and Sir John Rich, (Whitelock says,) members of the House of Commons, were also ordered to continue in their commands forty days longer notwithstanding the ordinance. It also appears, from Rushworth, that a council of war, called by General Fairfax, determined to write to the parliament, to request they would dispense with Cromwell's attendance upon the House, and that he might command the horse, an engagement being very shortly expected, in which his service might be of great use; to which the House agreed, and the general then wrote him the letter before given. This was shortly before the battle of Naseby, which was on the 14th of June, 1645, to the success whereof he greatly contributed. Cromwell's sincerity is to be always sus-

pected. — His coming to Windsor to take leave of the general, must, by his enemies, be deemed a covert design to bring him to the army, for the purpose of the first suspension in his favour: but, it should be remembered, that these suspensions were the acts of the parliament, grantable or refusable at their pleasure. The truth seems to be, that the different parties found Cromwell's presence in the army to be absolutely necessary to its future success.

Whitelock says that this suspension of the ordinance was much spoken against by the Earl of Essex's friends, as a breach of that ordinance, and a discovery of their intentions to continue who they pleased, and to remove the others from commands, notwithstanding their self-denying pretences; but that the Houses judged this fit to be done.

Ludlow, although lately no friend to Cromwell, makes no observation upon this circumstance of suspension in his favour; but merely states that Colonel Cromwell, notwithstanding the Self-denying Ordinance, was dispensed with by the parliament and appointed to command the horse under Sir Thomas Fairfax; and in consequence of the victory at Naseby was so continued during the pleasure of the House.

Mrs. Hutchinson, who was no friend to Cromwell, in her account of the origin of this ordinance, says that it was too apparent how much the whole parliament cause had been often hazarded, how many opportunities of finishing the war had been overslipped by the Earl of Essex's army, and believed that he himself with his commanders, rather endeavoured to become arbiters of war and peace, than conquerors for the parliament; for that it was known he had given out such expressions; that therefore those in the parliament, who were grieved at the prejudice of the public interest, and loth to bring those men to public shame, who had once well merited of them, devised to new-model the army and that an ordinance was accordingly made called the Self-denying Ordinance, whereby all members of parliament of both Houses were discharged of their commands in the army; that Cromwell had a particular exception, when Essex, Manchester, and Denbigh,

surrendered their commissions, and Sir Thomas Fairfax was made General of the new-modelled army, Cromwell Lieutenant-general, and Skippon Major-general; that the army was reduced to 21,000 men, who prosecuted the war, not with design of gain and making it their trade, but to obtain a righteous peace and settlement to the distracted kingdom, and that accordingly it succeeded in their hands.

Whitelock upon this occasion relates, that the Commons sent some of their members to the Lord-General (Essex) and to the Earl of Manchester to desire an account, why their forces lay quartered on their friends near London and did not remove nearer to the enemy, according to former directions: that at this time the Earl of Manchester was under a kind of accusation, and the Lord General in discontent; Sir William Waller not much otherwise; the forces not carefully ordered, and the parliament business but in an unsettled condition; so that it was high time for some other course to be taken by them.

All this shows the necessity there was of changing the command of, and new-modelling the army. Mr. Whitelock was against, as has been seen, the proposed mode of doing it by the Self-denying Ordinance, but deemed the thing itself necessary. The mode he proposes in his forementioned speech, of openly removing the obnoxious commanders and officers, was impracticable without by first bringing them to a public trial, showing the crime or misconduct for which they were to be removed; and this would have produced recrimination and endless animosity.

In a work entitled, "A Short Memorial of Thomas Lord Fairfax," written by himself, and published after his death, in the year 1699, and re-published lately, amongst other select extracts, by Mr. Baron Maseres, His Lordship, referring to some things he deems necessary to be cleared during his command of the army, after giving a short account of his proceedings with the army in the North under his father's command, proceeds to account for his engagement in the command of the army in the South, meaning under the Self-denying Ordinance. He says,

that some years had been spent in those parts in a lingering war betwixt the King and parliament, and several battles so equally fought, that it could scarce be known on which side the business in dispute would be determined: that, though it must be confessed that the parliament's army was under the command of a very noble and gallant person, the Earl of Essex, yet they found that time and delay gained more advantage against them and their affairs than force had done: that they therefore resolved to make a change in the constitution of their armies, hoping by it to find a change also in their business, which was then something in a declining condition: that in this distemper of things, the army was new-modelled, and a new general proposed to command it; and that by the votes of the two Houses of parliament he was appointed, and which appointment, he says, he was induced, by the persuasion of his friends, reluctantly to accept. He adds, that when he came to the army, had it not been in the simplicity of his heart, he could not have supported himself under the frowns and displeasures of those who were disgusted with these alterations; in which many of them were much concerned, and that therefore they sought by all means to obstruct his proceedings in this new change, though they could not prevent what the necessity of affairs pressed most to do, which was to march speedily out with the army; yet were we by them made so inconsiderable for want of fit and necessary accommodations, that it rather seemed that we were sent to be destroyed, than to do any service to the kingdom.

The necessity of this measure, of the removal of the commanders, and new-modelling of the army, is thus further evident. The Self-denying Ordinance does seem to be the most delicate and least exceptionable mode of removal: the suspension of particular officers from its operation certainly leaves the proposers and promoters open to their enemies' charge of sinister motives; but there seemed no other way of accomplishing this allowedly necessary work.

Mr. May, in his Breviary of the History of the Parliament of England, observes of this new-modelled army,— That the usual

vices of camps were here restrained; the discipline was strict; no wantonness, no oaths, nor any prophane words could escape without the severest castigation; by which it was brought to pass, that in this camp, as in a well-ordered city, passage was safe and commerce free.

Lord Clarendon, in his account of the defeat of the King's army at Naseby, observes upon this new-modelled army, that that difference was observed all along in the discipline of the King's troops, and of those which marched under the command of Fairfax and Cromwell, (for that it was only under them, and had never been remarkable under Essex or Waller;) that though the King's troops prevailed in the charge, and routed those they charged, they seldom rallied themselves again in order, nor could be brought to make a second charge the same day; which, adds His Lordship, was the reason that they had not an entire victory at Edgehill: whereas, the other troops, if they prevailed, or though they were beaten and routed, presently rallied, and stood in good order, till they received new orders. His Lordship adds, that the enemy left no means of cruelty unexercised that day (Naseby fight); and in the pursuit killed above one hundred women, whereof some were the wives of officers of great quality. His Lordship does not give one name of these women of quality, nor is it recollected that any other writer makes this assertion. The character of the parliament army renders it quite improbable. His Lordship acknowledges, however, that the Lord Goring's horse, upon his retiring to Salisbury, committed the same horrid outrages and barbarities as they had done in Hampshire, without distinction of friends or foes; so that those parts, which were before well devoted to the King, worried by oppression, wished for the access of any forces to redeem them. His Lordship, also referring to the taking the town of Leicester by storm by the King's forces, in the presence of the King himself, says,—The governor, and all the officers and soldiers, threw down their arms and became prisoners of war, whilst the conquerors pursued their advantage with the usual licence of rapine and plunder, and miserably sacked the whole town, without any

distinction of persons or places: churches and hospitals, as well as other houses, were made a prey to the enraged and greedy soldiers, to the exceeding regret of the King, who well knew, that how disaffected soever that town was generally, there were yet many who had faithful hearts to him, and who he heartily wished might be distinguished from the rest; but those seasons admit no difference of persons.

Whitelock, referring to this taking of Leicester, says, that the King's forces killed divers who prayed quarter, and put divers women to the sword, and other women and children were turned naked into the streets, and many they ravished; that they hanged two persons whom he names, and murdered a Mrs. Barlowes, a minister's wife, and her children.

Cromwell or his army are not, on the contrary, any where proved to have been guilty of such outrages. And he punished the few instances of irregularity in individual soldiers most severely.

## CHAPTER XI.

*Charge against Cromwell considered, of the removal of the King from Holmby House. — Formidable power of the Agitators, the authors of this measure, and Cornet Joyce wholly their agent. — Reality and sincerity of Cromwell's negotiations for the King's restoration; and Major Huntington's charge against Cromwell respecting those negotiations, and his motives for making it considered. — Sir John Berkley's narrative of those negotiations, and of the King's escape from Hampton Court, and of his going to the Isle of Wight. — Sufficient evidence of the fact of those negotiations, and of Cromwell's sincerity; and of Cromwell's privity to the King's escape, and that he had no concern in his going to the Isle of Wight. — Supposed cause of Cromwell's alleged desertion of the King's interest. — Moderate terms of the Independents' propositions to the King. — Probable cause of the King's rejection of them. — Lord Clarendon's observations upon the removal of the King from the Isle of Wight to Hurst Castle by the army. — Observations upon Colonel Pride's exclusion of the members, to show it to be the act of the Republicans to bring forward the trial of the King, and Cromwell not concerned in it. — The improbability of Cromwell's supposed influence over Fairfax, from Whitelock's and others' account of his temper and disposition. — Ludlow's account and justification of the proceedings of the Republicans in their bringing the King to trial.*

The next charge against Cromwell is, his supposed concern in the removal of the King from Holmby House, by Cornet Joyce.

Rushworth gives a paper published by the army, entitled, "A true impartial narrative concerning the Army's preservation of the King, to show that the Army did thereby intend the good, life, property, and liberty, of all the Commons of England." It states the grounds of this their undertaking to remove the King, to be chiefly an intimation to them of a design of some to surprise and carry him off; and which design they were able to prove, and was justly suspected to be intended by some that were with His Majesty; the execution whereof was to be followed by the raising another army to suppress them, the present army. —It proceeds to state that Cornet Joyce, an appointed agent by the army, observing some circumstances in the conduct of the

King and of those about him, affording ground of suspicion of the determined immediate execution of such intention, proceeded to remove the King in the manner related in this narrative.

Mr. Denzil Holles, referring to the same transaction, says, at first it must seem only an act of Mr. Joyce, Cromwell protesting he knew nothing of it, though, adds Mr. Holles, he was the man who appointed it to be done, as appears, he says, by some passages taken out of some of their own authors, as one that calls him Sirrah Niho, and others. He (Mr. Holles) proceeds,—that Sir Thomas Fairfax also, in a letter to the House, professes the same for himself as in the presence of God, with a large undertaking for the rest of his officers and the body of the army. And perhaps, says he, he said true; I would fain be so charitable as to believe it; nor indeed do I think the good man is privy to all their plots; he must have no more than what they are pleased to carve and chew for him, but must swallow all, and own them when they come abroad. Here then, says he, they have the King; Joyce drives away the guards; forced Colonel Greaves to fly, whom else they threatened to kill, for no man's life must stand in their way, (murder being no crime in the visible saints;) carries away His Majesty and the commissioners that attend him prisoners, and immediately sends up a letter to certify what he had done, with directions it should be delivered to Cromwell, and, he absent, to Sir Arthur Haslerig or Colonel Fleetwood, which was given to Colonel Fleetwood as one Lieutenant Markham informed the House, saying, the messenger that brought it told him so; nor did Sir Arthur Haslerig make a clear answer when he was asked concerning it in the House, Colonel Fleetwood being at that time gone to the army, so as he could not be examined. Whitelock, mentioning this transaction, says, that a party of horse, sent from the committee of troopers of the army, came to Holmby, where, after they had secured the guards, they demanded His Majesty; the commissioners, amazed at it, demanded of them what warrant they had for what they did; but they would give no other account but that it was the pleasure of the army. He then proceeds to give a similar account of the rest of that

affair to that before-given. He says, that the general sent to the parliament the grounds of the soldiers' undertaking of themselves, the business of Holmby; which were, that they had intimation of a design, which they were able to make good, of some to surprise the King. Also, that he refused to return to Holmby, when offered to be conducted back by the general.

Lord Clarendon, after describing the manner of the King's removal from Holmby, says, that the committee with the King quickly gave notice to the parliament of what had passed, with all the circumstances; and that it was received with all imaginable consternation, nor could any body imagine what the purpose and resolution was. Nor were they, proceeds His Lordship, at the more ease, nor in any degree pleased with the account they received from the general himself; who, by his letter, informed them that the soldiers at Holmby had brought the King from thence, and that His Majesty lay the next night at Colonel Montague's house, and would be the next day at Newmarket: that the ground thereof was, from an apprehension of some strength gathered to force the King from thence; whereupon he had sent Colonel Whalley's regiment to meet the King: that he (the General) protested that his remove was without his consent, or of the officers about him, and without their desire or privity: that he would take care for the security of His Majesty's person from danger; and assured the parliament that the whole army endeavoured peace; and were far from opposing presbytery, or affecting independency, or from any purpose to obtain a licentious freedom in religion, or the interest of any particular party; but were resolved to leave the absolute determination of all to the parliament.

Mrs. Hutchinson, mentioning this removal of the King from Holmby, only says, the soldiers, led on by one Cornet Joyce, took the King from Holmby, out of the parliament commissioners' hands.

Much has been endeavoured to be made to the prejudice of those who have been supposed to have been the contrivers of this removal of the King, particularly by the enemies of Cromwell,

upon whom they wish to throw all the supposed odium of the measure. Real odium there could be none, in the perilous situation in which the army and its principal officers felt themselves, under the apprehension of the power and inveteracy of the presbyterian party in the parliament. The army having, it appears, certain information of an intention to take the King out of the hands in which he had been placed, for purposes hostile to, and destructive of them; they deemed it necessary to frustrate that intention by bringing him amongst them: and, as the King did not suffer by the exchange,—on the contrary, from Lord Clarendon's own account of these proceedings, he appears to have been much more liberally and respectfully treated, than when with the parliament's commissioners,— no harm was done. The act itself was solely one of self-defence and preservation, which fully justified the proceeding.

This granted, no criminality attached to the general or Cromwell, or to any others of the army, who should be proved to have contrived it; and they might, without any discredit to themselves, have openly avowed it. But if Cromwell or the general really formed, or knew of this determination to remove the King, and authorised or connived at the employment of Joyce in the enterprise, and should be found to have positively denied their previous knowledge thereof; no justification can be offered for so deliberate a falsehood, nor can their veracity be depended upon in any other transaction in which they had been, or were thereafter engaged; and Cromwell, as particularly aimed at, must be taken for that deliberate liar and hypocrite his enemies seem so anxious to show him to be. Now what is the proof of, either the general's or Cromwell's contrivance, or knowledge of this intended removal? Lord Clarendon describes the Agitators, as known to be wholly Cromwell's creatures, and under his direction; and that the presbyterian party had no suspicion of the general, whom they knew to be perfect presbyterian in his judgment; but that Cromwell had obtained the ascendancy over him by his dissimulation and pretences of sincerity.

Cornet Joyce's alleged letter to Cromwell, supposing it true, is

no proof of Cromwell's previous knowledge of the design; for had Cromwell been really privy to it, it is not probable that a letter that must have referred to such privity, would have been directed to be delivered to any other than Cromwell's own hand, and not left to be delivered indiscriminately to any other. The whole of this story appears to be a weak attempt to fix upon Cromwell the supposed odium of the removal of the King. All the evidence respecting the letter is, the testimony of a Lieutenant Markham, as he is called, whose informer was the messenger that brought the letter, and Sir Arthur Heselrigge's supposed hesitation in answering the enquiries of the House concerning it. This is all conjecture upon which to found His Lordship's favourite hypothesis, — the hypocrisy of Cromwell. Ludlow, speaking of the agitators, says that they (the agitators) sent a party of horse under the command of Cornet Joyce with an order in writing to take the King from Holmby. He also says, that they (the agitators) were jealous of Cromwell. He gives the following account of the purposed rendezvous, which was held in a field called Cock-bush Field, between Hertford and Ware: that the time for the general rendezvous being come, the commonwealth party amongst them declared to stand to their engagement, not to be dispersed till the things they had demanded were effected, and the government of the nation established; to make good which resolution several regiments appeared in the field with distinguishing marks in their hats: but that Cromwell, not contenting himself with his part in an equal government, puffed up by his successes to an expectation of greater things, and having driven a bargain with the grandees in the House, either to comply with the King, or to settle things in a factious way without him, procured a party to stand by him in the seizing some of those who appeared at the rendezvous in opposition to his designs: that to this end, being accompanied with divers officers whom he had preferred and thereby made his creatures, he rode up to one of the regiments which had the distinguishing marks, requiring them to take them out, which they not doing, he caused several of them to be seized; and then, their hearts

failing they yielded obedience to his commands. He ordered one of them to be shot dead upon the place, delivering the rest of those whom he had seized, being eleven in number, to the marshal; and having dispersed the army to their quarters, went to give an account of his proceedings to the parliament.

This (Ludlow's) account of the proceedings of the agitators, must be deemed a complete refutation of His Lordship's assertion of Cromwell's influence over them; instead of acting under his influence, they were evidently suspicious of his desire to restore the King: they were republicans (called by Ludlow the commonwealth party), and so was Ludlow; they were determined upon a republican form of government, and would not listen to the return of monarchy, which they had declared to be inconsistent with the prosperity of the nation. This strong language of the agitators alarmed Cromwell and Ireton, and determined them if possible to get rid of them: and they appear to have subdued them, for the time at least, at this rendezvous.

Lord Clarendon, founds his assertion of Cromwell's privity to the King's removal from Holmby, also upon his (Cromwell's) leaving London the morning of Cornet Joyce's arrival at Holmby; of the truth of which he produces no evidence of dates, or otherwise, nor does this circumstance appear in any other account of the transaction; and if it were true, it would amount to no more than a suspicious circumstance in the minds of those who are disposed to indulge any the most trifling surmise to Cromwell's prejudice.

In further proof of Cromwell's ignorance of Cornet Joyce's undertaking, it appears from Rushworth, that the General (Fairfax), in the conversation between the King and him, and Cromwell, Ireton, and Hammond, and divers other officers, at Lady Cutts's house at Childersley, upon the King charging them all with their privity to this proceeding, Joyce having, he said, told him that he had the commission of the whole army for what he did, and consequently that he must have had the general's, as being the principal part of it; Joyce declared he had not the

General's commission; and that the General declared for himself, and was confident for the other officers about him, and the body of the army, that the King's removal was without their desire or privity: and Whitelock says, that the party of horse that removed the King, was from the committee of troopers of the army, by which he must mean the council of agitators. Ludlow expressly says that the agitators sent a party of horse under the command of Cornet Joyce, on the 4th of June (1647), with an order in writing to take the King out of the hands of the commisioners of parliament. The truth appears clearly to be, that this design of removing the King was conceived and directed by the council of agitators, without the authority or privity of their officers; of the dispositions of the principal of whom, to treat with the King they were evidently become very jealous: and Ludlow, it is observable, says, that the principal officers of the army made it so much their business to get the good opinion of the King, that Whalley, being sent from them, with orders to use all means, but constraint, to cause him to return to Holmby, and the King refusing, was contented to bring him to the army. The General (Fairfax) Rushworth states, offered to take back the King to Holmby. Sir Philip Warwick does not mention the interview of the King and the principal officers of the army at Childersley; but he says, that at Royston, Fairfax and Cromwell waited on the King together: that he asked them, whether they commissioned Joyce to remove him, and that they denied it: "I'll not believe you," says the King, "unless you hang him." Lord Fairfax, in his short memorials, says, that being at Saffron Walden, in Essex, he had notice, that Cornet Joyce, an arch-agitator, who quartered about Oxford had seized on the King's person, removed his guards, and given such a check to the commissioners of parliament attending the King, that they refused to act any farther on their commission, being so unwarrantably interrupted. "That it might appear what a real trouble this act was to me, though the army was almost wholly infected with this humour of agitation, I called for a council of war, to proceed against Joyce for this high offence, and breach of the articles of war; but the offi-

cers, whether for fear of the distempered soldiers, or rather, as he suspected, secret allowance of what was done, made all my endeavours in this ineffectual." Mr. Denzil Holles, a most inveterate enemy to Cromwell, in his forementioned memoirs, charges Cromwell with being the abettor of this enterprise, (allowing at the same time Cromwell's absolute denial of the charge,) which he founds upon passages taken out of some books of those times, and upon a letter, which he says was sent by Joyce to Cromwell, containing an account of this proceeding; referring probably to the fore-mentioned letter mentioned by Lord Clarendon. Mr. Holles, in whatever he says respecting Cromwell, is not to be relied on, his memoirs are the performance of an enraged and disappointed man of the presbyterian party, frustrated by the superior abilities of Cromwell and others of the independent party, in their views of establishing the presbyterian form of church-government, in exclusion of all other modes of religious worship, and of disbanding the army, and thereby getting into their hands Cromwell and all others who did not fall in with their views of absolute power.

Cromwell is, on the one hand, accused of insincerity in his negotiations with the King for his restoration, and on the other hand, the reality of his negotiations are brought forward in the shape of accusation.

Dr. Harris, in his Life of Cromwell, in proof of his supposed arts and ambition, gives in a note, a paper to be found in the first volume of Thurloe's State Papers; nothing so fully as which paper, he says, set forth those arts and ambition: and it is written, he adds, with such a spirit and air of truth as strongly inclines one to believe it. How this paper found its way into these state papers does not appear, but it is marked at the conclusion "*Copia vera.*" It is also to be found amongst Mr. Baron Masere's tracts, taken from the same state papers: it is entitled "Sundry Reasons inducing Major Huntington to lay down his Commission; humbly presented to the Honourable Houses of Parliament." He describes himself, as having, at the modelling of the army, been appointed by the parliament a major in Crom-

well's regiment; and having lately quitted that situation, he held it incumbent on him to assign his reasons for so doing: which were, because the principles, designs, and actions of those officers who had a great influence upon the army, were, as he conceived, very repugnant and destructive to the honour and safety of the parliament and kingdom, from whom they derived their authority. He then gives what he conceives to be the particular instances.

Dr. Harris, in his eager desire to establish his favourite position (Cromwell's supposed arts and ambition) attaches much consequence to this paper, considering it sufficient evidence of the truth of his position. The truth, however, appears to be, that this Huntington thinks proper to desert his friends in the army, and join himself to the presbyterian party in the parliament; and in proof of the sincerity of his conversion, betrays the confidence he alleges to have been reposed in him, under the pretence of assigning his reasons for such desertion. The first great crime he imputes to Cromwell and Ireton, is their impeding the disbanding the army: their so doing they do not deny; and the reasons that have been already assigned must surely be deemed sufficient; namely, their well-founded apprehensions of the vengeance of the presbyterian party, so soon as the army should be broken and dispersed, and the obnoxious leaders at their mercy. Another charge is, their advising, for the effecting of their further purposes, the removal of the King from Holmby to secure him from the influence of those appointed to be about him by the parliament, which, he says, was done by the private soldiery, and promoted by the agitators, by Cromwell's and Ireton's advice. But it is conceived to be evident, from what has been heretofore stated, that neither Cromwell or Ireton had any concern in that removal, nor were in any degree privy to it. Huntington's relation of the answer of Joyce to the General, that Cromwell gave him orders for this removal, is mere assertion; he (Huntington) not saying that he heard him so declare; and it is quite improbable. The agitators appear to have given Joyce the directions for so doing, unknown to Cromwell, and under suspicion of his being

in private treaty with the King. Joyce does not mention Cromwell as in any way engaged in this business, and Cromwell positively denies to the King himself all knowledge of it, nor does the General hint it in his memorial. This narrative proves no more than every one knew, that the army were aware of the ill disposition of the parliament towards them, and of their endeavours to get possession of the King for the purpose of separately treating with him, or of raising a separate army: and of the means used by the army to counteract them by themselves treating with the King. All the remainder of this paper is, in like manner, mere unproved invective against Cromwell and Ireton, particularly Cromwell, retailing every word supposed to have escaped them, upon which he (Huntington) could put any construction to their prejudice. The undenied endeavours of Cromwell to come to an agreement with the King, is surely no proof of the ambitious views imputed to him, of aiming at supreme power.

This paper, Whitelock says, was presented to the House of Lords: and, in a subsequent article, that he (Huntington) made oath in the Lords' House that the narrative given in by him was true and would be attested.

Rushworth says of this paper: — A paper was delivered to and read in the House of Lords from Major Huntington, of reasons why he left the army — that they were very large, being a narrative of pretended carriages of Lieutenant-general Cromwell and Commissary-general Ireton, since the parliament's going to disband the army, in relation to overtures with His Majesty, and the proceedings against the Lords, Commons, and aldermen that were impeached: and, proceeds Rushworth, on Tuesday, August 8th, Major Huntington appeared before the Lords, and took his oath, that what he had affirmed in his narrative given in, of his own knowledge, was true, and that what upon hearsay, he believed would be attested; the Lords required his attendance and ordered him protection.

The time of the delivery of this paper appears, from its date, to have been about the time of the commencement of the treaty of the Isle of Wight.

Lord Clarendon pompously introduces this Major Huntington, to prove Cromwell's insincerity in his treaty with the King. He describes him as one of Cromwell's best officers; that he was in his own regiment of horse, and upon whom he entirely relied; and that he had been employed by him to the King to say those things from him which had given the King the most confidence, and was much more than he had ever said to Ashburnham. And, adds His Lordship, the major did believe that he had meant all he said, and that the King had a good opinion of the major's integrity: that he, the major, when he observed Cromwell to grow colder in his expressions for the King than he had formerly been, expostulated with him in very sharp terms, for abusing him and making him the instrument to cozen the King: and that the other endeavoured to persuade him that all should be well; but that he, the major, informed the King that Cromwell was a villain, and would destroy him if he were not prevented: and that, in a short time after, he gave up his commission, and would serve no longer in the army.

All this amounts but to a weak endeavour of Huntington to recommend himself to his new friends, and to convince them of the sincerity of his apostacy, by betraying the confidence of those who had entrusted him. It may be true that he might be authorized by Cromwell and Ireton to give to the King a favourable representation of their dispositions towards him; and there is every reason to believe that they were sincere in these their professions; but their discovery of the King's private negociations with the parliament and the Scots, acknowledged by Lord Clarendon himself, would necessarily terminate their treaty with the King, and occasion Cromwell's subsequent coolness, and to which Huntington could not be a stranger if he really was so much in their confidence as he professes; but the ill construction he here chooses to put thereon was likely best to please his new employers. His narrative delivered to the House of Lords does not mention his supposed sharp expostulation with Cromwell, nor is it very likely he would venture it with him.

Rushworth shows his opinion of the charges exhibited against Cromwell and Ireton in this paper, by calling them pretended carriages.

Ludlow, in reference to this charge of Huntington, says,— These affairs (an apparent disposition in Scotland in favour of the King) necessitated the parliament to raise the militia, in order to oppose this malevolent spirit which threatened them from the north, and also prevailed with them to discountenance a charge of high treason framed by Major Huntington, an officer of the army, with the advice of some members of both houses, against Lieutenant-general Cromwell, for endeavouring, by betraying the King, parliament, and army, to advance himself; it being, he (Ludlow) adds, manifest that the preferring this accusation at that time, was principally designed to take him off from his command, and thereby to weaken the army, that their enemies might be the better enabled to prevail against them.

Hence it is plain that Ludlow (no friend to Cromwell) considered this charge a contrivance of the enemies of Cromwell in both Houses, to remove him from his command, and probably destroy him and ruin the army: and that Huntington was only their tool in this business, not improbably seduced by his employers from his former friends for that purpose. And there is in Milton's prose works, the following passage:— "Whilst he (Cromwell) staves off the enemy at the peril of his life, these (the presbyterians) accuse him, fighting bravely for them, and amidst the very encounter itself, of feigned crimes, and suborn one Major Huntington against his head. And that accuser, Huntington, unpunished, and left to his own liberty, at length struck with remorse, came of himself and besought Cromwell's pardon, and freely confessed by whom he had been suborned."

There can be no reason to dispute Milton's veracity in this account, and Ludlow evidently considers this business as a contrivance to take off Cromwell. But Dr. Harris, anxious to establish the credibility of Huntington's testimony against Cromwell, concludes his note upon this passage with observing that Mr.

Wood, in his Athenæ Oxoniensis, informs that Major Huntington hated Oliver for his diabolical proceedings, and was hated by him again, so much that he imprisoned him several times. This looks, adds Dr. Harris, not as if he had asked pardon and confessed his fault. That Cromwell should hate Huntington for his baseness is not surprising; and his frequent imprisonment of him has not the appearance of any apprehension on the part of Cromwell of any disclosure he might be thought capable of making to his (Cromwell's) prejudice.

Major Huntington (in this his memorial) affects to have been very much in the confidence of the King, and all the other parties to this negociation; but it is worthy of remark, and proves his unworthiness of credit, that Sir John Berkley, in his after-given narrative of this negociation, mentions his name only twice: the first time he mentions him, he says, that upon a conference with the King, he found that His Majesty discovered, not only to him, but to every one he was pleased to converse with, a total diffidence of all the army, except Huntington (as he calls him), grounding such diffidence chiefly upon the other officers' backwardness to treat of receiving any favour or advantage from His Majesty. Huntington therefore appears to have been little more than a messenger from the King in this negociation, and to have been singled out by him (not for his, Huntington's, credit) as the only officer upon whom the King could prevail to accept any compensation (or, perhaps more properly, bribe) for these his services. Enough, it is conceived, has been already said in proof of the invalidity of his narrative. But thereto may be added a letter of a Mr. Chidley, in Milton's State Papers, to Cromwell, speaking of Divine Providence having ordered his (Cromwell's) conclusion of the insurrection in Wales, to be upon the very entrance of the Scots, — "Though contrary (he says) to the malicious expectation of all wicked men, whereof Major Huntington, none of the least, as appeared by his railing book in print against you and your son-in-law, whereof Your Honour may remember that I once gave you an answer, also in print, at that inch of time."

But the following narrative of Sir John Berkley, appears to be a faithful and impartial account of the negociations between the the King, himself, and Cromwell and Ireton, and other principal officers of the parliament army, for the restoration of the King — of the King's escape from Hampton Court — and of subsequent proceedings during the treaty of Newport.

They commence with stating, that in the year 1647, the Queen and the Prince of Wales sent him (Sir John Berkley) into Holland, to condole the death of the Prince of Orange; and that, having performed that office, he returned with Mr. John and Mr. William Ashburnham to France, by the way of Calais, where they met with the news of His Majesty being seized by one Cornet Joyce, in Holmby House; from whence he had been carried with a guard of four hundred horse towards the army; the Cornet producing no authority whereby to warrant this proceeding. That the next post informed them that His Majesty was well received by the officers and soldiers of the army, and that there were great hopes conceived, that they would both concur to establish His Majesty in his just right.

That Sir John was sent into England by the Queen, to assist the King in this negociation, accompanied by Mr. William Leg, of the King's bed-chamber.

That two miles on this side Tunbridge, they met with Sir Allen Apsley, who had been his (Sir John's) lieutenant-governor of Exeter, and afterwards governor of Barnstaple, who told him, that he was going to him (Sir John) from Cromwell, and some other officers of the army, with letters, and a cypher and instructions, which were to this effect: — That he (Sir Allen Apsley) should desire him (Sir John Berkley) to remember that, in some conferences with Colonel Lambert and other officers of the army, upon the rendering of Exeter, he (Sir John) had taken notice of the army's bitter inveighing against the King's person, as if he had been the worst of men, and their excessive extolling the parliament; both which being without any colour of ground, he (Sir John) had concluded that those discourses were not out of any persuasion of mind, but affected to prepare men to receive

the alteration of government, which they intended that the parliament should effect, by the assistance of the army; which he (Sir John) had said was not only a most wicked, but a very difficult, if not an impossible design, for a few men, not of the greatest quality, to introduce a popular government, against the King and his party, against the presbyterians, against the nobility and gentry, against the laws established, both ecclesiastical and civil, and against the whole genius of the nation, that had been accustomed for so many ages to a monarchical government: that, on the other side, if they would but consider, that those of their party had no particular obligations to the crown, (as many of the presbyterians had,) and therefore ought less to despair of His Majesty's grace and favour: that the presbyter began this war upon specious pretences of making the King a glorious King. that, under that pretext, they had deceived many well-meaning men, and had brought great things to pass; but that now, the mask was taken off, and they were discovered to have sought their own advantages, and, at the same time, that the power to do themselves much good, or much hurt to others, was now almost wrested out of their hands; and that this had been done by the independent party, who could establish themselves no way under Heaven, so justly and prudently, as by making good what the presbyterians had only pretended to do, — that is, the restoring the King and people to their just and ancient rights, which would so ingratiate them with both, that they would voluntarily invest them with as much trust and power as subjects were capable of; whereas, if they grasped at more, it would be with the general hatred, and with their own destruction: that to this discourse of him (Sir John) they now informed him, that at that time they had only given a hearing, but no consent, as proceeding from an interest much divided from theirs; but that they had since found by experience, all, or the most part of it, to be so reasonable, that they were resolved to put it in practice, as he (Sir John) might perceive by what had already passed: that they desired, for the present, nothing of him, but that he would present them humbly to the Queen and Prince, and be suitor to them in their names,

not to condemn them absolutely; but to suspend their opinions of them, and their pretensions towards His Majesty, and judge them rather by their future behaviour; of the innocence whereof they had already given some testimonies to the world, and would do more and more daily: that when he (Sir John) should have done this office, they desired he would come over into England, and become an eye-witness of their proceedings. Sir John says, that he thought this rencounter no ill omen to his future proceedings: that Sir Allen Apsley told him he would have to do with subtle men, that governed themselves by other maxims than the rest of the world: that he (Sir John) remembered to have answered, that the caution was good, and that he would arm himself the best he could; but that it was hard to secure ourselves from malicious men, when we were absolutely in their power: that he took the best information he could from Sir Allen Apsley, and resolved with him, to go into London, before he went to the King, or to the army, that he might be enlightened by the most able men of the King's party; which he did: that from London he went to the head-quarters at Reading, with intention, after he had delivered his message, to desire leave to wait on His Majesty at Causum: that upon his arrival at Reading, he spoke with Sir Edward Ford, (who was brother-in-law to Ireton,) and Mr. John Denham, who had been sent before upon the same mission, both of whom were much of the same advice with those he had discoursed with at London, concerning the present power of the adjutators, by whom the most important affairs of the kingdom and army were transacted: that, in sum, they doubted that His Majesty hearkened to some secret propositions of the presbyterians, and had bent all his thoughts to make an absolute breach between the army and parliament, which Ireton had discerned, and told His Majesty plainly, "Sir, you have an intention to be the arbitrator between the parliament and us, and we mean to be it between Your Majesty and the parliament:" that two or three hours after his (Sir John's) arrival, Cromwell sent an officer to excuse him (Cromwell), that he could not wait on him till ten at night, by reason he was sitting with

the committee of parliament, and should not rise till then: that he came then, accompanied with Rainsborough and Sir Hardress Waller: that after general discourse, he (Sir John) told Cromwell the sum of his instructions from the Queen and Prince; which were to assure them, that Her Majesty and His Highness were not partial to the presbyterians, nor any way averse to them: that he (Sir John) would endeavour to incline His Majesty to comply with them, as far as would stand with his honour and conscience, and to dispose them to press His Majesty no farther: that his (Cromwell's) answer was in these words, — That whatever the world might judge of them, they would be found no seekers of themselves, farther than to have leave to live as subjects ought to do, and to preserve their consciences; and that they thought no men could enjoy their lives and estates quietly, without the King had his rights; which they had declared in general terms already to the world, and would more particularly very speedily, wherein they would comprise the several interests of the royal presbyterian and independent parties, as far as they were consisting with each other; which he (Sir John) says, he understood afterwards to be meant of the proposals of the army: that he went the next day to the general (Fairfax) by Cromwell's direction, to ask his leave to see the King, which he was pleased to grant: that he delivered his letters and instructions to His Majesty: that he found that His Majesty discovered, not only to him, but to every one he was pleased to converse with, a total diffidence of all the army, except Huntington, and grounded it chiefly upon the officers' backwardness to treat of receiving any favour or advantage from His Majesty: that he (Sir John) was of His Majesty's sense, that men, whose hands were yet hot with the blood of his most faithful subjects, ought not entirely to be trusted, but thought they ought absolutely to be well dissembled with, whilst His Majesty was in their hands; at least, that he might the better get out of them; and that, to this end, he offered several expedients; — as to suffer Hugh Peters to preach before His Majesty, of which he was very ambitious, and to converse with him and others of the army with freedom, and by all means

to endeavour to gain the good opinion of the most active adjutators and the like: but that His Majesty concurred in none of them; which made him (Sir John) doubt that His Majesty valued his reasons something the worse on account of the author of them; and, therefore, that he (Sir John) meditated nothing so much as to procure a pass for Mr. John Ashburnham, with whom he hoped he might prevail, and he with His Majesty; and which, within a few days after, he did obtain, and caused it to be delivered to his servant: that, however it was, upon some surmises of him (Sir John), being an engaged presbyterian, Cromwell came to expostulate the matter plainly with him; to which he (Sir John) replied, "That he was as much presbyterian as independent; that he (Sir John), as well as others, were inclined to think the better of them (the Independents), because they pretended to mind the King's restoration; but bid them be assured, that as soon as he should discover they were not real, he, and he thought all the King's party, would join with any that would but dissemble better than they; and concluded, that he thought nothing would separate the crown and the King's party:" that Cromwell seemed not unsatisfied with this plain dealing, and so left him: that the next day Huntington, who was sent to me by the King, made him acquainted with two general officers, whom he durst not name, because they were obnoxious to the then present power: that with these he had often and free communication; and, enquiring what opinion they had of the army in general, as to a conjunction with the King, they replied, "That they did believe, that it was universally desired, both by the officers and adjutators:" that if Cromwell was not real in it, he was a great dissembler, and so was Ireton: that, for the present, the whole army was so bent upon it, that they durst not be otherwise; — that, if they should ever happen to change, they should easily discover it; and, because they had been, in great part, the cause that Sir Allen Apsley was sent to him (Sir John), they thought themselves obliged to give him all the light they could of things and persons; which to the best they performed, in his (Sir John's) opinion, most sincerely: that he (Sir John) informed

them at their first meeting, that he doubted there would be three great difficulties, which would obstruct the agreement; — first, that they would expect that the King should not only give them liberty of conscience, but alter the established ecclesiastical government, which His Majesty was persuaded, he could not in conscience do; the second, that they would not be contented to separate some few men from the court, and from bearing great offices, unless they and their posterity were ruined, and that by the King's act, which His Majesty could not in honour permit; and, thirdly, that they would not be contented with a security of the militia, during His Majesty's life; and His Majesty could not grant it further, but infinitely to the prejudice of his posterity: that they assured him, that His Majesty would be pressed in none of these particulars, and that there was a draught of proposals, which Ireton had drawn, and which would certainly be voted by the whole army, wherein there was nothing tending to any such purpose; and, that if His Majesty would consent to them, there would be an end of all difficulties; and they thought that the sooner His Majesty did it, the better it would be; because there was no certainty in the temper of the army, which they had observed to have altered more than once already: that he (Sir John) asked whether he might not have a sight of these proposals; they answered, when he pleased: that they went with them to Ireton for that purpose, and remained with him almost till morning: that he (Ireton) permitted him (Sir John) to alter two of the articles, and that, in most material points, and that he would have done a third, which was, the excluding seven persons (that were not named) from pardon, and the admitting of the King's party to sit in the next parliament; — to the first he answered, that being they had prevailed in the war, if they should not in the sight of the world make some distinction between themselves and those that were worsted, (who always bear the blame of public quarrels,) they had so many malicious enemies, both in the parliament and army, that they should be censured of betraying their party, and to have sought their own ends by private and indirect means; to the second, he confessed that he

should himself be afraid of a parliament, wherein the King's party should have the major vote; but that after the agreement, if the King's party and they could piece kindly and cordially together, there would be nothing easier than to procure His Majesty satisfaction in those two particulars: he concluded, by conjuring him (Sir John), as he tendered His Majesty's good and welfare, that he would endeavour to prevail with him to grant the proposals, that they might with the more confidence propound them to the parliament, and make an end of all differences: that Sir John out of his discourses and enquiries collected these observations; — that the army was governed partly by a council of war, and partly by a council of the army, or adjutators, wherein the General had but a single voice; — that Fairfax (the General) had little power in either; — that Cromwell and his son Ireton, with their friends and partizans, governed the council of war absolutely, but not that of the army, which was the most powerful, though they had a strong party there also; but that the major part of the adjutators carried it; — that amongst these adjutators, there were many ill-wishers of Cromwell, looking on him as one, who would always make his advantages out of the army. Sir John proceeds, — that when he came to Reading, he found many of the adjutators jealous, that Cromwell was not sincere for the King; and they desired him, if he found him false to their engagement, that he would let them know it, and they did not doubt to set him right, either with, or against, his will. But he adds, that in all his conferences with him (Cromwell), he found no man, in appearance, so zealous for a speedy blow as he: sometimes wishing that the King was more frank, and would not tie himself so strictly to narrow maxims; sometimes complaining of his son Ireton's slowness in perfecting the proposals, and his not accommodating more to His Majesty's sense; always doubting, that the army would not preserve their good inclinations for the King: that he (Sir John) met with him (Cromwell) about three days after he came to Reading, as he was coming from the King, then at Causum: that he told him that he had lately seen the tenderest sight that ever his eyes beheld, which was the interview between the King and his chil-

dren, and wept plentifully at the remembrance of it; saying that never man was so abused as he, in his sinister opinions of the King, who, he thought, was the uprightest and most conscientious man of his three kingdoms: that they, of the independent party, (as they were called,) had infinite obligations to him, for not consenting to the Scots' propositions at Newcastle, which would have totally ruined them, and which His Majesty's interest seemed to invite him to: and concluded, with wishing that God would be pleased to look upon him according to the sincerity of his heart towards His Majesty: that he (Sir John) immediately acquainted His Majesty with this passage; who seemed not well edified with it, and did believe that all proceeded out of the use Cromwell and the army had of His Majesty, without whom he thought they could do nothing: and this he (Sir John) conceived was inculcated daily by Bampfield and Loe, at first, and afterwards by the Lord Lauderdale, who had frequent accesses to His Majesty from the Scots, the presbyterians, and the city of London, who knew there was nothing so fatal to them as a conjunction between the King and the army: that out of all his observations, he (Sir John) drew these conclusions, which he prosecuted to the best of his power; — that His Majesty was concerned to come to a speedy issue with the army; that he might either agree with them or discover that they intended not to agree with him; and in that case, that His Majesty should secure his escape; and that, in the mean time, His Majesty should not give them the least colour of exception to his actions; that seeing the officers were more easily fixed to His Majesty by a visible prospect of their interest, in case of a conjunction, he took the least pains with them, and applied himself to Hugh Peters and the adjutators, who swayed their officers more than their officers commanded them; and that it was more hard to satisfy them (being many) in point of interest than their officers, who were few: —that about ten days after his (Sir John's) arrival at the army the contentions grew high and hot between them and the presbyterian party in the House, (which was the major part by much,) and the city of London; the one contending to have the

parliament purged of corrupt members, and the other to have the army removed farther from the city: that this caused the army's march from Reading to Bedford, and consequently His Majesty's remove, with his wonted guard, from Causum to Woburn, (a house of the Earl of Bedford,) where he (Sir John) procured His Majesty a sight of the army's proposals, six or eight days before they were offered to him in public: that His Majesty was much displeased with them in general, saying, that if they had a mind to close with him, they would never impose so hard terms upon him, to which he (Sir John) replied, that if they had demanded less than they had done, he should have suspected them, more than he now did, of intending not really to serve His Majesty, but only to abuse him; since it was not likely that men who had, through so great dangers and difficulties, acquired so great advantages, should ever sit down with less than was contained in the proposals; and, on the other side, never was a crown, that had been so near lost, so cheaply recovered, as His Majesty's would be, if they agreed upon such terms: that His Majesty was of another advice, and returned, that they could not subsist without him, and therefore he did not doubt but that he should see them very shortly be glad to condescend farther; and then objected to three particular points of the proposals; — the first was, the exception of seven not named from pardon; the second, the excluding his party from being eligible in the next ensuing parliament; and the third, that though there was nothing against the church-government established, yet there was nothing done to assert it: that to these he (Sir John) replied, that after His Majesty and the army were accorded, it would be no impossible work to make them remit in the first point; and, if he could not, when His Majesty was re-instated in his throne, he might easily supply seven persons beyond the seas, in such sort, as to make their banishment supportable to them; to the second, that the next parliament would be necessitated to lay great burdens upon the kingdom, and it would be a happiness to the King's party to have no voice in them; to the third, that the law was security enough for the church, and it was happy that men, who had

fought against the church, should be reduced (when they were superiors) not to speak against it: that His Majesty broke from him (Sir John) with this expression, — "Well, I shall see them glad ere long to accept more equal terms." I now began to long impatiently for Mr. Ashburnham, as hoping he had some better topics for His Majesty; and within a few days after, he arrived, to His Majesty's great contentment, as well as mine: that his instructions referred to his (Sir John's), which they were to prosecute jointly: that he (Sir John) gave him (Mr. Ashburnham) presently all the light he had, which he seemed to embrace at first; but that after he had discoursed more amply with His Majesty, he (Sir John) found him, so far from crossing him (His Majesty) that he abounded in His Majesty's sense, and held afterwards this discourse with Sir John; — That for his part, he was always bred in the best company, and, therefore, could not converse with such senseless fellows as the adjutators were; that if we would gain the officers sure to the King, there was no doubt but they would be able to command their own army; and therefore he was resolved to apply himself totally to them; — and so he did: and there grew immediately great familiarities between him and Whalley, captain of the guard that waited on the King, and then with Cromwell and Ireton; and daily messages between His Majesty and the head-quarters, which Mr. Ashburnham carried, and sometimes him (Sir John) with him, though he seldom knew the message; at least, he (Mr. Ashburnham) would have him believe he did not, for he chose to speak apart with Cromwell and Ireton, when he (Sir John) was present, alleging that they would not speak freely to two at once: that, what with the pleasure of having so concurring a second as Mr. Ashburnham, and what with the encouraging messages which His Majesty had by Lord Lauderdale and others from the presbyterian party and the city of London, who pretended to despise the army, and to oppose them to death, His Majesty seemed very much erected; insomuch, that, when the proposals were solemnly sent to him, and his concurrence most humbly and earnestly desired, His Majesty (not only to the astonishment of Ireton and the

rest, but even of him, Sir John,) entertained them with very tart and bitter discourses, saying, sometimes, that he would have no man to suffer for his sake, and that he repented of nothing so much as the bill against the Lord Strafford, which, though most true, was unpleasant for them to hear; that he would have the church established according to law, by the proposals. They replied, it was none of their work to do it; that it was enough for them to wave the point, and, they hoped, enough for His Majesty, since he had waved the government itself in Scotland. His Majesty said, that he hoped God had forgiven him that sin, and repeated often, "You cannot be without me; you will fall to ruin if I do not sustain you." That many of the army who were present, and wished well (at least as they pretended) to the agreement, looked wishfully and with wonder, upon him (Sir John) and Mr. Ashburnham; and he (Sir John), as much as he durst, upon His Majesty, who would take no notice of it, until he (Sir John) was forced to step to him, and whisper in his ear — "Sir, Your Majesty speaks as if you had some secret strength and power that I do not know of; and since Your Majesty hath concealed it from me, I wish you had concealed it from these men too." That His Majesty soon recollected himself, and began to sweeten his former discourse with great power of language and behaviour; but it was now of the latest; for that Colonel Rainsborough (who of all the army seemed the least to wish the accord), in the middle of the conference, stole away, and posted to the army, which he inflamed against the King with all the artificial malice he had: that as soon as the conference ended, he (Sir John) followed him to Bedford, where the army then lay: that he met with some of the adjutators, who asked him what His Majesty meant, to entertain their commissioners so harshly? he told them that Rainsborough had delivered it amiss to them, as indeed he had, by adding to the truth, and then desired a meeting with Ireton, and the rest of the superior officers, and obtained it; and there asked them, if the King should grant the proposals, what would ensue? they replied, they would offer them to the parliament: but if they refused them, what would they do then? They re-

plied, they would not tell him: that he (Sir John) then returned in answer, that he would tell them that he would lose no more time with them; for that if there came of the proposals nothing but the propounding, he could then propound as well as they: that they all replied, that it was not for them to say, directly, what they would do against the parliament; but intimated, that they did not doubt of being able to prevail with the parliament: that when he (Sir John) appeared not fully satisfied with this reply, Rainsborough spoke out in these words, "If they will not agree, we will make them;" to which the whole company assented. But, proceeds Sir John, we had harder work with His Majesty, who was so far from granting, that he sent for Sir Thomas Gardiner, Mr. Jeffry Palmer, and Sir Orlando Bridgman (his learned counsel), men indeed of great abilities and integrity; to these were added, Mr. Philip Warwick, Mr. Ashburnham, Mr. Denham, Sir Richard Ford, Dr. Gough (who came over with Mr. Ashburnham from France), Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Hammond, and himself (Sir John): that these easily answered the proposals, both in point of law and reason; but they had to do with what was stronger. All this while, continues Sir John, there wanted not those that meditated a better understanding between the parliament and the army; but that not taking effect, the army advanced nearer London, and lodged at Windsor, and His Majesty at Stoke: that at this time, those that were supposed best inclined to His Majesty, in the army, seemed much afflicted with His Majesty's backwardness to concur with the army in the proposals; and the rather, because they conceived great hopes that, within a few days, they should be masters of London, which they doubted might alter the temper of the army towards the King: that Cromwell and Ireton, and the rest of the superior officers of the army, knew that London would certainly be theirs two days before they communicated it to the army; and therefore sent an express to Mr. Ashburnham and to him (Sir John), to inform them, that although His Majesty would not yield to the proposals, yet he should at least send a kind letter to the army, before it were commonly known that London would submit: that they (Sir John and Mr. Ashburn-

ham) caused a meeting of the above-named persons at Windsor, where the letter was immediately drawn, but His Majesty would not sign it till after three or four several debates, which lost at least one whole day's time: that they (Mr. Ashburnham and Sir John) went with it at last; and upon the way met with messages to hasten it; but before they came to Sion, the commissioners from London were arrived, and the letter was out of season; for, that though His Majesty was ignorant of the success when he signed the letter, yet coming after it was known, it lost both its grace and its efficacy: that all that the officers could do, they did; which was, whilst the army was in the act of thanksgiving to God for their success, to propose that they should not be elevated with it, but keep still to their former engagement to His Majesty; and, once more, solemnly vote the proposals, which was accordingly done: that the next day the army marched into London; and some few of the presbyterian party, that had been most active against the army, disappeared: that from London the head-quarters came to Putney, and His Majesty was lodged at Hampton-court: Mr. Ashburnham had, daily, some message or another from the King to Cromwell and Ireton, who had enough to do, both in the parliament and council of the army; the one abounding with Presbyterians, and the other with Levellers; and both really jealous that Cromwell and Ireton had made a private compact and bargain with the King; Lilburn printing books weekly to that effect: and that Sir Lewis Dives, afterwards, acknowledged to him (Sir John), that being his fellow-prisoner, he had daily endeavoured to possess him with that opinion, of which, although he were not persuaded himself, yet that he judged it for the King's service to divide Cromwell and the army: that on the other side, the Presbyterians were no less confident of their surmises; and that Cromwell told him (Sir John) that Lady Carlisle affirmed, that he (Sir John) had told her that he (Cromwell) was to be Earl of Essex, and captain of the King's guards: that these and the like discourses made great impression on the army, to which Mr. Ashburnham's secret and long conferences contributed not a little; insomuch, that the

adjutators, who were wont to complain that Cromwell went too slow towards the King, began now to suspect that he had gone too fast, and left them behind him; from whence there were frequent complaints in the council of the army, of the intimacy Mr. Ashburnham and he (Sir John) had in the army: that Cromwell's and Ireton's doors were open to them when it was shut to the army; that they knew not why malignants should have so much countenance in the army, and liberty with the King: that with these discourses, both in public and private, Cromwell seemed highly offended; and when he could carry any thing to His Majesty's advantage amongst the adjutators, could not rest until he had made them (Sir John and Mr. Ashburnham) privately partakers of it; but telling them, that if he were an honest man, he had said enough of the sincerity of his intentions; if he were not, nothing was enough; and therefore conjured them, as they tendered His Majesty's service, not to come so frequently to his quarters, but send privately to him; the suspicions of him being grown to that height, that he was afraid to lie in his own quarters. But, continues Sir John, this had no operation upon Mr. Ashburnham, who alleged that we must show them the necessity of agreeing with the King, from their own disorders: that about three weeks after the army had entered London, the Scots had prevailed with the parliament for another solemn address to His Majesty; which was performed in the old propositions of Newcastle, some particulars in respect to the Scots only excepted: that the army was very unwilling that the King should grant these propositions, of which the King advised with all the persons above-mentioned, who were all of opinion that it was unsafe for His Majesty to close with the enemies of the army, whilst he was in it. And therefore he followed the advice of all the leading part of the independent party, both in the parliament and army, by refusing the articles, and desiring a personal treaty; whereof His Majesty thought the proposals of the army a better ground than the articles, though there were something in them to which His Majesty could not consent: that they (Sir John and Mr. Ashburnham) gave their friends in the army a sight of this an-

swer the day before it was sent, with which they seemed infinitely satisfied, and promised to use their utmost endeavours to procure a personal treaty; and (adds Sir John) to his understanding, performed it: for that both Cromwell and Ireton, with Vane and all their friends, seconded with great resolution, this desire of His Majesty. But, that contrary to their, and all men's expectations, they found a most general opposition, and that this message of His Majesty had confirmed the jealousy of their private agreement with the King; so that the more it was urged by Cromwell and his friends, the more it was rejected by the rest, who looked on them as their betrayers: that the suspicions were so strong in the House, that they lost almost all their friends there; and the army, that lay then about Putney, were no less ill satisfied; for there came down shoals every day from London of the presbyterian and levelling parties that fomented those jealousies: insomuch that Cromwell thought himself, or pretended it, not secure in his own quarters: that the adjutators now began to change their discourses, and complained openly in their councils both of the King and the malignants about His Majesty: that one of the first they voted from him was himself (Sir John); they said, that since His Majesty had not accepted of their proposals, they were not obliged any farther to them; that they were obliged to consult their own safety, and the good of the kingdom, and to use such means towards both as they should find rational: and, adds Sir John, because they met with strong opposition from Cromwell and Ireton, and most of the superior officers, and some even of the adjutators, they had many private solemn meetings in London, where they humbled themselves before the Lord, and sought his good pleasure, and desired that he would be pleased to reveal it to his saints, which they interpreted those to be who were most violent or zealous, as they called it, in the work of the Lord: that these found it apparent, that God had on the one side, hardened the King's heart, and blinded his eyes, in not passing the proposals, whereby they were absolved from offering him any more; and that on the other side, the Lord had led captivity captive, and put all things under their feet; and that

therefore they were bound to finish the work of the Lord, which was, to alter the Government, according to their first design: and that to this end they resolved to seize the King's person, and take him out of Cromwell's hands. That these proceedings struck so great a terror into Cromwell and Ireton, with others of the officers, whom they (Sir John and Mr. Ashburnham) supposed best affected to the King, that they were of opinion the army should be drawn to a rendezvous, and their endeavours used to engage them once more to adhere to the proposals: that as soon as the tumultuous part of the army had notice of it, they resolved, before the day of the rendezvous to seize the King's person: that he (Sir John) had been then about three weeks removed from the King, and about a fortnight after him, Mr. Ashburnham: that Mr. Leg still continued with His Majesty, and waited in his bed-chamber: that about eight or ten days before the time appointed for the drawing together of the army, Mr. Ashburnham invited him (Sir John) from London, and Mr. Leg, from Hampton-court, to dine with him on a Sunday at Ditton, being on the other side of the water: that they were both there long before him, and he a good while before dinner; but that just as dinner was ready to come in, they took him (Sir John) aside in the room, and told him that His Majesty was really afraid of his life by the tumultuous part of the army, and was resolved to make his escape, and that they had order from His Majesty to command him (Sir John) in his name, to wait on him in his intended escape: that he (Sir John) replied, "That it was a great honour, and accompanied with not a little danger," but that it being new to him, nothing then occurred to him but two things; — the first was, that he thought it absolutely necessary that Mr. Ashburnham, who kept the King's money, should immediately employ his servant, Dutton, who was well acquainted with the coast, to provide three or four ships in several ports, to be ready in all events; the second, that he (Sir John) also might receive His Majesty's commands immediately from himself: that to the first they seemed to concur, but nothing was ever done in it, which to that day amazed him (Sir John): that the other was effected;

and he (Sir John) went the Tuesday night after to Hampton-court privately, being introduced a back way by Mr. Leg: that the King told him he was afraid of his life, and that he would have him assist in person in his escape: that he (Sir John) asked which way His Majesty would go? His Majesty replied, "That both Mr. Ashburnham (who was present) and he should know that by Will. Leg:", that the Monday before, Mr. Ashburnham and he (Sir John) went to the head-quarters, to desire passes to return beyond the seas; and, by the way back, he (Mr. Ashburnham) told him, that the Scots had much tampering with the King, but could come to no agreement: that they would fain have His Majesty out of the army, and to that end had much augmented his just fears; and, therefore, asked him (Sir John) what he thought of His Majesty's coming privately to London, and appearing in the House of Lords? that he replied, "Very ill! because the army were absolutely masters both of the city and parliament, and would undoubtedly seize His Majesty; and, if there should be but two swords drawn in the scuffle, they would accuse His Majesty of beginning a new war, and proceed with him accordingly." He then asked him what he thought of the Isle of Wight? he replied, Better than of London; though he knew nothing of it, nor who was governor: that he (Ashburnham) replied, that he had some communication with the governor of late, and conceived good hopes of him, but had no assurance from him: that he (Sir John) then asked him, why His Majesty could not make his retreat secure by quitting the kingdom? he replied, that he would not for two reasons; the first was, that the rendezvous would be a week after, and His Majesty was not willing to quit the army before that were passed; because, if the superior officers prevailed, they would be able to make good their public engagement; and, if they were overtopped, they must apply themselves to him for their own security: the second was, that the Scots were in treaty with the King, and very near to a conclusion of it; which they would never come to, but out of their desire to separate the King and the army; that, if the King went to them before the conclusion of it,

they would hold him to impossible conditions; and, therefore, His Majesty was resolved to conclude with them first: in which advice. Mr. Ashburnham was most positive, and told him (Sir John) often, that the world would laugh at us, if we quitted the army before we had agreed with the Scots; — "And let them do so," replied Sir John, "provided His Majesty be secure." That on or about the Wednesday, they had orders to send spare horses to Sutton, in Hampshire, a place where he (Sir John) never had been; and the Thursday after, His Majesty, with Will. Leg, came out at the closing of the evening, and immediately went towards Oatlands, and so through the forest, where His Majesty was their guide; but they lost their way, through the excessive darkness and storminess of the night: that when His Majesty first set out, he discoursed long with Mr. Ashburnham, and at last called him (Sir John) to him, and complained very much of the Scots commissioners, who were the first that presented his dangers to him, and offered him expedients for his escape; but that, when he proposed to make use of those they had offered, they were full of objections to them, saying, that his coming into London was desperate, his hiding in England chimerical, and his escape to Jersey prevented, because his (Sir John's) ship was discovered; which particular the King said the Lord Lanerick had affirmed: that the King thereupon asked him (Sir John) if he had ever a ship ready; to which he answered, that he neither had, nor could have any, having not one penny of money: that he had desired Mr. Ashburnham earnestly to make provision, but knew not what he had done in it: that the King then asked him, what he thought might be the reason they should say that he had, and that it had been discovered, if he had none? that he replied, it was hard for him to affirm what was their meaning in that particular, or in general, in their manner of proceeding with His Majesty; but that he did conjecture, that they were very desirous to have His Majesty out of the army, which made them present his dangers to him so frequently as they had done; and that, in the next place, they desired that His Majesty should put himself again into their hands, but wanted confidence, or believed it would be

ineffectual to move it directly to His Majesty, because they had given so ill an account of him, when he was last with them; and that, therefore, they objected against their own expedient of either coming openly into London, or of obscuring himself in England: and that, because they could find no other reason against his going to Jersey, they pretended that he (Sir John) had a ship, which had been discovered; believing, perhaps, that he was totally separated from His Majesty, and so should not have had any opportunity of contradicting it; and that, by these means, His Majesty being excluded from all other means of escaping, should have been necessitated to make use of Scotland: that His Majesty then laid his hand upon his (Sir John's) shoulder, and said, "I think thou art in the right;" and believed it afterward more confidently than I did: that he (Sir John) then asked His Majesty which way he would go? to which His Majesty replied, that he hoped to be at Sutton three hours before day, and that while their horses were making ready, they would consider what course to take; but that, by the length and badness of the road, the darkness of the night, and going at least ten miles out of the way, it was day-break when they came to their inn at Sutton; where their servant came out to them, and told them there was a committee of the county then sitting about the parliament business: that His Majesty thereupon sent for their horses out, and they continued their way towards Southampton; and His Majesty resolved that they should walk down the next hill, with their horses in their hands, and as they walked, consult what they were to do: that then he (Sir John) enquired if Mr. Ashburnham had gotten a ship, and finding he had not, proposed going farther west, where he (Sir John) was sure he had some friends, who would favour their escape. And here again, says Sir John, he found the two reasons prevail, of not leaving the army before the rendezvous was passed, and the treaty with the Scots finished: that His Majesty then resolved (and that for the first time, for aught he (Sir John) could then discover) to go to the Isle of Wight, whither he ordered Mr. Ashburnham and him to go with their instructions, by word of mouth, to the governor, Hammond,

and return to His Majesty, who went with Will. Leg, to a house of Lord Southampton, at Titchfield: that they should carry him a copy of the letter His Majesty left at Hampton-court, and copies of two letters sent to him, one from Cromwell, the other without a name: that Cromwell's, and the other letter, contained great apprehensions and fears of the ill-intentions of the levelling party in the army and city against His Majesty; and that, from Cromwell, added, that, in prosecution thereof, a new guard was the next day to be put upon His Majesty of that party; His Majesty's letter contained his distrust of the disorderly part of the army, and his necessity thereupon of providing for his own safety, which he would so do, as not to desert the interest of the army: that in order thereunto, we should let the governor know, that of all the army His Majesty had made choice of him, to put himself upon, as being a person of good extraction, and one that, though he had been engaged against him in the war, yet it had been prosecuted by him without any animosity to his person; to which he had been informed he had no aversion: only His Majesty, that he might not surprise him, thought fit to send them (Sir John and Mr. Ashburnham) before, to advertise him, and to obtain his promise to protect His Majesty and his servants to the best of his power; and that if it should happen that he might not be able to do it, then the governor should oblige himself to leave them (the King and his attendants) in as good a condition as he found them, that is, suffer them to make their escape: that with these instructions they quitted the King; but that before he (Sir John) had gone ten yards, he returned to His Majesty, and said, "I have no knowledge of the governor, and therefore cannot tell whether he may not detain us in the island;" he therefore advised His Majesty, if they came not to him the next day, that he (His Majesty) should think no more of them, but secure his own escape: that His Majesty thanked him (Sir John) for the caution, and pursued his way, and Mr. Ashburnham and him theirs: that the first thing they resolved was, that, since His Majesty went towards the east side of the island, we would go on to the west, to a place called Lymington, where Mr. Ashburnham told

him there was a short passage over: by the way, Sir John asked Mr. Ashburnham if he had any acquaintance with Hammond the governor; he replied, "not very much," but that he had lately had some discourse with him upon the highways near Kingston, and found him not very averse to His Majesty; but that which made him conceive the best hopes of him was, the character Mr. Durham, and the commendations Lady Isabella Thynne gave of him: that they came to Lymington that night, but could not pass by reason of a violent storm; but the next morning they got over, and had then eight miles to the castle of Carisbroke, where the governor dwelt: that they came thither after ten in the morning, and found that the governor was newly gone out, towards Newport: that when they overtook him, Mr. Ashburnham desired him (Sir John) to open the matter to him, which he would afterwards second: that after he had saluted him, he took him aside and delivered their message to him, word by word; but he grew so pale, and fell into such a trembling, that he (Sir John) did really believe he would have fallen off his horse; which trembling, continued with him at least an hour after, in which he broke out into passionate and distracted expressions, sometimes saying, "O gentlemen! you have undone me by bringing the King into the island; if, at least, you have brought him: and, if you have not, pray let him not come; for, what between my duty to His Majesty, and my gratitude for this fresh obligation of confidence, on the one hand, and my observing my trust to the army, on the other, I shall be confounded:" that, other-while he would talk to a quite contrary purpose: he (Sir John) remembered, that to settle him the better, he said, that, "God be thanked, there was no harm done; that His Majesty intended a favour to him and his posterity, in giving him an occasion to lay a great obligation upon him, and such as was very consisting with his relation to the army, who had so solemnly engaged themselves to His Majesty; but that if he thought otherwise, His Majesty would be far from imposing his person upon him:" that he replied, that then, if His Majesty should come to any mischance, what would the army

and kingdom say to him, that had refused to receive him? to this he (Sir John) replied, that he did not refuse him, who was not come to him: that he (the governor) returned, that he must needs know where His Majesty was, because he knew where we were; Sir John told him, he was never the nearer for his (Sir John's) part: that he then began a little to sweeten, and to wish that His Majesty would have reposed himself absolutely upon him; because it would have been much the better for both: that he (Sir John) then went to Mr. Ashburnham, and told him, that this governor was not a man for their purpose; and that, for his part, he would never give his consent that His Majesty should trust him: that Mr. Ashburnham acknowledged that he did not like him; yet, on the other side, he much feared what would become of His Majesty, if he should be discovered before he had made his point, and made appear what his intention was; for then he would be accused of what his enemies pleased to lay upon him: that he (Sir John) replied, that if they returned not, that night, His Majesty would be gone to sea: that he perceived that Mr. Ashburnham liked not that so well, and therefore took the governor to task apart; and, after some conference, they both came to him (Sir John), and the governor said, that, since they desired it, he would say, that because His Majesty, he believed, had made choice of him as a person of honour and honesty, to lay this great trust upon, therefore he would not deceive His Majesty's expectation: that he (Sir John) replied, that expression was too general, and did not come home to their instructions: He then made many discourses, not much to the purpose; during which time he kept himself between Mr. Ashburnham and him (Sir John), and when he found him (Sir John) still unsatisfied, he added, that he was harder to content than Mr. Ashburnham, and that he did believe, that His Majesty would be much easier pleased than either; and thereupon concluded, that he (Sir John) should go into the castle, and that Mr. Asburnham should take his horse and go to the King, and tell His Majesty what he said: that he (Sir John) embraced the motion most readily, and immediately went over the bridge into the castle, though he had

the image of the gallows very perfectly before him: that Mr. Ashburnham went, he believed, with a better heart to horse; but before he had gone half-a-flight-shot, the governor (being before the castle gate) called to him, and had a conference of at least a quarter of an hour with him; to what purpose he (Sir John) never knew until he came into Holland; where a gentleman of good worth and quality, told him, that the governor affirmed afterwards in London, and in many places, that he then offered to Mr. Ashburnham, that he (Sir John) should go, and he (Ashburnham) should stay; as believing His Majesty to be less willing to expose him (Ashburnham) than him (Sir John): but that Mr. Ashburnham absolutely refused: that whatever passed between them, he (Sir John) was sure they came both back to him; and the governor putting himself between them, said, that he would say that which he was sure ought to content any reasonable man, which was, that he did believe His Majesty relied on him, as a person of honour and honesty, and therefore he did engage himself to them, to perform whatever could be expected from a person of honour and honesty: that before he could make any answer, Mr. Ashburnham, replied, "I will ask no more:" that the governor then added, "Let us then all go to the King, and acquaint him with it:" that Mr. Ashburnham answered, "With all my heart:" that he (Sir John) then broke from the governor, who held him in his hand, and went to Mr. Ashburnham, and said, "what, do you mean to carry this man to the King before you know whether he will approve of this undertaking or no? undoubtedly you will surprise him;" Mr. Ashburnham said nothing but "I'll warrant you;" — "and so you shall," said he (Sir John), "for you know the King much better than I do; and, therefore, when we shall come where the King is, I assure you I will not see him before you have satisfied His Majesty concerning your proceeding;" — well, he would take that upon him: that he (Sir John) then desired he would not let the governor take any other person with him, that in all events they might the more easily secure him; which he consented to: that nevertheless, when they came to

Cowes castle, where they were to take boat, Hammond took Basket, the governor of that castle, along with him; and when Sir John complained of it to Mr. Ashburnham, he answered, "It was no matter, for that we should be able to do well enough with them two:" that when they came to Titchfield, the Lord of Southampton's house, Mr. Ashburnham, according to his promise, went up to the King, and left him (Sir John) below, with Hammond and Basket, who (Sir John) afterwards understood, that when Mr. Ashburnham had given an account of their message, and the governor's answer, and came to say that he was come along with them to make good what he had promised, His Majesty struck himself upon the breast, and said, "What! have you brought Hammond with you? O, you have undone me; for I am by this means made fast from stirring." Mr. Ashburnham replied, that, if he mistrusted Hammond, he would undertake to secure him. His Majesty said, "I understand you well enough; but the world would not excuse me; for if I should follow that counsel, it would be said, and believed, that he (Hammond) had ventured his life for me, and that I had unworthily taken it from him: no; it is too late now to think of any thing, but going through the way you have forced upon me, and to leave the issue to God." But when His Majesty began anew to wonder that he could make so great an oversight, Mr. Ashburnham, having no more to reply, wept bitterly: that, in the mean time, Hammond and Basket were so impatient at this long stay below in the court, that he (Sir John) was forced to send a gentleman of Lord Southampton, to desire that His Majesty and Mr. Ashburnham would remember that they were below: that about half an hour after, they were sent for up; but before Hammond and Basket kissed his hand, His Majesty took him (Sir John) aside, and said, "Sir John Berkley, I hope you are not so passionate as Jack Ashburnham; do you think you have followed my directions?" to which Sir John answered, "No, indeed, Sir; but it is none of my fault, as Mr. Ashburnham can tell you if he please; I have exposed my life to prevent it:" and then told His Majesty the sum of what had passed, and particularly of

his being a prisoner in the castle, and of Mr. Ashburnham's coming away without him; which Mr. Ashburnham had omitted: that His Majesty judged it was then too late to boggle, and therefore received Hammond cheerfully, who promised more to His Majesty than he had done to them; and they all went over that night to the Cowes: that, in the morning, His Majesty went with the governor to Carisbrooke, and was met in the way by divers gentlemen of the island, from whom he learned, that he was more fortunate than he was aware of; for that the whole island was unanimously for the King, except the governors of the castles and Hammond's captains: that there were but twelve old men in the castle, and they had served under the Earl of Portland, and were all well affected: that Hammond might easily be gained, if not more easily forced, the castle being day and night full of loyal subjects and servants of His Majesty; and that His Majesty, having daily liberty to ride abroad, might choose his own time of quitting the island. Indeed, adds Sir John, not only His Majesty and all that were about him, but those that were at a further distance, approved by their letters this resolution of His Majesty: that both His Majesty and Mr. Ashburnham attacked the governor very prosperously; for that both he and his captains seemed to desire nothing of His Majesty, but that he would send a civil message to the Houses, signifying his propension to peace; which was done to their satisfaction: that, three days after their coming to the island, a messenger was sent by the parliament for Mr. Ashburnham, himself (Sir John), and Mr. Leg; but the governor refused to let them go: that, the fifth day after their arrival, they heard, that in the rendezvous of the army, the superior officers had carried it, and that one or two soldiers had been shot, and eleven more of the mutinying levellers made prisoners: that this made them bless God for the resolution of coming into the island: and now Mr. Ashburnham and the governor were frequent and fervent in private conferences, and as he (Sir John) had heard, came to particulars of accommodation for him, in case of the King's recovery of his kingdom, insomuch, that now the

governor seemed solicitous of nothing so much as that the army should resume its wonted discipline, and clear themselves of their importunate and impertinent adjutators; of whose authority in the army he had never approved, and therefore he sent his chaplain immediately to the army, to conjure the superior officers to make use of their success upon the adjutators: that, two or three days after, he moved earnestly, that His Majesty would send one of the three, Sir John, Mr. Ashburnham, or Mr. Leg, to the army, with colourable letters to the general; but that he should write with confidence to Cromwell and Ireton, to whom he (the governor) would also write; and he did accordingly write to them, conjuring them by their engagement, by their interest, by their honour, and their consciences, to come to a speedy close with the King, and not to expose themselves still to the fantastic giddiness of the adjutators. Sir John proceeds: — his two comrades were very well contented that he should go this voyage; which he did, not without some apprehension of the event as to his own particular: that His Majesty charged him to require Will. Ashburnham to provide a ship for him upon the coast of Sussex; but Mr. Ashburnham thought not fit that he should be furnished with money for that, or for his journey: that he (Sir John) desired that, in case the army should not intend well, he might have a commission to the Scots; but Mr. Ashburnham did not think it fit: that he (Sir John) took a cousin-german of his with him, a Mr. Henry Berkley, son to Sir Henry Berkley, and procured a pass from the governor of the Cowes, for his return within four or five days, which had otherwise been forgotten: that between Bagshot and Windsor (then the head-quarters), he met Traughton, the governor's chaplain, who told him he could carry no good news back, the army being as yet come to no resolution as to the King: that, as he (Sir John) was half-way between Bagshot and Windsor, Cornet Joyce (a great adjutator, and he that had taken the King from Holmby) overtook him; he seemed much to wonder, that he durst adventure to come to the army: that, upon his discourses with him, he found that it had been discoursed among the adjutators, " whether, for their

justification, the King ought not to be brought to a trial?" which he held in the affirmative; not, he said, that he would have one hair of his head to suffer, but that they might not bear the blame of the war: that he (Sir John) was quickly weary of his discourse, but perceived he (Joyce) would not leave him until he saw him in Windsor, and knew where he lodged: that, about an hour after, he (Sir John) went to the general's quarters, and found a general meeting of the officers there: that after an hour's waiting he was admitted, and after he had delivered his compliments and letters to the general, he was desired to withdraw; and having attended half an hour, he was called in: that the general looked very severely upon him, and, after his manner said, that they were the parliament's army, and therefore could not say any thing to His Majesty's motion of peace, but must refer those matters to them, to whom they would send His Majesty's letters: that he then looked about upon Cromwell and Ireton, and the rest of his acquaintance, who saluted him very coldly, and had their countenances quite changed towards him, and shewed him Hammond's letter, which he had delivered to them, and smiled with much disdain upon it. Sir John says, he saw that that was no place for him, and therefore went to his lodgings, where he staid from four until six, and none of his acquaintance came to him, which appeared sad enough: that at last he sent his servant out, and wished him to see if he could light upon any of his (Sir John's) acquaintance; who met with one that was a general officer, who whispered in his ear, and bade him tell his master that he would meet him at twelve at night, in a close behind the Garter Inn: that he (Sir John) came at the hour, and the officer not long after. Sir John asked what news? he replied, "None good;" and then continued this discourse,—"You know that I and my friend engaged ourselves to you; that we were zealous for an agreement; and, if the rest were not so, we were abused: that, if there was an intention to cozen us, it would not be long hid from us; that, whatever we should discover, should not be secret to you; that, ever since the tumult of the army, I did mistrust Cromwell, and not long after Ireton, whereof

I informed you; I come now to tell you, that we mistrust neither, but know them, and all of us, to be the archest villains in the world: for, we are resolved, notwithstanding our engagements, to destroy the King and his posterity; to which end Ireton made two propositions this afternoon, one that you should be sent prisoner to London; the other, that none should speak with you upon pain of death, and I do hazard my life now by doing of it; the way that is intended to ruin the King is, to send 800 of the most disaffected of the army to secure his person, (as believing him not so now,) and then bring him to a trial; and, I dare think, no farther; this will be done in ten days, and therefore if the King can escape, let him do it, as he loves his life." That he (Sir John) then enquired what was the reason of this horrid change, — what had the King done to deserve it? He said, "Nothing; and that to our grief, for we would leap for joy, if we could have any advantage against him. I have pleaded hard against this resolution this day, but have been laughed at for my pains." He (Sir John) then said, "Well, but still why is this horrid perfidiousness resolved on, since there appears no occasion for it, the officers being superior at the rendezvous?" He answered, that he could not tell certainly, but he conceived this to be the ground of it, — that though one of the mutineers was shot at the late rendezvous, and eleven made prisoners, and the rest in appearance overquelled, yet that they were so far from being so indeed, that there have been with Cromwell and Ireton, one after another, two-third parts of the army, to tell them, that though they were certainly to perish in the attempt, they would leave nothing unessayed, to bring the army to their sense; and, if all failed, they would make a division in the army, and join with any that would assist in the destruction of their opposers: that Cromwell and Ireton therefore argued thus; — if the army divide, the greatest part will join with the presbyterians, and will, in all likelihood, prevail to our ruin, and we shall be forced to make applications to the King, wherein we shall rather crave, than offer any assistance; and when His Majesty shall give it us, and afterwards have the good fortune to prevail, if he shall

then pardon us, it is all we can pretend to, and more than we can promise ourselves;" and thereupon concluded, "That if we cannot bring the army to our sense, we must go to theirs; a schism being evidently destructive: and that therefore Cromwell bent all his thoughts to make his peace with the party that was most opposite to the King, in which Peters was instrumental: that he (Sir John) then asked this gentleman, whether he (Sir John) should not endeavour to deliver his letters from the King to Cromwell and Ireton: he replied, by all means, lest they should mistrust that he (Sir John) had discovered them: that as soon as Sir John came to his lodging, he dispatched his cousin Harry Berkley, to the Isle of Wight, with two letters; the one containing a general relation, and doubtful judgment of things in the army, which he intended should be shown to the governor; the other was in cypher, wherein he gave a particular account of this conference, naming the person, and concluding with a most passionate supplication to His Majesty, to meditate nothing but his immediate escape: that the next morning he sent Colonel Cook to Cromwell, to let him know that he had letters and instructions to him from the King; that he (Cromwell) sent him word by the same messenger, that he durst not see him, it being very dangerous to them both; and bid me be assured, that he would serve His Majesty as long as he could do it without his own ruin; but desired that he (Sir John) would not expect that he should perish for his (the King's) sake: that as soon as he had this answer he took horse for London, with this resolution,—not to acquaint any man with the intentions of the army, nor of His Majesty's intended escape; which he (Sir John) presumed would be within a few days, the wind serving, and the Queen having sent a ship to that purpose, and pressed it earnestly by her letters: that Sir John, the next day after his arrival at London, had a letter from Lord Lanerick and Lord Lauderdale, desiring a meeting with him, as presuming he had a commission to treat with them from His Majesty: that at this meeting they wondered to find the contrary. In his (Sir John's) discourse with them, he happened to say, "The last words His Majesty said to

me, at parting, were, that whatever he (Sir John) should undertake to any person in his name, His Majesty would make it good, on the word of a King." That Lord Lanerick thereupon replied, that he would ask no more commission; believing it to be true, both because he (Sir John) affirmed it, and because he had received the like from His Majesty upon the like occasion: that their first conference was interrupted through Lord Lauderdale's vehement indignation against the letter of Mr. Ashburnham to the Speaker, wherein he had this passage, "That he would not expose his honour to the discretion of either Scot or adjutator:" that this letter was written by Mr. Ashburnham before he (Sir John) had left the island, upon the occasion of Whalley's complaint to the House of Commons: that Mr. Ashburnham had broken his engagement with him, at his first coming to Woburn; wherein he said, he (Ashburnham) undertook that the King should not leave the army without his knowledge and consent: that Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Hammond, Mr. Leg, and himself, objected hard against this expression; but that Mr. Ashburnham liked it so well, that he could not be prevailed on to depart from it. Sir John proceeds, — on Friday after, they (the two Scots Lords and himself) had another meeting, wherein they discoursed themselves well towards an agreement, and resolved, on the Monday following, to conclude one way or other: that the next day, being Saturday, he (Sir John) had a letter from Mr. Ashburnham, requiring him, in His Majesty's name, to lay by all other business whatsoever, and to return instantly to His Majesty; he sent therefore his excuse to these Lords, and went that night out of town: which they took very ill, though they had no reason for it; for that he would as willingly have excused his journey as they; as believing it was only to assist in His Majesty's escape; for that he had more than once observed, that though Mr. Ashburnham was willing enough to appropriate employments of honour and profit, yet that he was contented to communicate those of danger with his friends: that the next morning he (Sir John) was with His Majesty, who received him more graciously than ordinary, and told him that he had always

a good opinion of his honesty and discretion, but was never so much confirmed in it, as by his dispatch from Windsor; for which His Majesty thanked him: that after he had returned his acknowledgements for His Majesty's favour, he asked, if His Majesty approved the advice so well, why did he not follow it? why was he still in the island; where he could not long promise himself the liberty he now had, since there were forces designed, both by sea and land, to secure his person: that His Majesty replied, that he would have a care of that, time enough, and that he was to conclude with the Scots before he left the kingdom; because, from their desire to have him out of the army's hands, they would listen to reason; whereas, if he went away before, they would never treat with him but upon their own terms: and in this opinion Mr. Ashburnham fully concurred with His Majesty: that against this he (Sir John) argued the best he could; and when he saw it was in vain, he desired His Majesty would dispatch this treaty, for that his condition would admit no delays: that His Majesty then ordered him to withdraw with Mr. Ashburnham, Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Hammond, and Mr. Leg, to see how far His Majesty had gone in a treaty with the Scots. This treaty, observes Sir John, had been managed in London by Dr. Gough, who, in the Queen's name, conjured His Majesty to make his speedy escape: and in all his letters, and in his own name, had beseeched His Majesty not to insist upon nice terms in this present exigence of his affairs; but that Mr. Ashburnham refined much upon several expressions of the articles, that concerned the covenant and Church of England, of which he was a great professor, and made many replies and alterations, and moved that messenger should be sent after messenger about it, and, at last, insisted, that the King should send for the Scots commissioners to come to him: that the next day he (Sir John) fell sick, but the day following he went to His Majesty, and, as soon as he could be admitted, spoke to him in these words; — "Sir, if you make no more haste than you do, I doubt you will not be able to secure your escape; and, therefore, I humbly beseech you to make two papers or draughts, the one containing the utmost

extent of what you will give the Scots, and sign it; and, at the same time, send another, containing the least you will receive of them, and let the Scots sign, and deliver that to Dr. Gough, at the same time that he shall deliver Your Majesty's concessions to them, and provide instantly for your safety:" that about the middle of this discourse with the King, Mr. Ashburnham came in; and when he (Sir John) had ended, very graciously smiling, said, that this proposition would be good, if it were practicable, which it was not; for that though the Scots should agree to the substance of all the articles yet they and all men else, would have their several senses concerning the expressions; which must be satisfied, or no agreement could be made, and, therefore he concluded, that the Scots were to be sent for: that to this he (Sir John) replied, that Mr. Ashburnham had reason, ordinarily speaking, for what he objected; but that His Majesty's danger made this a very extraordinary case: that his reasons however carried it clear, and Sir William Fleming, or Mr. Mungo Murray, (for they both went and came by turns,) was sent to invite the Scots commissioners to come to His Majesty: that the next day, after his departure, in the evening, the King called him (Sir John) to him, and told him, "I think you are a prophet, for the Scots commissioners at London have sent an express, desiring me to do the same thing, in effect, as you had moved; but that it was now too late, for they would be come away, before another express could be gone out of the island towards them:" that he (Sir John) replied that their concurrence was accidental; for that he had not the least intelligence with the Scots commissioners; but, that when he saw there was no remedy, he applied himself to what was the next best he could: and, proceeds Sir John, God knows, there was work enough for abler men than any of them were; for that at the same time that they, the Scots were coming to the King, there were also commissioners sent by the parliament to His Majesty, with offers of a treaty, upon condition that His Majesty, as a pledge of his future sincerity, would grant four preliminary bills, meaning the bills heretofore described, which they had brought with them: Sir John proceeds,—

many well-wishing persons were induced to believe, that, by all means His Majesty ought to pass those bills, for many reasons; but especially, because his enemies would deliver him to the world, as obstinate to his own and the kingdom's ruin, if he should not accept this offer: that to avoid both the inconveniences of granting or refusing, he (Sir John) drew an answer of the treaty before it began: that if they would needs think it expedient to require so great hostages from His Majesty they would not be backward to give some token to him of their reality; and then desired, that at the same time that His Majesty, should pass these four bills, the Houses would pass four of His Majesty's drawing, which were all most popular, and such as they durst not pass, nor would deny; at least, if they did, they could, with no colour of justice, accuse His Majesty for not granting what was most unjust and most unpopular: the first was a bill for payment of the army, which contained their disbanding, as soon as they were paid; the second, a period to the present parliament; the third, for restoring the King, Queen, and royal family, to their revenues; the fourth, the settling of the church government, without any coercive power; and, in the meantime, till such a government were agreed on, the old one to stand, without coercive authority: that he (Sir John) showed this answer, first to Mr. Leg, then to Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Sheldon; who seemed to approve of the expedient, and desired Mr. Ashburnham would acquaint the King with it; but he (Sir John) never heard any thing from His Majesty; and was resolved never to have it obtruded, lest he should appear fond of his own conceptions: that by His Majesty's directions an answer was drawn, that gave a full denial; which was, in his (Sir John's) judgment, very well penned: but, adds he, I thought good penning did not signify much at that time, and therefore made this objection, that it was very possible, that upon His Majesty's giving an absolute negative, the commissioners might have orders to enjoin the governor to look more strictly to his person, and so his intended escape would be prevented. His Majesty replied immediately, that he had thought of a remedy, which was, to deliver his answer, sealed, to the commis-

sioners; and so left us: that he (Sir John) could not hold from letting Mr. Ashburnham find his sense of this sorry expedient, by saying, that the commissioners would either open the answer, or conclude that, in effect, it was a denial, and proceed accordingly; but all was in vain: that some few days after, the English commissioners arrived, and delivered their message, and desired an answer within three or four days: that, the next day, the Lords Loudon, Lanerick, Lauderdale, Chiesly, and others, commissioners for the kingdom of Scotland, delivered a protestation to the King, subscribed by them, against this message, as not according with their covenant: that, from that time, they began to treat seriously with His Majesty, but would not permit that either Mr. Ashburnham, or him (Sir John) should assist at the treaty; for which, he says, he forgave them with all his heart; for that it would have been very insecure for them to have had any communication with them at that time: that, at last, they came to such a conclusion as they could get; not such an one as they desired, from the King, but much short of it; which gave an advantage to the Lord Argyle, and the clergy party in Scotland, to oppose it, as not satisfactory; and thereby retarded the proceeding of Duke Hamilton, and that army, four months; which was consequently the ruin of Langharn in Wales, and of the forces in Kent and Essex, and of the Scots' army also, which consisted of twenty-four thousand men: all which forces were the result of the treaty, which appeared to him (Sir John) if it had been sooner dispatched, to have been one of the most prudent acts of His Majesty's reign, however unprosperous: that when the time was come that the King was to deliver his answer to the English commissioners, His Majesty sent for them, and before he delivered it, asked the Lord Denbigh (who was the chief commissioner) whether they had power to alter any substantial or circumstantial part of their message; and they replying they had not, His Majesty delivered his answer to the Lord Denbigh, sealed: that after they had withdrawn awhile, the Lord Denbigh returned with the rest, and seemed offended with His Majesty for delivering the message

sealed, and expressed his indignation in harsher terms than one gentleman ought to use to another: that after long expostulations His Majesty was persuaded to open his answer; which was so far from allaying the storm, that it increased it, both in the commissioners and the governor, who, all together, retired from the castle of Carisbrook to Newport, an English mile from the castle: that as soon as they were gone, he (Sir John) went to Mr. Ashburnham, who told him, he had newly dispatched away a footman over the water, to order four or five horses to be removed from the place where they then stood, lest they should be found and seized by the soldiers that were coming into the island: that he (Sir John) conjured him by no means to do it, lest the winds or the parliament's frigates might frustrate their escape, and they should want horses: that he (Ashburnham) thereupon, sent a groom after him, and brought him back; but within a few hours after, sent him again with the first order, but upon what ground he (Sir John) knew not, unless that of good husbandry: that, that night or the next morning, His Majesty resolved to endeavour his escape, but he met with two great obstacles, the wind in the very instant became cross, and the governor returned from Newport full of fury, and locked up the gates, and doubled his guards, and went not to bed that night: that in the morning he commanded all His Majesty's servants from him; but before they took their leaves, they acquainted him that they had left the captain of the frigate and two honest and trusty gentlemen of the island, to assist his escape, and that all things would be in readiness on the other side of the water: that His Majesty commanded them to draw a declaration in his name that night, and send it to him in the morning, when they came to Newport: — that Will Leg and he (Sir John) left Mr. Ashburnham and the rest in the inn, and went to an acquaintance's house of theirs in the town; where, after they had staid an hour, they heard a drum beat confusedly, and, not long after that, one Captain Burley, with divers others, were risen to rescue the King; whereupon Mr. Leg and he (Sir John) went to the inn, where they found Mr. Ashburnham making speeches to those

poor well-affected people, advising them to desist from their vain enterprise. Sir John says, "I must confess I thought any communication of ours with them dangerous; and therefore advised Mr. Ashburnham not to say any thing to them; for that when his words were out of his mouth, others would interpret them, and say he said what they pleased:" and, he adds, it was well for him and us that we did so; for the prisoners were not only examined concerning us, but even promised liberty and pardon in case they would accuse us: and the governor of the Cowes had orders from Hammond to put us on ship-board and to carry us to London, upon suspicion that we were accessary to this rising; which was a design so impossible for those that undertook it to effect, (they consisting chiefly of women and children, without any arms save one musket,) that no sober man could possibly have been engaged in it. Sir John says, he was desired, that night, to draw the declaration for His Majesty, which he did, and it was approved of by all but Mr. Ashburnham, and at last published in His Majesty's name: that, after they had staid on the other side the water about three weeks, expecting His Majesty's coming over to them; and beginning at last to despair of it, he (Sir John) moved to Mr. Ashburnham, Mr. Leg, and Mr. Denham (who was then come to them from London), that some one might be sent to the Queen from them all, which was consented to, and he (Sir John) was made choice of by the rest to go on that business.

This memorial or narrative is to be found in Mr. Baron Masere's publication of tracts. It is given at length, as containing sufficient evidence of the fact of the negociation with the King, of Cromwell, and of Ireton, and of other the superior officers of the army, which was also well known in various other ways, as before shown, and affords no reason to suspect the sincerity of these officers.

It is thence evident, that Cromwell, and some others of the principal officers of the army, made the first advances towards the negociation with the King for his restoration: that Ireton drew the proposals to be offered to the King, which were first shown to Sir John, who, in a long conference with Ireton, was permitted to alter some of the articles in some material points. Sir John

supposes himself to have discovered, in his discourses and enquiries, that the army was governed, partly by a council of war, and partly by a council of the army or adjutators; that the general (Fairfax) had little power in either; that Cromwell and Ireton, with their friends and partizans, governed the council of war absolutely, but not that of the army, which was the most powerful, though they had a strong party there also; but that the major part of the adjutators carried it; and that, amongst these adjutators, there were many ill-wishers of Cromwell: that Sir John, in all his conferences with Cromwell, found no man apparently so jealous for a speedy blow as he, doubting, nevertheless, of the continuance of the army's favourable disposition towards the King: that Sir John recommended to the King to agree to the army's proposals, of which he had the perusal before they were offered to him in public; but that he rejected them with tart and bitter expressions in the presence of the officers that presented them: that after the King's removal to Hampton-court, Mr. Ashburnham had daily messages from the King to Cromwell and Ireton, who, Sir John says, had enough to do, both in the parliament and in the council of the army; the one abounding with presbyterians, the other with levellers, and both jealous of Cromwell and Ireton, having made a private bargain with the King: and that Cromwell becoming alarmed, desired them (Sir John and Mr. Ashburnham) not to come so frequently to his quarters, but send privately to him; the suspicions of him being grown to that height, that he was afraid to lie in his own quarters.

It further appears from the above memorial or narrative, that the King rejected the parliament's propositions, and desired a personal treaty, for which he deemed the army's proposals a better ground than those propositions. And that the King's party's friends in the army, much satisfied with this rejection, promised their utmost endeavours to procure such personal treaty, and to (Sir John's) understanding, performed it; both Cromwell and Ireton, with all their friends, seconding with great resolution this desire of His Majesty.

The cause of Cromwell's alleged desertion of the King's interest is said to be, that, notwithstanding the officers' superiority at the rendezvous, the mutineers not quelled had at different times, to the amount of two-thirds of the army, been with Cromwell and Ireton, to tell them that they would leave nothing untried to bring the army to their (the mutineers') sense; and that, if all failed, they would make a division in the army, and join with any that would assist in the destruction of their opposers; and that Cromwell and Ireton thereupon became apprehensive, that in the division of the army, the greatest part would join the presbyterians, and would prevail to their ruin, and they should be compelled to apply to the King, rather craving than offering any assistance. And so, it is supposed they (Cromwell and Ireton) concluded, that if they could not bring the army to their own sense, they must go to theirs, a schism being evidently destructive; and that therefore Cromwell thenceforth bent all his thoughts to make his peace with the party that was most opposite to the King.

It is conceived, that a doubt cannot remain in the minds of unprejudiced readers of this memorial, of Cromwell's sincerity, and honest and anxious exertions, to bring to a successful termination this negociation for the restoration of the King, and that, upon much more moderate terms than those offered by the presbyterian party, particularly in respect of the church, which he appears to have left untouched. This forbearance was agreeable to their moderate and tolerant principles as independents. The other propositions are not stated; but the King appears to have objected to only two, besides the above respecting the church, and they all probably might have been got over, or reasonably settled by temperate management. But the King appears to have ruined all by his violent and indiscreet conduct towards the presenters of these propositions, and by his tampering with the different parties, and confiding in none of them. These circumstances and the threats of the agitators, were evidently the causes of Cromwell's and the other principal officers' desertion of the King, and joining the army in their subsequent proceeding to his trial.

The King was unfortunate in his advisers; Mr. Ashburnham appears to have been his principal counsellor in these negociations, who does not seem equal to the situation; particularly in the very imprudent and unjustifiable disposal of the King's person to Hammond. Sir John Berkley's memorial shows him, Sir John, to have been an able and honourable man, nevertheless he advises the King to dissimulation, notwithstanding the repeated charges of dissimulation and duplicity by the royal party against the very men upon whom it was to be exercised. He advises their being well dissembled with, whilst the King should be in their hands, that he might the better get out of them: and to this end he offered several expedients. This was bad advice; and the King does not, in this instance, appear to have followed it.

Ludlow follows Sir John Berkley, in his account of these transactions; which he adopts from his above memorial, having, he says, seen the manuscript, written by Sir John himself, and left in the hands of a merchant at Geneva.

Mrs. Hutchinson, referring to the same subject, the above treaty with the King, and discontinuance of their intercourse with him, says, the King, by reason of his daily converse with the officers, began to be trinkling with them, not only then, but before; and had drawn in some of them to engage to corrupt others to fall in with him. But, says she, to speak the truth of all, Cromwell was at that time so uncorruptibly faithful to his trust, and to the people's interest, that he could not be drawn in to practise his own usual and natural dissimulations, in this occasion: that his son-in-law Ireton, that was as faithful as he, was not so fully of the opinion, (till he had tried it and found to the contrary,) but that the King might have been managed to comply with the public good of his people; after he could no longer uphold his own violent will: but that upon some discourses with him, the King uttering these words to him — "I shall play my game as well as I can;" Ireton replied, "If Your Majesty have a game to play, you must give us also the liberty to play ours:" that Colonel Hutchinson (her husband) privately, discoursing with his cousin (Ireton) about the communications

he had with the King, Ireton's expressions were these: "He gave us words; and we paid him in his own coin, when we found he had no real intention to the people's good, but to prevail by our factions, to regain by art what he had lost in fight."

Mr. Baron Maseres, in a note in his publication of this memoir, (with other tracts,) referring to Cromwell's abandonment of the treaty with the King, which he observes he had been carrying on for more than five months, (from the beginning of June to the middle of November, 1647,) for restoring him to the exercise of his royal authority, observes that Sir John Berkley's account is so clear and circumstantial, and supported by the testimony of so many respectable persons who were concerned in the management of it, that it seems highly deserving of credit, without seeking any other motive for this change of his (Cromwell's) conduct towards the King, besides the fear of losing his influence over the army, if he should persist in his endeavours to restore him to his authority, after a great part of the army had resolved to act against him. But, continues the Baron, it has been supposed by some writers, that Cromwell had another reason for abandoning the King's interest, and concurring with the party of the army that was adverse to him, arising from a discovery which he had made, (by means of a letter from the King to his Queen, who was then in France, which he had intercepted,) that the King was resolved, when he should be restored to his authority, to break all the promises of favour, which he had made to Cromwell and other officers of the army in the course of the negociation then on foot, and to punish them as rebels. The Baron then gives the copy of the supposed letter (said to have been the cause of the death of the King), of which the writer he mentions gives the following account: — That Lord Bolingbroke told them (Mr. Pope and Lord Marchmont), June 12. 1742, that Lord Oxford (the second Earl of Oxford) had often told him that he had seen, and had in his hands, an original letter that the King wrote to the Queen, in answer to one of hers that had been intercepted, and then forwarded to him; wherein she had reproached him for having made those villains too great concessions, viz. that Crom-

well should be Lord-lieutenant for life without account; that that kingdom should be in the hands of the party with an army there kept, which should have no head but the Lieutenant; and that Cromwell should have a garter, &c.: that in this letter of the King's, it was said that she should leave him to manage, who was better informed of all circumstances than she could be; but that she might be entirely easy as to whatever concessions he should make them; for that he should know in due time how to deal with the rogues, who, instead of a silken garter, should be fitted with a hempen cord: that so the letter ended; which answer, as they waited for, so they intercepted accordingly; and that it determined his fate: and for which letter Lord Oxford said he had offered five hundred pounds.

This letter seems to be the same as is referred to in the following passage from the Memoirs of Lord Broghill, afterwards Earl of Orrery, written by his chaplain: it is related to be the subject of a conversation between His Lordship and Cromwell and Ireton, respecting and after the King's death; in which Cromwell is stated to have said, that if the King had followed his own mind, and had had trusty servants about him, he had fooled them all; and added that once they had a mind to have closed with him; but upon something that happened, they fell off from that design: that in answer to a question of His Lordship, why they once would have closed with the King, and why they did not; Cromwell is stated to have said, that they would have closed with the King, because they found that the Scots and the presbyterians began to be more powerful than themselves, and that if they made up matters with the King, they (Cromwell and his party) would have been left in the lurch: that therefore they thought it best to prevent them, by offering, first, to come in upon any reasonable condition; but that while they were busied in these thoughts, there came a letter from one of their spies, acquainting them that on that day their final doom was decreed, referring to a letter sent from the King to the Queen, which the spy described as sewed up in the skirt of a saddle, to be taken that night to the Blue Boar Inn, in Holborn, to be taken from

thence to Dover. Then follows the particulars of finding the letter in the saddle by Cromwell and Ireton, who attended there for that purpose, in the habits of troopers: that by this letter they found that the King had acquainted the Queen that he was then courted by both the factions, the Scotch presbyterians and the army; and that which bid fairest for him should have him; but that he thought he should close with the Scotch sooner than the other: that upon this, added Cromwell, we took horse and went to Windsor, and finding we were not likely to have any tolerable terms from the King, we immediately from that time forward resolved his ruin. Neal, in his History of the Puritans, states the substance of this letter, given by different writers in different terms; but adds, that Doctor Lane, of the Commons, had frequently declared, that he had seen this original letter; that he knew it to be the King's own hand, and that the contents were as above.

The preceding account of Cromwell's conversation with Lord Broghill, may be correct or incorrect; much, however, depends upon the very words of a conversation, which it is difficult, if not almost impossible, after the shortest time, accurately to remember; but, as it appears to have been related long afterwards by His Lordship to Mr. Morrice, his chaplain, and by him given from memory, many years after His Lordship's death, and he, Mr. Morrice, is described in the preface to these memoirs, as regarding neither dates, nor order of time, but jumbling circumstances together as they occurred to his remembrance, this account cannot be wholly relied on. The substance however may be true; and does not affect the fact of Cromwell's negociation with the King for his restoration. The contents of the supposed intercepted letter, so far as concerns the promised promotion of Cromwell and others, are not consistent with Lord Fairfax's assertion in one of his letters to the parliament, (hereafter mentioned by Whitelock,) referring to this negociation with the King, that they had not done, nor should do any thing which they should desire to hide from the parliament and the world, and should not avow to the faces of their adversaries: that several

officers had been sent to the King about his removes and for other purposes, but that they had not bargained nor asked any thing of the King, as to any private interest of their own. Nor is this promised promotion of Cromwell and others, agreeable to Sir John Berkley's account of the officers' backwardness to treat of receiving any favour or advantage from His Majesty.

Mr. Holles, referring to the King's escape from Hampton-court, and finally going to the Isle of Wight, asserts, in his fore-mentioned memorial, in his usual violent style, without producing any evidence in support of his assertion; that the King's going to the Isle of Wight was Cromwell's contrivance; where, he says, he had provided a jailer in Colonel Hammond the governor. This will appear, like the remainder of Mr. Holles's memorial, to be mere unfounded, ill-natured assertion, in addition to the obloquy with which he has already endeavoured to load Cromwell, and deserves no more credit than the rest of his work. The fore-named Dr. Bates only says, he privately made his escape from the army, and as fate would have it, fled to the Isle of Wight, the government of which, as it seems probable, was just before put into the hands of Colonel Hammond, a dear friend to Cromwell, that there he might play his part in the business. To this man, adds Bates, the King commits himself, running of his own accord into the snare which the rebels had long laid for him.

Lord Clarendon, who is as ill-disposed towards Cromwell as Mr. Holles, or Dr. Bates, does not venture so far as to make this assertion. He says, that there was at this time a new faction grown up in the army, which were either by their own denomination, or with their own consent, called Levellers, who spoke insolently and confidently against the King and parliament, and the great officers of the army, and professed as great malice against all the Lords, as against the King; and declared that all degrees should be levelled, and that an equality should be established, both in titles and estates through the kingdom. Whether, continues His Lordship, the raising this spirit, was a piece of Cromwell's ordinary witchcraft, in order to some of his designs, or whether it grew amongst those tares which had been sowed in

that confusion, certain it is, it gave him real trouble at last; but that the present use he made of it was, that upon the licentious discourse of that kind, which some soldiers upon the guard usually made, the guard upon the King's person was doubled, a restraint put upon the great resort of people, who came to see the King; and all pretended to be for his security, and to prevent any violence that might be attempted upon his life, which they seemed to apprehend and detest: that in the mean time they neither hindered His Majesty from riding abroad to take the air, nor from doing any thing he had a mind to, nor restrained those who waited upon him in his bed-chamber, nor his chaplains from performing their functions; though towards all these, there was less civility exercised than had been; and the guards which waited nearest, were more rude, and made more noise at unseasonable hours than they had been accustomed to do: that the King every day received little billets or letters secretly conveyed to him without any name, which advertised him of wicked designs upon his life, and some of them advised him to make an escape, and repair secretly into the city, where he should be safe; some letters directing him to such an alderman's house; all which His Majesty looked upon as artifice to lead him into some streights, from whence he should not easily extricate himself; and yet many who repaired to him brought the same advice from men of unquestionable sincerity, by what reason soever they were swayed.

That the King found himself in great perplexity from what he discerned and observed himself, as well as what he heard from others; but what use to make of the one or the other was very hard to resolve: he did really believe that their malice was at the height, and that they did design his murder; but knew not which was a probable way to prevent it: that the making an escape, if it were not contrived with wonderful sagacity, would expose him to be assassinated by pretending ignorance, and would be charged upon himself; and if he could avoid their guards and get beyond them undiscovered, whither should he go, and what place would receive and defend him? that there was reason to believe that he

did resolve to transport himself beyond the seas, which had been no hard matter to have brought to pass; but with whom he consulted for the way of doing it, is not to this day discovered; they who were instrumental in his remove, pretending to know nothing of the resolution or counsel. Then follows, the account of the King's escape on the 11th of November, from Hampton-court, and his going finally to the Isle of Wight, with Lord Clarendon's various conjectures upon that transaction. He adds, that amidst the alarm this had occasioned, and the uncertainty where the King was, Cromwell informed the House that he had received letters from Colonel Hammond of all the manner of the King's coming to the Isle of Wight, and the company that came with him, that he remained there, in the castle of Carisbrooke, till the pleasure of the parliament should be known. He assured them that Colonel Hammond was so honest a man, and so much devoted to their service, that they need have no jealousy that he might be corrupted by any body; and, adds His Lordship, that all this relation he made with so unusual a gaiety, that all men concluded that the King was where he wished he should be.

Amongst all His Lordship's conjectures upon the King's escape, he does not venture to charge Cromwell as the cause of his going to the Isle of Wight. He only describes him as pleased with the information, he (His Lordship) says, he received from Colonel Hammond. Sir John Berkley does not say to whom Colonel Hammond wrote, to inform the parliament of the King's arrival in the Isle of Wight; but it must be to the parliament, and not to Cromwell as an individual. This passage from Lord Clarendon is highly improbable, and not supported by Sir John's narrative. Indeed, all His Lordship says upon this subject, of the first information to the House of the King's arrival in the Isle of Wight by Cromwell, may be considered as positively contradicted by the Journals of the House of Commons. In them is the following entry:— "Saturday, 13th November, 1647. Colonel Whalley called in, and made a particular relation of all the circumstances concerning the King's going away from Hampton-court. He likewise delivered in a letter directed to him (Whalley) from Lieutenant-

general Cromwell, concerning some rumours and reports of some design of danger to the person and life of the King; which was read, and a copy given to the House."

15th same November. "Letter from Captain Baskett, of Cowes castle, of 13th same month, and one from Colonel Robert Hammond, of same day, signifying that the King was come into the Isle of Wight; both read, and directed to be communicated to the Lords. Ten pounds ordered to the messenger that brought the letter from Captain Baskett, and twenty pounds to Captain Rolfe that brought the letter from the governor of the Isle of Wight, directed to Mr. Speaker."

The above renders it perfectly certain, that the letters read were addressed to the House and not to Cromwell, and consequently not read by him: the House would not have given rewards for private letters; and the letter from Colonel Hammond is expressly said to be directed to the Speaker. His Lordship considers the King's going to the Isle of Wight as unpremeditated and accidental; and that when he quitted Hampton-court, he had not formed any plan of future proceeding, and had not resolved whither to go.

Mr. Hume, observing that Lord Clarendon was positive that the King, when he fled from Hampton-court, had no intention of going to the Isle of Wight, adds, that there remained a letter of Charles's to the Earl of Lanerick, secretary of Scotland, in which he plainly insinuates that that measure was voluntarily embraced; and that if he had thought proper, he might have been at Jersey, or any other place of safety.

Rushworth, in his account of the King's quitting Hampton court, and his arrival in the Isle of Wight, and the circumstances only says, that information had been given to the House: that many that had relation and access to His Majesty, were privy to the design.

Ludlow says, — at last the King resolved to go to the Isle of Wight, being, as is most probable, recommended thither by Cromwell, who, as well as the King, had a good opinion of Colonel Hammond, the governor there. This is merely conjec-

tural, but does not imply any ill intention in Cromwell towards the King.

But Sir Philip Warwick, who was attendant upon the King's person, and no friend to Cromwell, says, that it came not within his knowledge who gave the counsel for the King's flight, or what was resolved about it; but that, by one that did know it, he (Sir Philip) had it at that time communicated to him, before he (the King) went away, and perhaps with too much imprudence. "I," continues Sir Philip, "could not concur for his making a mean (since it was likely to be a dangerous) flight; but that, being carried off by Sir John Ashburnham, Sir John Berkley, and Mr. William Legg only, the next we heard of him was, that he was in Carisbrooke castle, where his terms certainly were not beforehand made." Sir Philip adds, that he had occasion but once, at the Isle of Wight, to speak with the King about this affair; and that it was by an accident, or the King's letting himself into that discourse, and he did but touch upon it, nor durst I seem more inquisitive. "But," says he, "when I mentioned that the world had an ill opinion of my friend Mr. Ashburnham's guiding him thither, I remember he freely replied, 'I do no way believe he was unfaithful to me; but I think he wanted courage at that time, (which, says Sir Philip, I interpreted His Majesty meant his not staying with the governor,) whom I never knew wanted it before.' If," adds Sir Philip, "it be lawful to conjecture at an affair of this nature, the choosing this place did not arise from a belief either of the King or Mr. Ashburnham in the governor, but from the failing of some ship there expected. But," adds Sir Philip, "it might be admitted, that they might think the officers of the army would be true to him, when his person was out of the power of being apprehended by the agitators: and that, too probably, His Majesty, wearied with the thoughts of the French having cast him into the hands of the Scots who had used him no better, and of the unconcernedness of other princes in his case, and of the Scotch and English presbyterians' remorselessness towards him, like a sick man, he was willing to change his bed, and see whe-

ther it would better his condition; and I am induced to credit this, because the King had given his word to Cromwell and his jailer, Colonel Whalley, at Hampton-court; and the King, by Ashburnham, very few days before his flight, discharged himself of this engagement; which (if Whalley had not been directed otherwise) he would have lain hold of him, and have put it out of his power to have escaped." Here, Sir Philip supposes the King to have withdrawn his promise to Cromwell, not to endeavour his escape, which must amount to a notice of his intention to attempt it, and supposes Whalley to have received instructions probably from Cromwell, not to prevent it.

All these circumstances, from these several writers, confirm the accuracy and truth of Sir John Berkley's narrative of the King's escape, had it wanted confirmation; and, together, leave no ground for doubt, that Cromwell, finding himself no longer able to serve the King in his restoration, apprised him of his (the King's) personal danger from the agitators, and advised, and probably assisted in his escape. The state of perfect liberty to go where he pleased, in which the King found himself upon his arrival upon the coast of Hampshire, and the letter from Cromwell to the King, a copy whereof he sent by Sir John Berkley and Mr. Ashburnham, the substance whereof Sir John gives in his memoirs, prove Cromwell's anxiety for the personal safety of the King, and that nothing was wanting on his part to enable him to quit the kingdom.

In a publication by Dr. Birch, of letters between the forenamed Colonel Hammond and the committee of Lords and Commons at Derby House, General Fairfax, Lieutenant-general Cromwell, Commissary-general Ireton, and others relating to the King during his confinement in Carisbrooke Castle, is a letter from the above Mr. Ashburnham to a friend concerning his deportment towards the King, in his attendance on him at Hampton-court, and in the Isle of Wight. This letter is therein mentioned to have been first printed in 1648. He describes himself as charged with the scandal of having betrayed His Majesty into the Isle of Wight, by compact with the parliament and army, before

his departure from Hampton-court, by affrighting him from thence, to afford them a better opportunity, being at a greater distance from London, to destroy him; for which service he was to have a great sum of money. He commences his justification with stating that the King's alarms for his personal safety, from the information he had received, of a resolution of a violent party in the army to take away his life, and his resolution in consequence to quit Hampton-court, and his positive determination not to desert the kingdom, either by crossing the seas or going to Scotland: determined the King's choice of the Isle of Wight to avoid the present danger, and where he might give least offence to the parliament and army, and have frequent intercourse with both for settling a peace, of which he then despaired not; and where he might expect the abatement of the ruinous power of the levellers and their faction to be the fruits of the general rendezvous, which was immediately to follow. He then describes Sir John Berkley's and his interview and engagement with the governor (Hammond), suppressing this part of Sir John's narrative and his censures of his conduct therein. He positively denies that any member of the parliament or army had any knowledge from him of the King's quitting Hampton-court. In this statement, not the most distant hint is given of any part Cromwell had in this transaction. Ireton, in a letter to Hammond, in contradiction of the pretence of the King's keeping himself within the protection of the army, by coming into his hands, (to be found in the above publication,) observes, that the King's own declaration, left behind upon his table, plainly discovered that he, in his going away, had other intentions; and that his surrendering himself to him (Hammond) was besides his first purpose. This is a further proof that Cromwell had no concern in the King's going to the Isle of Wight.

Lord Clarendon, referring to the King's situation at Newmarket with the army, after his quitting Holmby, says, that the King found himself at Newmarket attended by greater troops and superior officers, so that he was presently freed from any subjection to Mr. Joyce, which was no small satisfaction to him; and they who were about him appeared men of better breeding than

the former, and paid His Majesty all the respect imaginable, and seemed to desire to please him in all things: that all restraint was taken off from persons resorting to him, and he saw every day the faces of many who were grateful to him; and he no sooner desired that some of his chaplains might have leave to attend upon him for his devotion, but it was yielded to; and they who were named by him (who were Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Morley, Dr. Saunderson, and Dr. Hammond) were presently sent for, and gave their attendance, and performed their functions at the ordinary hours, in their accustomed formalities, all persons who had a mind to it being suffered to be present, to His Majesty's infinite satisfaction, who began to believe that the army was not so much his enemy as it was reported to be: and the army had sent an address to him full of protestation of duty, and besought him that he would be content for some time to reside among them, until the affairs of the kingdom were put into such a posture as he might find all things to his own content and security, which they infinitely desired to see as soon as might be; and to that purpose made daily instances to the parliament: that, in the mean time, His Majesty sat still or removed to such places as were most convenient for the march of the army, being in all places as well provided for and accommodated as he had used to be in any progress; the best gentlemen of the several counties through which he passed daily resorted to him, without distinction: he was attended by some of his old trusty servants in the places nearest his person; and that which gave him most encouragement to believe that they meant well was, that, in the army's address to the parliament, they desired that care might be taken for settling the King's rights according to the several professions they had made in their declarations, and that the royal party might be treated with more candour and less rigour; and many good officers, who had served His Majesty faithfully, were civilly received by the officers of the army, and lived quietly in their quarters, which they could not do any where else; which raised a great reputation to the army throughout the kingdom, and as much reproach upon the parliament.

That the parliament at this time had recovered its spirit, when they saw the army did not march nearer towards them, and not only stopped at St. Albans, but was drawn back to a further distance; which persuaded them that their general was displeased with their former advance: and so they proceeded with all passion and vigour against those principal officers, who they knew contrived all these proceedings. They published declarations to the kingdom, that they desired to bring the King in honour to his parliament, which was their business from their beginning, and that he was detained prisoner, against his will, in the army; and that they had great reason to apprehend the safety of his person: that the army, on the other hand, declared that His Majesty was neither prisoner, nor detained against his will; and appealed to His Majesty himself, and to all his friends, who had liberty to repair to him, whether he had not more liberty, and was not treated with more respect since he came into the army than he had been at Holmby, or during the time he remained in those places and with that retinue that the parliament had appointed: that there was nothing they (the parliament) did really fear so much, as that the army would make a firm conjunction with the King and unite with his party, of which there was so much show; and many unskilful men, who wished it, bragged too much: and that therefore the parliament sent a committee to His Majesty with an address of another stile than they had lately used, with many professions of duty, and declaring that if he was not, in all respects, treated as he ought to be, and as he desired, it was not their fault, who desired he might be at full liberty, and do what he would; hoping that the King would have been induced to desire to come to London, and to make complaint of the army's having taken him from Holmby; by which they believed the King's party would be disabused and withdraw their hopes of any good from the army; and then they thought they should be hard enough for them.

That the King was in great doubt how to carry himself: he thought himself so barbarously used by the presbyterians, and had so ill an opinion of all the principal persons who governed them,

that he had no mind to put himself into their hands. On the other side, he was far from being satisfied with the army's good intention towards him; and though many of his friends were suffered to resort to him, they found that their being long about him would not be acceptable; and though the officers and soldiers appeared for the most part civil to him, they were all at least as vigilant as the former guards had been; so that he could not, without great difficulty have got from them if he had desired it: that Fairfax had been with him and kissed his hand, and made such professions as he could well utter, which was with no advantage in the delivery; his authority was of no use because he resigned himself entirely to Cromwell, who had been, and Ireton likewise, with the King, without either of them offering to kiss his hand, otherwise they behaved themselves with good manners towards him: that His Majesty used all the address he could towards them, to draw some promise from them; but they were so reserved, and stood so much upon their guard, and used so few words, that nothing could be concluded from what they said. They excused themselves for not seeing His Majesty often, upon the great jealousies the parliament had of them, towards whom they professed all fidelity: that the persons who resorted to His Majesty, and brought advices from others, who durst not yet offer to come themselves, brought several opinions to him, some thinking the army would deal sincerely with him; others expecting no better from them, than they afterwards performed; so that the King well concluded that he would neither reject the parliament addresses by any neglect, nor disoblige the army by appearing to have jealousy of them, or desire to be out of their hands; which he could hardly have effected if he had known a better place to have resorted to. So he desired both parties to hasten their consultations, that the kingdom might enjoy peace and happiness, in which he should not be without a share; and he would pray to God to bring this to pass as soon as possible.

That the very high contests between the parliament and the army, in which neither side could be persuaded to yield to the other or abate any of their asperity, made many prudent men

believe that both sides would in the end be willing to make the King the umpire, which neither of them ever intended to do.

That in the House of Commons, which was now the scene of all the actions that displeased and incensed the army (for the House of Peers was shrunk into so inconsiderable a number, and their persons not considerable after the death of the Earl of Essex, except those who were affected or might be disposed by the army) they were wholly guided by Holles, and Stapleton, Lewis, and Glyn, who had been very popular and notorious from the beginning, and by Waller, and Massey, and Brown, who had served in commands in the army, and performed at sometimes very signal service, and were exceedingly beloved in the city; and two or three others, who followed their dictates and were subservient to their directions. These were all men of parts, interest, and signal courage, and did not only heartily abhor the intentions which they discerned the army to have, and that it was wholly to be disposed according to the designs of Cromwell, but had likewise declared animosities against the persons of the most active and powerful officers; but that Cromwell had that power in the House, and that reputation abroad, that when he could not absolutely control their designs, he did so obstruct them, that they could not advance to any conclusion.

That they (the army) resorted therefore to an expedient, which they had observed, by the conduct of those very men against whom they meant to apply it, had brought to pass all that they desired; and in the council of officers prepared an impeachment of high treason in general terms against Mr. Holles and other the forementioned persons, and others, to the number of eleven members of the House of Commons. Then, in Lord Clarendon's history, follows the statement of that transaction, and their finally, in consequence, withdrawing from the House.

His Lordship, relating the removal of the King to Hampton-court says, it was prepared and put into as good order for his reception as could have been done in the best time.

Referring to the rendezvous upon Hounslow Heath, and the presence there, of the Speakers of both Houses (who had, accord-

ing to His Lordship's statement, privately before met with the chief officers of the army) with their maces, and such other members as accompanied them, complaining to the general, that they had not freedom at Westminster, but were in danger of their lives by the tumults; and appealed to the army for their protection. His Lordship observes, that this looked like a new act of Providence to vindicate the army from all reproaches, and to justify them in all they had done, as absolutely done for the preservation of the parliament and kingdom: that if this had been a retreat of Sir Harry Vane and some other discontented men, who were known to be independents and fanatics in their opinions in religion, and of the army faction, who being no longer able to oppose the wisdom of the parliament had fled to their friends for protection from justice, they would have got no reputation, nor the army been thought the better of for their company; but neither of the Speakers were ever looked upon as inclined to the army; Lenthall was generally believed to have no malice towards the King, and not to be without good inclination to the church; and the Earl of Manchester, who was Speaker of the House of Peers, was known to have all prejudice imaginable against Cromwell, and had formerly accused him of want of duty to the parliament; and the other hated him above all men, and desired to have taken away his life: that the Earl of Manchester and the Earl of Warwick were the two pillars of the presbyterian party; and that they two, with the Earl of Northumberland, and some other of the Lords and some of the Commons, who had appeared to disapprove all the proceedings of the army, should now join with Sir Harry Vane, and appeal to the army for protection, with that formality as if they had brought the whole parliament with them and had been entirely driven and forced away by the city, appeared, to every stander-by, so stupendous a thing, that it is not, says His Lordship, to this day understood otherwise, than that they were resolved to have their particular shares in the treaty, which they believed the chief officers of the army to have near concluded with the King: for that they never intended to put the whole power into the hands of the army, nor had any

kindness to, or confidence in the officers thereof, was very apparent by their carriage and behaviour after, as well as before; and if they had continued together, considering how much the city was devoted to them, it is probable that the army would not have used any force, which might have received a fatal repulse; but that some good compromise might have been made by the interposition of the King. But this schism, adds His Lordship, carried all the reputation and authority to the army, and left none in the parliament; for though it presently appeared that the number of those who left the Houses was small in comparison of those who remained behind, and who proceeded with the same vigour in declaring against the army: and the city seemed as resolute in putting themselves into a posture and preparing for their defence, all their works and fortifications being still entire; so that they might have put the army to great trouble, if they had steadily pursued their resolutions (which they did not seem in any degree to decline); yet this rent made all the accused members, who were the men of parts and reputation to conduct their counsels, to withdraw themselves upon the astonishment; some concealing themselves till they had opportunity to make their peace, and others withdrawing and transporting themselves beyond the seas.

Then follows the account of the army's becoming masters of the city, and conducting the Speaker and members who had come to them, to their respective Houses of parliament.

Whilst, proceeds His Lordship, these things were thus agitated between the army and the parliament and city, the King enjoyed himself at Hampton-court much more to his content than he had of late; the respects of the chief officers of the army seeming much greater than they had been; Cromwell himself came oftener to him, and had long conferences with him; talked with more openness to Mr. Ashburnham than he had done, and appeared more cheerful: that persons of all conditions repaired to His Majesty of those who had served him; with whom he conferred without reservation; and the citizens flocked thither as they had used to do at the end of a progress, when the King had

been some months absent from London: but that which pleased him most was, that his children were permitted to come to him, in whom he took great delight. They were all at the Earl of Northumberland's house, at Sion, from the time the King came to Hampton-court, and had liberty to attend His Majesty when he pleased; so that, sometimes he sent for them to come to Hampton-court, and sometimes he went to them to Sion, which gave him great satisfaction.

That, in this manner the King made use of the liberty he enjoyed, and considered as well what remedies to apply to the worst that could fall out, as to caress the officers of the army in order to the improvement of his condition, of which he was not yet in despair, the chief officers and all the heads of that party looking upon it as their wisest policy to cherish the King's hopes by the liberty they gave him, and by a very flowing courtesy towards all who had been of his party, whose reputation and good word and testimony, they found did them much good both in the city and in the country: that, to the Lord Capel who had come to visit him, the King imparted all his hopes and what great overtures the Scots had again made to him, and that he did really believe that it could not be long before there would be a war between the two nations, in which the Scots promised themselves an universal concurrence from all the presbyterians in England; and that, in such a conjuncture, he wished that his own party would put themselves in arms, without which he could not expect great benefit by the success of the other; and therefore desired Lord Capel to watch such a conjuncture, and draw his friends together, which he promised to do effectually, and did very punctually afterwards to the loss of his own life: and many things, adds Lord Clarendon, were then adjusted upon the foresight of future contingencies, which were afterwards thought fit to be executed. But that none were more full of professions of duty and a resolution to run all hazards than the Scots' commissioners, who, from the time they had delivered up the King, resided at London with their usual confidence, and loudly complained of the presumption of the

army in seizing upon the person of the King; insinuated themselves to all those who were thought to be most constant and inseparable from the interest of the crown, with passionate undertaking that their whole nation would be united to a man, in any enterprise for his service: and now, adds His Lordship, they came to him (the King) with as much presumption as if they had carried him to Edinburgh. Here, adds His Lordship, the foundation of that engagement was laid, which was endeavoured to be performed in the ensuing year, and which the Scots themselves then communicated to the Marquis of Ormond, the Lord Capel and other trusty persons, as if there was nothing else intended in it than a full vindication of all His Majesty's rights and interest.

That when the army had thus subdued all opposition, and the parliament and they seemed all of a piece, and the refractory humours of the city seemed to be suppressed and totally tamed, the army seemed less regardful to the King than they had been; the chief officers came rarely to Hampton-court, nor had the same countenance towards Ashburnham and Berkley as they used to have; they were not at leisure to speak with them, and when they did, asked captious questions, and gave answers themselves of no signification: that the adjutators and council of officers sent some propositions to the King, as ruinous to the church and destructive to the regal power as had been yet made by the parliament, and in some respects much worse, and more dishonourable; and said, if His Majesty would consent thereto, they would apply themselves to the parliament, and do the best they could to persuade them to be of the same opinion; but His Majesty rejected them with more than usual indignation, not without some reproaches upon the officers for having deluded him, and having prevailed in all their own designs, by making the world believe that they intended His Majesty's restoration and settlement upon better conditions than the parliament was willing to admit: that, by this manner of resentment, the army took itself to be disobliged, and used another language in their discourse of the King, than they had for some months done; and

such officers who had formerly served the King and had been civilly treated and sheltered in the quarters of the army, were now driven from thence. They who had been kind to them withdrew themselves from their acquaintance; and the sequestrations of all the estates of the cavaliers which had been intermitted were revived with as much rigour as ever had been before practised, and the declared delinquents racked to as high compositions, which if they refused to make, their whole estates were taken from them, and their persons exposed to affronts and insecurity; but this was imputed to the prevalence of the presbyterian humour in the parliament against the judgment of the army; and that it was very true, that though the parliament was so far subdued, it no more found fault with what the army did, nor complained that it meddled in determining what settlement should be made in the government, yet, that in all their own acts and proceedings, they prosecuted a presbyterian settlement as earnestly as they could: that the covenant was pressed in all places, and the anabaptists and other sects, which began to abound, were punished, restrained, and discountenanced, which the army liked not, as a violation of the liberty of tender consciences, which they pretended was as much the original of the quarrel as any other grievance whatsoever. This statement of proceedings (by His Lordship) from the arrival of the King at Newmarket, does not differ substantially from the before-given accounts of those transactions, making all due allowance for His Lordship's usual glosses in favour of his own side of the question.

Referring to the King's removal from the Isle of Wight to Hurst Castle, after the unsuccessful termination of the treaty of Newport, and the vote of the House of Commons, that it was without their consent, which His Lordship says had little contradiction, because no one would own the advice; also relating the general's (Fairfax) march to London, and the resolution of the House, notwithstanding, after a very long debate, that the answer of the King to the propositions, was a ground for the Houses to proceed upon, for the settlement of the peace of the kingdom; also the resumption of the above question, which, after a long

debate, notwithstanding the late exclusion of so many members; and the termination in the negative of the above resolution, consequently that the above answer was not satisfactory, — says, that no one owned the above act of exclusion; that Fairfax knew nothing of it; and that the guards themselves, being asked what authority they had, only answered that they had orders. Respecting the removal of the King, Rushworth gives a letter dated the 1st of December, 1648, from Carisbrooke Castle to the House, signed by Major Rolph and others, who had the care of the King, informing of the arrival of Lieutenant-colonel Cobbett and Captain Merriman, with instructions from the general (Fairfax) and council of war, forthwith to secure the King's person in Carisbrooke Castle, as before the treaty, till they should receive the resolution of the Houses upon their late remonstrance; and that, whilst Rolph and the other officers were in debate thereon, whether they ought or ought not to obey these instructions, a messenger arrived from the general (Fairfax), with an order under his hand and seal, directed to the same persons, commanding them immediately to take the person of the King into their charge, and to remove him to Hurst Castle, which was done. Rushworth, it should be remembered, was at that time the general's secretary, and would not have given this letter, had he not known it to be authentic, or would certainly have commented upon it, had he had reason to doubt its authenticity. Whitelock says that the King was removed by order of the general and council of the army. Sir Philip Warwick speaks of this removal of the King, as done by directions from the army; but admits the general's (Fairfax) giving the warrant for it, only saying that he had been wrought on to give it.

In further confutation of Lord Clarendon's statement, that General Fairfax knew nothing of the intended exclusion of the members, Rushworth says that they were seized and kept in custody by special order from the general and council of the army; and that on the same day, (December 6. 1648,) a committee of the Commons was sent to the general (Fairfax), to enquire the reason thereof, who, not disavowing the proceeding, referred the

committee to his council of war for his answer, meaning their and his reasons for their procedure. Whitelock gives a similar account. He (Rushworth) further states the committee's report, that at another attendance of the committee, the general had answered, that the matter was of great concernment, and supposed they did not expect a present answer from him, but that he would prepare one speedily, and desired the House would not trouble itself to send any more concerning that business: that this answer did not appear satisfactory to the House, who directed the application to be received. Rushworth adds, that sixteen of these members were liberated on that day with permission to resume their seats.

Dr. Harris, in his life of Cromwell, takes upon himself to determine that he was the author and abettor of this measure of purging the House of Commons, by Colonel Pride seizing and surprising many of its members, thence commonly called Pride's purge. He allows that his name does not appear therein; but, he says, that some say, that it was done by his (Cromwell's) command: and he (Dr. Harris) adds, that there need be no doubt that Ireton and the other chief officers concerned, were fully satisfied they had Cromwell's approbation, they would not have taken such a step without it: for though, he adds, Fairfax was easy and manageable, Cromwell was very different, nor would he have failed showing his resentment against those who should have presumed to have acted opposite to his will. This is mere conjecture, for the purpose of introducing Cromwell into this transaction, without regard to the, it may be safely said, decisive evidence to the contrary. But Ludlow says, that Lieutenant-general Cromwell, the night after the interruption of the House, arrived from Scotland, and lay at Whitehall, (having been absent from London with the army, as before-mentioned, from the month of May, 1648, preceding,) where, and at other places, he declared, that he had not been acquainted with this design. Rushworth confirms this account of the army under General Fairfax's command entering London on the 2d of December, 1648; this interruption by seizure of the members to have happened on the 6th, and

Cromwell not to have taken his seat until the 7th, being the day following. In the before-mentioned publication of letters by Dr. Birch, Cromwell's last letter to Hammond is dated 25th November, 1648, by which he appears to be then in the north.

Notwithstanding Cromwell's above declaration, given by Ludlow, that he did not know of the design of seizing the members, which Dr. Harris has extracted in a note, he (Dr. Harris) chooses to have no opinion of his (Cromwell's) veracity; he says, "his declarations on this head, are not, I think, much to be regarded;" and, he seems to make a sort of sarcastic apology for charging Cromwell with uttering an absolute falsehood, by ranking him with other politicians as bad as he supposes Cromwell to be, who, he says, have a language of their own: they, he says, abound with quirks, subtleties; and distinctions; they explain away and interpret as they imagine will best suit their circumstances and conveniences. To all this, if, continues he, we add Cromwell's known dissimulation, we shall see little cause to rely on them. This is not liberal, either towards Cromwell or towards politicians universally: it is easier to find an opprobrious epithet than to establish a proof: Cromwell, it is conceived, has not yet been proved a liar or a dissembler.

The truth appears to be, that the agitators, who were the republican party in the army, had become too powerful for their general and the other principal officers; and, being determined upon a republican form of government, had intimidated Cromwell, and the other officers who were friendly to the King's return upon proper terms, from further treaty with him: this appears from the preceding extracts from the several fore-mentioned writers. This republican party were in like manner determined to prevent all renewal of treaty with the King; they were also determined upon bringing the King to a trial. To accomplish these, their designs, they adopt the measure of what they term, purging the House of Commons, meaning the exclusion of those members from sitting therein, whom they knew to be favourable to a continuance or renewal of the treaty of Newport, and unfavourable to the purposed measure of bringing the King to a trial. With these views, they probably hastened the coming of the part of the army with

Fairfax, and, with it's assistance, this exclusion of the obnoxious members, during the absence of Cromwell, lest he should, by his presence, prevent or impede their designs; and overawed the general (Fairfax) and his council of officers, into the sanction of their proceedings. Thus the whole was accomplished before Cromwell's arrival, and resuming his seat in the House: and this accords with and confirms the truth of his (Cromwell's) declaration of his ignorance of these designs, and acquits him of the foul charge of the deliberate falsehood with which his enemies wish to fix him. And Ludlow takes to himself, and a few others, the whole merit, as he deems it, of this transaction of the exclusion, (not referring to Cromwell,) where he relates, that being come to the resolution, three of the members of the House and three of the officers of the army, withdrew into a private room, to consider of the best means to attain the ends of such resolution; when we (Ludlow being therefore one of them) agreed, that the army should be drawn up the next morning, and guards placed in Westminster-hall, the court of requests, and the lobby, that none might be permitted to pass into the House, but such as had continued faithful to the public interest: and, to this end, says he, we went over the names of all the members, one by one. He adds, that General Ireton went to Sir Thomas Fairfax and acquainted him with the necessity of this extraordinary way of proceeding; having taken care to have the army drawn up the next morning by seven of the clock.

It can hardly be doubted that Ludlow, and his republican party, availed themselves of Cromwell's absence to accomplish this and their other measures, preparatory to their great object of bringing the King to trial, and establishing a commonwealth.

But, it is indispensably necessary to these writers, that the perfidy and hypocrisy of Cromwell should be established, and that at the expense even of General Fairfax's understanding, whom, for the purpose of making Cromwell the principal actor, they reduce almost to idiocy. It is admitted by all these writers, that Cromwell was absent at the time of the general's entry with his army into London, and of the army's seizure of the members, 40 or more

in number. Rushworth states the large remonstrance of the army, presented to the House of Commons, to have been dated 18th, and presented on Monday the 20th of November (1648), consequently during the treaty, and Cromwell's absence; and that it was accompanied by a letter from the general to the Speaker, desiring, on behalf of the officers and himself, that it might have a present reading and consideration. This remonstrance, signed by John Rushworth, secretary by the appointment of the general (Fairfax) and his general council of officers, recommends to the parliament to lay aside the treaty, and to return to their votes of no more addresses to the King, and that he should return no more to government; and that they should proceed against the King in a way of justice, for evils done by him, and as the capital cause of all: and that in order thereto, to have him kept in safe custody; and that no King should be thereafter admitted but by election. He (Rushworth) also states the letter from the general and council of the army, referring to the remonstrance, for their reasons for moving towards London.

The declaration of the army, subsequent to the remonstrance, puts the general's (Fairfax) privity to the expulsion beyond all doubt, had any doubt remained; they would rejoice, say they, if the majority of the House of Commons would become sensible of the destructiveness of their late way, and would exclude from communication in their councils all such corrupt and apostatized members as had obstructed justice, safety, and public interest: they desire that so many of them, as God had kept upright, would withdraw from such as persisted in their guilt; and declare, that for these ends they were approaching London.

No further evidence can be necessary to prove the general's (Fairfax) privity, both to the removal of the King to Hurst Castle, and to the exclusion of the members, and that they were done by the direction of himself and his council of officers; and it is not credible that he could be prevailed on to concur in these important acts, against his own judgment: he must have been weak indeed, and very unfit for the important command in which he was placed, to be thus influenced.

Lord Clarendon says, that Fairfax never sat in the High Court of Justice, though he says, he was overwitted by Cromwell, and made a property to bring that to pass which could have hardly been otherwise effected. This is wholly assertion; it is a serious impeachment of the General's understanding, to suppose him thus wholly a tool of Cromwell: but his understanding must have been defective indeed, not to see, in the presentment of the remonstrance, and his accompanying letter, that he joined the remonstrants in their several objects of — no more addresses to the King; his return no more to government; the trial of the King; and, necessarily, the sentence that might be passed upon him; and an elective monarchy.

Rushworth also says, that the General (Fairfax) was present at the sitting, on the 6th of January, of the commissioners for preparing the proceedings for the trial of the King, he being one of them; but sat not at the table, and went away immediately. He therefore went, in effect, the whole length of those who brought on the trial and sat in judgment upon the King, except only the not taking his seat in the High Court of Justice: and it appears from Whitelock, that, immediately after the King's death, he agreed to join the parliament, and faithfully serve them, — most of them the very men, who had been chiefly instrumental to the bringing the King to trial and to death. Nor does it appear that he, at the time when he must have seen that things were approaching to extremities, ever expressed his disapprobation of the proceedings, or used any means to prevent them. Ludlow says, that in the debate, in the Convention Parliament, preparatory to the Restoration, upon the subject of the purposed bill of indemnity, and the exceptions therein of particular persons; the Lord Fairfax plainly said: that if any person must be excepted, he knew no man that deserved it more than himself, who being General of the army at that time, and having power sufficient to prevent the proceedings against the King, had not thought fit to make use of it to that end.

His Lordship introduces with some pomp, a circumstance that he considers fit to be remembered; — that on the calling over the

names of the court of justice, the name of the General being called next to the President, Lady Fairfax, his wife, said aloud, " he has more wit than to be here:" and that presently, upon the reading the impeachment, and the expression used of " all the good people of England," the same voice, in a louder tone answered, " No, nor the hundredth part of them." This appears to introduce her and her husband to His Lordship's favour, and induces him to give a high account of Her Ladyship's family; and he seems to think the General, merely absenting himself from the High Court of Justice a sufficient excuse for his concurrence in all the proceedings that brought the King there, without the least exertion on his part to prevent it. If this lady, of so high a spirit, and having so great influence over her husband, as she is by different writers represented to have had, and he, the weak, undetermined character he is described to be, had exerted her influence with him, she might perhaps have prevented this melancholy catastrophe of the trial and death of the King. But Whitelock does not represent the General as of this very ductile spirit: he says of him, that he was a person of as meek and humble carriage as ever he saw in great employment, and but of few words in discourse, or council; yet that when his reason and judgment were satisfied, he was unalterable, except it were by letter, whereof (as was fit) he was the only judge. But, adds Whitelock, " I have observed him at councils of war, that he has said little, but hath ordered things expressly contrary to the judgment of all his council; and in action in the field, I have seen him so highly transported, that scarce any one durst speak a word to him; and he would seem more like a man distracted and furious, than of his ordinary mildness and so far different temper." Yet, for the purpose of rendering Cromwell odious, by making him the author of all the mischief with which they (the royalist writers) think proper to charge him, and exonerating the General, they reduce him (the General) to a mere cipher, a tool in the hands of Cromwell, to carry into execution such of his designs as he did not think fit himself to appear in. The editor of His Lordship's (Fairfax) forementioned memorial says, that

he governed the army, not as a cipher, but with great prudence and conduct, in councils of war as well as animated by his personal courage in the field. Nevertheless upon the ground of the General's supposed incapacity, Cromwell is made responsible for all the General's actions, as well as his own: on the contrary, Fairfax, by concurring in the above proceedings, appears to have determined upon bringing the King to trial, whilst Cromwell was, according to Bishop Burnet, hesitating upon it. He says, Ireton was the person that drove it on, for that Cromwell was all the while in some suspense about it.

Ludlow states the army's sending Major-general Harrison with a party of horse, to bring the King from the Isle of Wight to Windsor.

In a preceding part of these memoirs of Ludlow, he says, being fully persuaded that an accommodation with the King was unsafe to the people of England, and unjust and wicked in the nature of it; of the former, as it was obvious to all men that the King himself had proved, by the duplicity of his dealings with the parliament, which manifestly appeared in his own papers taken at the battle of Naseby and elsewhere: of the latter, he (Ludlow) was convinced by the express words of God's law, that blood defileth the land, and the land cannot be cleansed of the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it. And therefore says he "I could not consent to the counsels of those who were contented to leave the guilt of so much blood upon the nation; and thereby to draw down the just vengeance of God upon us all, when it was most evident that the war had been occasioned by the invasion of our rights, and open breach of our laws and constitution on the King's part." He (Ludlow) says, the army were for bringing the King to trial for levying war against the parliament and people of England; and that the common council of the city of London presented a petition to parliament to that effect; but that some of the commonwealth's men desired, that before they consented to that method, it might be resolving what government to establish, fearing a design in the army to set up some one of themselves in his room: that

others endeavoured to persuade them that the execution of justice ought to be their first work, in respect of their duty to God and the people: that the failure therein, had been already the occasion of a second war, which was justly to be charged on the parliament for neglecting that duty: that those who were truly commonwealth's men, ought to be of that opinion, as the most probable means to attain their desires, in the establishment of an equal and just government: and that the officers of the army, who were chiefly to be suspected, could not be guilty of so much imprudence and folly, to erect an arbitrary power in any one of themselves, after they had in so public a manner declared their detestation of it in another.

Mr. Hume and other royalist writers attribute the proceedings against the King, to the independents; but the preceding history does not justify this charge upon them, or upon the presbyterians exclusively: the agitators or republican party headed by Ludlow and others, composed probably of persons of all religious denominations, and of many of none, brought about the trial and death of the King. This party had become, as is before observed, formidable to Cromwell himself: Ludlow, who was one of them, so describes them, and that, to be one of the causes of him (Cromwell) and his party's discontinuance of their negociation with the King.

Ludlow, in the preceding passages, avows and justifies this part of the army taking the subsequent proceedings into their own hands; by first seizing the obnoxious members and excluding them from the House, and then rescinding the vote allowing of a renewal of the treaty with the King, and voting no further addresses or applications to him.

Lord Clarendon says, that it had been acknowledged since, by some officers and others, who were present at the consultations, that from the time of the King's being at Hampton-court, and after the army had mastered both the parliament and the city, and were weary of having the King with them, and knew not well how to be rid of him, there were many secret consults what to do with him: and that it was generally concluded that they should

never be able to settle their new form of government whilst he lived; and that after he was a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, they were more solicitous for a resolution and determination in that particular: and that after the vote of no more addresses, the most violent party thought they could do nothing in order to their own ends, till he should be first dead; and that therefore, one way or other, that was to be compassed in the first place: that some of them were for deposing him; others for depriving him of his life by poison, as making the least noise, or by assassination: and a third sort for his being brought to a public trial as a malefactor; which they said would be most for the honour of the parliament, and would teach all kings to know that they were accountable and punishable for the wickedness of their lives: that many of the officers were for the first (his deposition), for which they had precedents, and that they could in that case better settle the government than if he were dead; for that his son could pretend no right during his life; but that when he should be dead, his son would presently call himself king, and others would call him so too, and other kings and princes might own him for such.—And that if he were kept alive in a close prison, he might afterwards be made use of, or removed upon any appearance of a revolution: that there were as many officers of the second judgment, that he should be presently dispatched (poisoned or assassinated); for that, whilst living, there would be always plots and designs to set him at liberty, and he would have parties throughout the kingdom, and in a short time a faction in their most secret councils, and perhaps in the army itself; and that where his liberty would yield so great a price, it would be too great a trust to repose in any man that he would long resist the temptation; whereas, if he were dead, all those fears would be over, especially if they proceeded with that circumspection and severity towards all his party as in prudence they ought to do. This party, adds His Lordship, would probably have carried it, if Colonel Hammond could have been wrought upon to have concurred; but that he had too much conscience to have exposed himself to that infamy; and without his privity or connivance, it could not have been done: that the

third party, which were all the levellers and agitators of the army, in the head of which were Ireton and Harrison, would not endure either of the other ways; for that they could as easily bring him to justice in the sight of the sun as depose him, since the authority of the parliament could do one as well as the other: that their precedent of deposing had no reputation with the people, but was looked upon as the effect of some potent faction, which always oppressed the people more after than they had been before; that besides, those deposings had always been attended with assassinations and murders, which were the more odious and detested, because nobody owned and avowed the bloody actions they had done; but that if he were brought to a public trial for the notorious ill things he had done, and for his misgovernment, upon the complaint and prosecution of the people, the superiority of the people would be thereby vindicated and made manifest, and they should receive the benefit, and be for ever free from those oppressions which he had imposed upon them, and for which he ought to pay so dear; and that such an exemplary proceeding and execution as this, where every circumstance should be clear and notorious, would be the best foundation and security of the government they intended to establish; and no man would be ambitious to succeed him and be a king in his place, when he saw in what manner he must be accountable to the people: that this argumentation, or the strength and obstinacy of that party carried it; and thereupon, all that formality of proceeding, which afterwards was exercised, was resolved upon and consented to.

The preceding narrative, as given by His Lordship, must be received with great caution, as coming from persons acknowledging themselves to have been personally engaged in consultations that went the length of dethroning the King, only by different means: and it must be observed, that these acknowledgements were made by these officers after the Restoration, for the purpose of extenuating their own conduct, and of obtaining from the then prevailing party the most favourable construction of the part they had taken in these transactions; their testimony must therefore have been very suspicious. His Lordship's account, however, of the third

party's determination to bring the King to trial, agrees in substance with Ludlow's account, in proving the levellers and agitators, (the republican party of the army,) headed by Ireton and Harrison, to have brought on this trial, and not separately the presbyterians or independents as such. And in justice to Cromwell, it ought to be particularly noticed that he is not here named as having had any concern in these deliberations, nor in this final resolution of bringing the King to trial: he would not have escaped His Lordship's vigilance and detection, had he been even hinted at in these transactions.

Mrs. Hutchinson, referring to these proceedings, and to the part her husband, the colonel, took therein, says, that when he was sufficiently recovered from his then late illness to attend the House, he found the presbyterian party so prevalent there, that the victories obtained by the army displeased them, and so hot they grew in the zeal of their faction, that they from thenceforth resolved and endeavoured to close with the common enemy, that they might thereby compass the destruction of their independent brethren: that to this end, and to strengthen their faction, they got in again the late suspended members; whereof it was said, and by the consequence appeared true, that Mr. Holles, during his secession, had been in France, and there meeting with the Queen, had pieced up an ungodly accommodation with her; although he were the man, that when, at the beginning, some of the sober men who foresaw the sad issues of war and victory on either side, were labouring an accommodation, openly in the House said, "He abhorr'd that word accommodation:" that after these were gotten in again, and encouraged by the presbyterian ministers, and the people in the city, they procured a revocation of the votes formerly made of no more addresses to the king; and that then nothing was agitated with more violence than a new personal treaty with honour and freedom; and even his (the King's) coming to the city before any security given, was laboured for, but that prevailed not: that such were the heats of the two parties, that Mr. Holles challenged Ireton even in the House; out of which they both went to have fought; but that one who sat

near them overheard the wicked whisper, and prevented the execution of it: that amidst these things, at last a treaty was sent to the King by commissioners, and although, continues Mrs. Hutchinson, there were some honourable persons in this commission, yet that it could not be denied but that they were carried away by the other, and concluded upon most dangerous terms, an agreement with the King; and that such were the terms upon which the King was to be restored, that the whole cause was evidently given up to him: that the commissioners that treated with him had been cajoled and biassed with the promises of great honours and offices to every one of them; and so they brought back their treaty to be confirmed by the Houses; where there was a very high dispute about them, and they sat up most part of the night, when at length it was voted to accept his concessions, the dissenting party being fewer than the other that were carried on in the faction: that Colonel Hutchinson was that night among them, and being convinced in his conscience that both the cause, and all those who with an upright honest heart asserted and maintained it, were betrayed and sold for nothing, he addressed himself to those commissioners he had most honourable thoughts of, and urged his reasons and apprehensions to them, that the King, after having been exasperated, vanquished, and captured, would be restored to that power which was inconsistent with the liberty of the people; who, for all their blood, treasure, and misery, would reap no fruit, but a confirmation of bondage; and that it had been a thousand times better never to have struck one stroke in the quarrel, than, after victory, to yield up a righteous cause; whereby they should not only betray the interest of their country, and the trust reposed in them and those zealous friends who had engaged to the death for them, but be false to the covenant of their God, which was to extirpate prelacy, not to lease it. This refers to the King's refusal to give up bishops, and his proposal to lease out their revenues. Mrs. Hutchinson proceeds, — that they acknowledged that the conditions were not so secure as they ought to be; but, in regard of the growing insolence of the army, it was best to accept them. They further said, that

they, enjoying those trusts and places which they had secured for themselves and other honest men, should be able to curb the King's exorbitances: and such other things they said, wherewith the colonel, dissatisfied, opposed their proceedings as much as he could: that by this violent proceeding of the presbyterians, they finished the destruction of him, in whose restitution they were then so fiercely engaged; for this gave heart to the vanquished cavaliers, and such courage to the captive King, that it hardened him and them to their ruin: that, on the other side, it so frightened all the honest people, that it made them as violent in their zeal to pull down, as the others were in their madness to restore this kingly idol; and the army, who were principally levelled and marked out for the sacrifice and peace-offering of this ungodly reconciliation, had some colour to pursue their late arrogant usurpations upon that authority which it was their duty rather to have obeyed than interrupted; but that the debates of that night, which produced such destructive votes to them and all their friends, being reported to them, they, the next morning, seized the members.

The above extract from Mrs. Hutchinson most satisfactorily proves the clandestine and interested proceedings of the presbyterian party in their transactions with the King at Newport; and of Mr. Holles in particular, in spite of his affectedly disinterested declaration at the conclusion of his angry and malignant work, of his having no thought of personal revenge towards any particular in case his party had prevailed. This account is from her husband, Colonel Hutchinson, who appears to have been an honest, moderate man, not of any particular party, but acting according to the best of his own judgment. He here describes the presbyterian party as prevalent in the House, and their object in endeavouring to close with the King, to be the destruction of the independent party. He describes Mr. Holles as having, when abroad, come to an accommodation with the Queen, notwithstanding his fore-mentioned declarations. He relates the influence the King had obtained over the leading commissioners by his promise of honours and offices, to induce them to consent to a disadvan-

tageous and insecure treaty; all which they acknowledged and justified to him, Colonel Hutchinson. And he is disposed to allow these proceedings to be a degree of justification of the army's subsequent apparently violent conduct, who were principally marked out as the victims of this, as he calls it, ungodly reconciliation. And Lord Clarendon observes, that some of the commissioners found means to advertise the King in private, that they were of His Majesty's judgment about church-government, which they hoped might yet be preserved, but not by the method His Majesty pursued: that all the reasonable hope of preserving the crown, was in dividing the parliament from the army, which could be only done by his giving satisfaction in what was demanded with reference to the church: that this might probably unite the parliament and the city of London, where the presbyterians were most powerful, and enable them, the parliament, to reform their army, and to disband those who should be refractory, and then to bring His Majesty to London with honour, where he might have an opportunity of gaining more abatements than he could ever expect by refusing to sign the preliminaries: that many advertisements came from His Majesty's friends in London, and other places, that it was high time the treaty was at an end before the army drew nearer London, which it would shortly do, as soon as those in the north had finished their works.

And this account from Lord Clarendon fully establishes the truth of Colonel Hutchinson's above narrative of the presbyterian party's secret negociations with the King; the discovery whereof by the army well accounts for their subsequent conduct, and which they would deem no more than an act of self-preservation against their inveterate enemies, who were plotting their destruction. The principal officers were accused, as has been observed, in their negociations with the King, of obtaining from him promises of preferments and other rewards, which the general (Fairfax) has positively denied; declaring that they bargained not, nor asked any thing of the King for any private interest of their own.

Lord Clarendon, with his usual asperity towards every one connected with Cromwell, describes Mr. Holles as having, one

day, upon a very hot debate in the House, and some rude expressions which fell from Ireton, persuaded him (Ireton) to walk out of the House with him, and then telling him that he should presently go over the water and fight with him: that Ireton replying that his conscience would not suffer him to fight a duel, Holles, in choler, pulled him by the nose, telling him, that if his conscience would keep him from giving men satisfaction, it should keep him from provoking them: and to this affront, given to a man whom he describes of the most virulent, malicious, and revengeful nature of all the pack, he attributes the impeachment of Mr. Holles and the other ten members. Ireton's established courage in various actions in which he had been engaged, renders this account utterly improbable, and is entitled to no more credit than is due to Mr. Holles's impeachment of Cromwell's courage; both proceeding from the same ill disposition towards these extraordinary characters. Mrs. Hutchinson, however, in her preceding account of this quarrel, expressly says, that Holles challenged Ireton in the House, from whence they went to have fought, but were prevented by the interposition of one of the members, who had overheard them. Ludlow, in confirmation of this account, says, that Mr. Holles, thinking some expressions used by Ireton, respecting himself and others of the secluded members, to be injurious to them, passing by him in the House, whispered him in the ear, telling him it was false, and that he would justify it to be so, if he would follow him; and thereupon immediately went out of the House, with the other following him: that some members who had observed their passionate carriage to each other, and seen them hastily leaving the House, acquainted the House with their apprehensions; whereupon they sent their serjeant at arms to command their attendance, which letting them understand as they were taking boat to go to the other side of the water, they returned, and the House enjoined them to forbear all words or actions of enmity towards each other, which they promised to do. These two relations must be deemed of themselves a sufficient contradiction of Lord Clarendon's narrative of this transaction; nor is it probable that Mr.

Holles would have omitted to mention this affair with the circumstances related by His Lordship, so creditable to his own courage and disgraceful to Ireton, had His Lordship's account been correct.

This misunderstanding of Holles and Ireton would not have been here noticed, but for the purpose of showing the small degree of credit to which these narratives are entitled, where they are manifestly introduced for the sole purpose of vilifying and destroying those characters that were most obnoxious to the writers, and of building upon the ruins of them their own fabricated histories, to serve a party purpose.

## CHAPTER XII.

*Ludlow's observations upon his account of Cromwell's conduct at a meeting for the endeavouring a reconciliation of the presbyterians and independents, about the time of the Scots' preparations for invading England, in performance of their treaty with the King. — Whitelock's observations upon the proceedings of the republicans to bring the King to trial. — Private meetings of Whitelock and others, with Cromwell and others, to endeavour a settlement of the affairs of the nation, subsequent to the termination of the treaty of Newport, and before the trial of the King, which was not the subject of their deliberation. — Considerations of that measure, and upon the King's denial of the jurisdiction of the High Court of Justice, and the observations thereon of Rapin, Judge Blackstone, and others.*

Ludlow, referring to the Scots' preparations for raising an army, in pursuance of their treaty with the King, wherein, he says, the presbyterians and cavaliers joined, though with different designs; says, that in the mean time Lieutenant-general Cromwell, not forgetting himself, procured a meeting of divers leading men amongst the presbyterians and independents, both members of parliament and ministers, at a dinner in Westminster, under pretence of endeavouring a reconciliation between the two parties; but that he found it a work too difficult for him, to compose the differences between these two ecclesiastical interests; one of which would endure no superior, the other no equal; so that this meeting produced no effect: that he contrived another conference to be held in King-street, (he does not say when, seldom giving dates,) between those called the grandees of the House and army, and the commonwealth's men; in which the grandees, of whom Lieutenant-general Cromwell was the head, kept themselves in the clouds, and would not declare their judgments either for a monarchical, aristocratical, or democratical government; maintaining that any of them might be good in themselves, or for

them, according as Providence should direct them: that the common wealth's men declared that monarchy was neither good in itself nor for us: that it was not desirable in itself, they urged from the 8th chapter and 8th verse of the first book of Samuel, where the rejection of the judges and the choice of a king was charged upon the Israelites by God himself as a rejection of him; and from another passage in the same book, where Samuel declares it to be a great wickedness; with divers more texts of Scripture to the same effect: and that it was no way conducing to the interest of this nation, was endeavoured to be proved by the infinite mischiefs and oppressions we had suffered under it and by it: that, indeed, our ancestors had consented to be governed by a single person, but with this proviso, — that he should govern according to the direction of the law, which he always bound himself by oath to perform: that the King had broken this oath, and thereby dissolved our allegiance, protection and obedience being reciprocal: that, having appealed to the sword for the decision of the things in dispute, and thereby caused the effusion of a deluge of the people's blood, it seemed to be a duty incumbent upon the representatives of the people, to call him to an account for the same; more especially, since the controversy was determined by the same means which he had chosen; and then, to proceed to the establishment of an equal common wealth, founded upon the consent of the people, and providing for the rights and liberties of all men, that we might have the hearts and hands of the nations to support it, as being most just, and in all respects most conducing to the happiness and prosperity thereof: that, notwithstanding what was said, Lieutenant-general Cromwell, not for want of conviction, but in hopes to make a better bargain with another party, professed himself unresolved; and having learned what he could, of the principles and inclinations of those present, at the conference, took up a cushion and flung it at his (Ludlow's) head, and then ran down the stairs; but he overtook him with another, which made him hasten down faster than he desired: that the next day, passing by him (Ludlow) in the House, he told him he was convinced of the desirableness of what was pro-

posed, but not of the feasibleness of it; thereby, as he (Ludlow) supposed, designing to encourage him to hope that he was inclined to join with them, though unwilling to publish his opinion, lest the grandees should be informed of it, to whom he (Ludlow) presumed he professed himself to be of another judgment. Ludlow thus takes upon himself to attribute Cromwell's irresolution to base motives; but it is generally allowed that he always hesitated about bringing the King to trial; nor is it probable he should communicate this supposed alteration in his sentiments in so loose a way; nor was Ludlow likely to be his confidant in a disclosure of so much importance, of whom he does not appear upon other occasions to have had a very high opinion, though Ludlow seems anxious to have it otherwise supposed. Nothing in these passages from Ludlow criminate Cromwell, who at the first meeting was very properly endeavouring to reconcile the presbyterian and independent parties, who were destroying the common cause by their animosities; but which he found impracticable. His object at the second meeting appears to have been to hear the sentiments of the different parties, to enable him and those acting with him, to determine the best measures to be taken upon consideration of all their reasonings in the then very momentous crisis. Cromwell appears to have long continued in doubt, (Ludlow says he was unresolved,) and therefore carefully avoided giving any opinion at these meetings; and probably purposely terminated this last meeting in the odd way mentioned by Ludlow, to avoid further and more serious discussion.

And now, says Whitelock, (about the 23d of December,) was a sharp debate in the parliament about bringing the great delinquents of the kingdom to speedy punishment; and now, adds he, was set on foot and begun their great design of taking away the King, whom divers in the debate did not stick to name for the greatest delinquent, and to be proceeded against in justice: that others insisted upon it that he was not capable of being brought to justice by his subjects, but by God alone; and that having subdued him and his party, there was no need of any thing further, but to secure the parliament from their enemies'

rising against them any more; and that might be done without bringing the King to any judicial trial,—a thing not read of in any history. He does not even hint at Lord Clarendon's suggestion of assassination; nor is it credible that any one should dare to avow, or have the wickedness to entertain, such a thought; it is probably thrown out for the chance of encreasing the odium so desirable to be fixed upon the parties engaged in these transactions. But, says he, those of the fierce party prosecuted their design with all eagerness, and those of a contrary opinion, either durst not oppose, knowing they should be presently secluded the House if they did, or seeing that no opposition would be to any effect or purpose: that it was endeavoured wholly to have put the business upon the army, that if they would have the thing done, they should do it themselves, as most proper for such an irregular and unheard of business, to be done in an irregular way, and by such irregular men; but they were subtle enough to see and avoid that, and to make those whom they left sitting in the parliament to be their stales and to do their most dirty work for them: many of whom they found, and persuaded to be strangely forward to engage in it: insomuch, that it was carried by vote in the House of Commons to name a committee of thirty-eight persons, to consider of drawing up a charge; and for that purpose to receive all informations, and examinations of all witnesses for the matters of fact against the King, and all other delinquents that might be thought fit to be brought to condign punishment.

That Sir Thomas Widdrington and he (Whitelock), being together on the 26th of the same December, received a message from the committee, requiring them to come to them to advise them; but they resolving not to meddle in the business of the trial of the King, it being contrary to their judgment, went out of town to Whitelock's house. He gives an account of the proceedings preparatory to the trial: and adds, that on the morning of the 9th of January, Sir Thomas Widdrington and himself, by agreement, went into the House, the trial of the King being begun; that some looked very shy upon them, others bid them welcome, and seemed glad to see them. He then gives a particular account of

the trial, of the sentence, and of the execution; the same in substance with the accounts given by Lord Clarendon, Rushworth, and others.

It appears, however, certain, that subsequent to the termination of the treaty of Newport, there were many meetings of the principals of the different parties, to consider of the then critical state of the affairs of the nation. Whitelock mentions one of these meetings to have been on the 18th of December (1648). He says, that when the chancery business was over, Sir Thomas Widdrington and he went to the Rolls by appointment, where Lieutenant-general Cromwell and Colonel Dean met them; and with the Speaker, they had a long discourse together about the present affairs: and that then, another time was appointed by the Lieutenant-general for them to meet again and to consider and confer how the settlement of the kingdom might be best effected, and to join counsels for the public good: and that in the afternoon of the 21st of the same month there was another meeting of the Speaker, Cromwell, Sir Thomas Widdrington, and himself, when they discoursed freely about the present affairs, and actions of the army and the settlement of the kingdom: and that in the conclusion, Sir Thomas Widdrington and himself were desired to draw up some heads upon the discourse, to be considered by the same company: and that on the 22d Sir Thomas Widdrington and himself met, staid all the day together to draw some heads upon the preceding day's discourse, and to endeavour to bring the army into some fitter temper: that they were likewise desired to frame somewhat in order to the restitution of the secluded members, — for an answer for the army to the messages of the House to the army, touching their members under restraint, and heads for a declaration what the parliament intended for the settlement of the kingdom, to be considered of and offered to the parliament and council of the army. —This, proceeds Whitelock, was a work of no small difficulty and danger, yet at this time not to be declined by them; both the members of the House and chief officers of the army, having engaged and trusted them only therein: they prayed to God to direct them in it, and that nei-

ther of them might receive any prejudice, but that the kingdom might receive good by this their employment, and the courses of the army be moderated, (as it was in some measure at this time,) though it broke out again into violence afterwards.

It is here observable, that these two meetings appear to have been private meetings, at which only Cromwell and a very few more were present, for the express purpose of consulting upon the then state of the affairs of the nation, and upon the best settlement of the kingdom: and, Whitelock adds, that they discoursed freely thereof, and of the actions of the army; and that Sir Thomas Widdrington and he (they were then two of the commissioners of the great seal) were employed to form a plan thereon, and for the purpose of bringing the army into a better temper, and for the restoration of the secluded members, and of a declaration of the parliament's intention for the settlement of the kingdom; to be offered to the parliament and council of the army.

Also, that neither Ireton, or Ludlow, or Harrison, nor any others of the republican party were present; and that the Speaker, and Whitelock, and Widdrington, were adverse to the bringing the King to trial: and that this subject, therefore, could not form any part of Cromwell's consultations with them; that, on the contrary, it appears, that the actions of the army in excluding the members, and the means of preventing their carrying into effect their design of bringing the King to a trial; and a settlement of the kingdom in peace and security, were the real and only objects of this meeting: whether this settlement was to be with or without the King, does not appear; and hence it is to be fairly inferred that Cromwell did all he could to prevent this measure of bringing the King to trial, and to accomplish a settlement of the kingdom in some other way, not then having a view to his own advancement.

The same writer (Whitelock) mentions a meeting of the general council of the army on the same day (the 22d December), on which Sir Thomas Widdrington and himself met for the beforementioned purposes; at which the council, he says, had much

debate concerning the matters of religion, — relating to their new representation, and of the power of the representatives. — He adds, (under the date of the 23d of the same December,) that he and Sir Thomas Widdrington went together, according to appointment, to the Speaker's house: that there met them divers gentlemen of the House, and they consulted about settling the kingdom by the parliament, and not to leave all to the sword; and that Sir Thomas and he spake their minds freely to them; that some of them were wholly against any King at all, others were against having the present King, or his eldest, or second son to be King; others were for the third son, the Duke of Gloucester (who was among them, and might be educated as they should appoint), to be made King: that they came, after a long debate, to no resolution, but appointed to meet again on the next Monday: that the Commons sat on the 25th, though it was Christmas-day: — that the committee named to consider how to proceed in a way of justice against the King, were enjoined to meet on that afternoon; and a debate whether the secluded members should be admitted. — And to proceed to the consideration of the measure of bringing the King to a trial.

From the foregoing extracts from Rushworth, and from the Journals of the House of Commons, it appears, that the Commons, after the exclusion of the members, having rescinded the resolution of the House, "That the King's concessions to the parliament's propositions were a sufficient ground for the House to proceed upon for settling the peace of the kingdom;" and having voted his concessions at the Isle of Wight not satisfactory, and that no more addresses should be made to him, they proceeded to prepare a charge against him, and passed an ordinance for attainting him of high treason, and for trying him by commissioners: that they sent up this charge to the Lords for their concurrence, who, after much debate, postponed its further consideration, and adjourned; but, that the Commons, upon searching the Lords' journal book, finding that they had rejected it, resolved to proceed without them: and then came to the following reso-

lutions: — They declared it to be treason, by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, in the King for the time being to levy war against the parliament and kingdom of England; — the people, under God, to be the original of all just power: that the Commons of England in parliament, being chosen by, and representing the people, had the supreme power of the nation; and that all things declared by them to be law had the force of law, and all the people of the nation concluded thereby, without the concurrence of the King and House of Peers. And then, the ordinance of the Commons for the trial of the King was passed.

The King denying the authority of the court, they proceeded to pronounce the sentence.

The King's speech at the execution of the sentence does not appear to possess any particular merit: he insists upon his innocence, alleging that he did not begin the war, nor did ever intend to encroach on their privileges: that the parliament began upon the militia (army), after acknowledging it to be his, taking it from him; and that they began the troubles.

The King, in his declaration of his reasons for refusing to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the court, intended to have been delivered by him in court, but forbidden, proceeds to show the grounds of his confidence that they could not judge him, or the meanest man in England: that no proceeding could be just that was not warranted either by the laws of God, or by the municipal laws of the country: that this was not warranted by God's laws; for that, on the contrary, obedience unto Kings was clearly and strictly warranted and commanded both in the Old and New Testament: that there it is said, Where the word of a King is, there is power, and who may say unto him, what doest thou? Then for the law of the land, — that no impeachment can lie against a King, they all going in his name; and, one of the legal maxims is, that a King can do no wrong: that the law upon which these proceedings were grounded, must be either old or new; if old, show it; if new, tell what authority warranted by the fundamental laws of the land, hath made it, and when? that the House of Commons could not erect a court of justice, which was

not one itself: that admitting, but not granting, that the people's commission could grant this power, the question was never asked of the tenth man in the kingdom; and, in this way, the poorest ploughman was manifestly wronged, if his free consent not demanded; nor could any colour be pretended for this commission without the consent, at least of the major part of every man in England of whatsoever quality or condition; which was never sought.

Rapin, in his history of England, confining himself, he says, wholly to the kingdom of England, and supposing the constitution of the government such as it was, from the Conquest to Charles I., he should briefly set forth what had been said for and against so extraordinary a trial. In the first place, says he, it has been demanded — on what law, natural or positive, was founded the right assumed by the parliament of England to try the King? He proceeds,—the most plausible answer in vindication of the parliament's proceedings, is as follows: that, according to the constitution of the English government, the King is no less bound than the subject, to observe the laws to which himself or predecessors assented, which is the principal clause of the coronation-oath: that if this obligation be equal on both sides, there must be therefore equally means to cause them to discharge it, in case they neglect it: that as for the subject, there is no manner of difficulty; the penalties against offenders are universally known, and the courts of justice are appointed to inflict them: that it is true the laws had ordained no penalty upon Kings who discharge not their duty; as well out of respect to the regal dignity, as because it cannot be supposed, that the King, to whom the execution of the laws is committed, should be the first to break them, and betray the trust lodged in him by the people: that he is, nevertheless, bound to observe them himself, and cause them to be observed by the subject: that this is a principle generally acknowledged; but what is this obligation, if the observance of the laws depends solely on his will, and there be no just means to compel him to observe them, or punish him, when he breaks them? will it not be an empty sound without any meaning?

and will not the English government be as arbitrary as that of any other country in the world? That since, therefore, the laws have not decreed any penalty against a King that should neglect his duty, or the manner to constrain him to discharge it; and as, nevertheless, he is bound by the same laws to procure the observance thereof and to observe them himself, the nation's representative in parliament is, of course, to call him to an account, since it is not possible to imagine any other way: that, supposing the King to have violated the most fundamental laws of the realm, shall foreigners be applied to, to bring him to justice? Can it be supposed, contrary to experience, that the King is under an impossibility of breaking the fundamental laws of the kingdom, of endeavouring to subvert them, and of establishing an arbitrary government? will it be maintained that he may do it with impunity?—but, if he is assured of impunity, what difference is there between the English government and the most despotic; since its preservation will solely depend on the King's probity and will? If he runs no hazard in trying to alter the constitution, after ten attempts, he will try again, even until he succeeds: that as to the objection, that less violent means than war may be used to oblige the King to the observance of the laws, and less unjust and extraordinary than the taking away his life, to punish him for the breach of them, it is answered,—this is true; and the parliament had accordingly tried to secure the government by other methods, as by demanding of the King, that the power of the militia might be lodged in both Houses: that if the King had agreed to it, the realm would have been in peace, and the people's jealousies have ceased: but that he had taken up arms to prevent the parliament's using these means; a clear evidence that his design was to maintain himself in a condition to alter the government when he should have opportunity: that this unjust war had been the occasion of infinite mischiefs, of the death of thousands of his subjects, and the ruin of the rest; and that, if he was brought to a trial, it was not so much to punish him for violating the laws, as for preferring the unjust and violent way of arms before the expedients offered him to prevent his breaking them for the future.

Rapin proceeds, — That the advocates for the King say, that though the Kings of England have not so much authority in their realm as some other kings, it does not follow that they may be put upon a level with subjects, and made equally accountable for their actions: that the principle laid down for foundation, that there is an equal obligation upon the King and the subjects to observe the law is false, and consequently the whole reasoning founded thereon of no force; for that private persons being entrusted only with their own conduct, nothing can exempt them from the observance of the laws: but that the King being entrusted with the government of the state, and the execution of the laws, he has consequently power to qualify them on certain occasions, otherwise this trust would be to no purpose: that the laws could not foresee every thing, and that there are occasions where it is absolutely necessary for the public good to act contrary to them, or at least to suspend the observance of them, and that therefore the obligation of the King and the subject is not equal: that supposing the King had violated some of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and levied war against the parliament after the most unjust manner, it did not follow that he might be punished with death, by reason he has neither superior nor equal in the kingdom, and he could have none but subjects for his judges; besides that he was the fountain of justice, and it was absurd to make him liable to justice, from whom it flows and derives its whole authority: that supposing the chance of war had put him in the power of his enemies, he might have been detained in prison and prevented from doing mischief till he was prevailed with to grant all the securities required: but that there was a wide difference between imprisonment and death; as the first could be considered as a reasonable and necessary precaution, and the other as a punishment subjects were not empowered to inflict on their sovereign; as indeed the like had never been heard of.

The fore-mentioned arguments seem to comprise all that can be said on both sides of this very momentous question, and they certainly, either way, present great difficulties. One thing is clear, and worthy of observation, — that the King, to his last mo-

ment, adhered to the principle he brought with him to the throne, that of passive obedience and non-resistance: this he distinctly avows in his above declaration; and upon this principle he must, as hath been before observed, have considered all the opposition of his subjects from the beginning of his reign to have been nothing short of absolute rebellion; nor can there be a doubt, from the various circumstances disclosed in the histories of these times that he always, in his several treaties with them, so considered them; consequently that he would feel himself under no obligation to adhere to his engagements with them longer than might suit his convenience. — The parliament was well aware of his adherence to this principle, and never thought they could obtain from him sufficient security against the breach of any treaties he might make with them.

There seems, however, much weight in the objections of the King to the right claimed by the Commons to erect the High Court of Justice. — It doth not seem that both Houses, perfectly complete, could do it: the Commons were chosen to represent the people in parliament, the King being then one of the constituent parts. The King being absent, and the House of Lords in effect dissolved, and the Commons, by force and otherwise, much reduced from their original and proper number, it should seem that, for this particular purpose of forming a competent court for the trial of the King, resort should have been then again had to the people for their special authority for the formation of such court, supposing the people at large to have been competent to give such authority. The then Commons' resolutions in favour of the people's, or of their own power, could not make that to be law, which was not already so. By the laws of this country, every one has a right to be tried by his equals; the King could not be tried by his equals, and his judges were his subjects, supposed to be aggrieved, consequently not impartial or unprejudiced; this was placing the King in a worse condition than the meanest of his people. The King's case has been compared to a trustee, his people the objects of his trust. Upon a breach of his trust, the people, it has been said, had a right to

resume the trust and punish the trustee, as in the case of other trustees; but this does not apply to the King's case, because in the common case of unfaithful trustees, they are not amenable to the persons by whom they are entrusted, but to a court of judicature; and their default will be triable by an impartial judge, or by a jury of their equals. If this reasoning be just, it does not appear that, according to the laws or constitution of this country, a court of judicature could be instituted for the trial of the King, and consequently that the High Court of Justice was not legally competent thereto; therefore that the King was correct in denying its jurisdiction.

But this is a deep and solemn subject, not lightly or unnecessarily to be discussed. Judge Blackstone in his Commentaries, treating of the revolution, and the declaration of the vacancy of the throne by the Lords and Commons, in consequence of the King's abdication, says — "Whenever a question arises between the society at large and any magistrate vested with powers originally delegated by that society, it must be decided by the voice of the society itself: there is not upon earth any other tribunal to resort to. And that these consequences were fairly deduced from those facts, (the abdication of the throne, &c.) our ancestors have solemnly determined in a full parliamentary convention representing the whole society: that the reasons upon which they decided, may be found at large in the parliamentary proceedings of the times; and may be matter of instructive amusement for us to contemplate as a speculative point of history." But, adds he, "care must be taken not to carry this enquiry farther, than merely for instruction or amusement: that the idea, that the consciences of posterity were concerned in the rectitude of their ancestors' decisions, gave birth to those dangerous political heresies which so long distracted the state, but at length are all happily extinguished. I therefore rather choose to consider this great political measure upon the solid footing of authority, rather than to reason in its favour from its justice, moderation, and expedience: because that might imply a right of dissenting or revolting from it, in case we should think it to have been

unjust, oppressive, or inexpedient. Whereas our ancestors having most indisputably a competent jurisdiction to decide this great and important question, and having in fact decided it, it is now become our duty at this distance of time to acquiesce in their determination; being born under that establishment which was built upon this foundation, and obliged by every tie, religious as well as civil, to maintain it." He adds, "while we rest this fundamental transaction in point of authority, upon grounds the least liable to cavil, we are bound both in justice and gratitude to add, that it was conducted with a temper and moderation which naturally arose from its equity; that, however, it might in some respects go beyond the letter of our ancient laws, it was agreeable to the spirit of our constitution and the rights of human nature."

The same writer observes, "That the supposition of law is, that neither the King nor either House of Parliament (collectively taken) is capable of doing any wrong; since in such cases, the law feels itself incapable of furnishing any adequate remedy. For which reason all oppression, which may happen to spring from any branch of the sovereign power, must necessarily be out of the reach of any stated rule or express legal provision: but that if ever they unfortunately happen, the prudence of the times must provide new remedies upon new emergencies: that it is found by experience, that whenever the unconstitutional oppressions, even of the sovereign power, advance with gigantic strides, and threaten desolation to a state, mankind will not be reasoned out of the feelings of humanity; nor will sacrifice their liberty by a scrupulous adherence to those political maxims which were originally established to preserve it."

Had King James the Second stood his ground, not vacating as he did, the throne by his own act, and been made prisoner, the two cases of himself and King Charles the First would have closely approached each other; and the difficulties of proceedings would have been probably very similar.

Upon these transactions, the best and wisest men have held different opinions; which should mitigate the severity with which

the writers on the King's part have chosen to express themselves respecting those who were concerned in bringing forward the great and dreadful catastrophe. These writers seem delighted with the terms regicides and murderers, and similar opprobrious epithets, not doing them the justice to allow that they acted upon principles they thought legal and right, however erroneous those principles might be; nor allowing for the confusion and terror by which the whole nation was then agitated. Most of those of the King's judges who were brought to trial, appear to have been religious professors, and the irreproachableness of their moral characters and conduct in private life, afford strong grounds for believing that they were really religious persons. They must have been legally advised they were right, and their defence, made twelve years afterwards, affording ample time for consideration and repentance, shows them to have continued in the same mind; and even in the moment of expiring life under the most cruel sentence, inflicted with the most unrelenting and strict severity, and which they underwent with the most patient and religious fortitude, they expressed no contrition; on the contrary, they justified the part they had taken to their last moments. These circumstances certainly do not prove them to have acted legally right, but they do prove their continued, unabated conviction of the rectitude of their own conduct and motives. They appear to have entered seriously and solemnly upon the measure. Rushworth says that the officers at the head-quarters at Windsor had serious councils, and days spent wholly in prayer for direction of their proceedings. Lord Clarendon (though sarcastically) observes that the preliminaries to these conferences were always fastings and prayers, made by Cromwell or Ireton, or some other inspired person, as most of the officers were. Mrs. Hutchinson says, that Colonel Hutchinson, although he was very much confirmed in his judgment concerning the cause, yet here, being called to an extraordinary action, whereof many were of several minds, he addressed himself to God by prayer, desiring the Lord that if, through any human frailty, he were led into any error or false opinion in these great transactions, he would open

his eyes and not suffer him to proceed, but that he would confirm his spirit in the truth, and lead him by a right enlightened conscience: and that finding no check, but a confirmation in his conscience, that it was his duty to act as he did; he, upon serious debate, both privately, and in his addresses to God, and in conferences with conscientious, upright, and unbiassed persons, proceeded to sign the sentence against the King: that though he did not then believe but it might one day come to be again disputed among men, yet both he and others thought they could not refuse it without giving up the people of God, whom they had led forth and engaged themselves unto by the oath of God, into the hands of God's and their enemies: and that therefore he cast himself upon God's protection, acting according to the dictates of a conscience which he had sought the Lord to guide; and accordingly the Lord did signalise his favour afterwards to him. Whitelock, who was no fanatic or enthusiast nor did he approve of the trial of the King, speaking of the forementioned meetings with Cromwell and others to consider of the then critical affairs of the nation, and of their reference to him and Sir Thomas Widdrington, to prepare a declaration, &c. describes themselves as praying to God to direct them therein. All these circumstances do certainly prove the anxiety of these persons to do right, and that they were actuated by conscientious motives in all these their proceedings regarding the King, though they might be, and indeed it is conceived were, mistaken in their judgments of the legality of the action. All this is to be said to be hypocritical; but assertion is not proof; their consistency, sobriety, and regularity, show the falsehood of this charge. Supposing them to have been mistaken in their judgments respecting their legal right to bring the King to a trial, yet, murderers they cannot properly be called, unless some premeditated malice could be proved against them, of which there is no appearance. The judges of the High Court of Justice (as it is called) were not answerable for their president's treatment of the King, which appears to have been harsh and unfeeling towards a fallen sovereign; nor were they answerable for the cruel and indecent

behaviour of some of the soldiers and populace; and there is no evidence of their countenancing it; and they, the judges, except the president, appear to have been silent through the trial. The King was respectfully treated to his last moment, and his remains were carefully attended to. Dr. Bates, pursuing his then become favourite object, of blackening Cromwell's memory, represents him as causing the coffin to be opened, and curiously viewing the body, and disturbing it; and that it was delivered to a rascally quack physician for embalming. Lord Clarendon, with his usual severity upon these occasions, describes his murderers as causing his body to be opened, which, he says, they did, as if from mere cruel and wanton curiosity; when he must be well aware that the embalming, which he mentions a few lines afterwards, rendered opening necessary. To cursory, willing readers, loose assertions answer such writers' purposes. But Rushworth relates, that after having been embalmed, the King's remains were delivered to four of his servants, who removed them to Windsor, where, in the Dean's hall, they lay in state, and were then deposited in a royal vault, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, and the Earls of Southampton and Lindsay attending the funeral; for the expense whereof five hundred pounds were voted by the parliament, and the management thereof committed to the Duke of Richmond. This account agrees with the journals of the House of Commons. The House, it there appears, on the 8th of February approved of Windsor to be the place of interment, and the funeral to be on the following day, and the above noblemen and Dr. Juxon to attend the funeral with three servants a-piece; and left it to the Duke of Richmond to take order for the place of the King's burial, either in Henry the Eighth's Chapel, or the choir there; the circumstances and manner of the interment to be wholly left to the Duke of Richmond; the committee to provide money for defraying the charges of the funeral, not exceeding five hundred pounds; and an order was given on the preceding 1st of February, to provide two chambers to be hung with black for the Duke of Gloucester. This account of the attention of the parliament to the proper and respectful interment of the remains of the King,

is confirmed by a late discovery of the place of interment. It appears that, in the month of April, 1813, on the day before the interment of the Duchess of Brunswick, our present King's sister, in the new vault in St. George's Chapel at Windsor, two ancient coffins were found, the one of lead, the other of stone; the leaden coffin was opened in the presence of the Prince Regent (Prince of Wales), and was found to contain the Body of the King in perfect preservation. The stone coffin was also opened, which, from its inscription, was found to contain the remains of King Henry VIII., only the scull and principal limb-bones. A publication, in the year 1792, entitled The Secret History of the Court and Reign of King Charles the Second, perhaps of no great authority, attempts to account for King Charles II. not interring these remains with all solemnity at Westminster, before the state-triumph on his own account, by alleging, that after the strictest search, they could not be found, there being no mark that might lead to the discovery of the particular place of interment; all the wainscot, railing, and partitions in the church belonging to Windsor Castle, having been broken down by the garrison during the civil wars, and all the monuments defaced before the royal body was conveyed thither by Cromwell's order: that this was the true reason of the solemnity not taking place, but that this not being made public, the omission of such a testimony of reverence for the late King, was ascribed to a variety of other causes there assigned. Whether the words " by Cromwell's order," are meant to convey the idea of the King's remains being conveyed to this place of interment by his order, or to the destruction of the wainscot, and other articles in the church by him, does not certainly appear from the mode of expression used by this writer; but nothing can be more clear, than that Cromwell had no individual concern in the interment, nor is it probable, that he had any concern in the destruction of the church, if the fact of such destruction were true, because he never appears to have done any thing of the kind intentionally.

Lord Clarendon, in reference to the circumstances of the interment, describes the alterations and mutilations above-mentioned,

rendering it impossible to discover where our princes had used to be interred. That at last a fellow of the town undertook to tell them the place where, he said, there was a vault in which King Henry VIII. and Queen Jane Seymour were interred: that as near that place as could conveniently be, they caused the grave to be made. That His Lordship had been thus particular, because the King (Charles II.) had not re-interred his father's remains, which was expected to have been done with great solemnity; and for the omission whereof the King and his ministers had been reflected on with some severity. His Lordship assigns the reason, that after the most diligent search, the place of interment could not be found. This account is not correct in every particular: the vault of Henry VIII. certainly was found, because the King's remains are now discovered in that vault, and not near it, as His Lordship describes. The forementioned order of the Commons rendered it certain, that the place of interment must have been in Henry the Eighth's chapel, or the choir there; and it seems impossible, that those who, at the Restoration, searched for it, could have done it with due diligence, or with a very anxious desire to find it; for, by digging over the whole place, they could not have missed it. Whether for any of the reasons that have been surmised, or any others, the King did not wish to show this respect of re-interment to his father's remains, must continue matter of conjecture and uncertainty.

Mr. Hume, in addition to all the above misrepresentations, asserts, from Walker's History of Independency, that the King was placed in a situation to be disturbed by the erection of the scaffold. He says, the King slept sound as usual, though the noise of the workmen employed in framing the scaffold, and other preparations for his execution, continually resounded in his ears. The writer of the Lives of the regicides implicitly follows him in the same assertion. This is a manifest misrepresentation in Mr. Hume; for Rushworth says expressly, that the sentence was pronounced on Saturday the 27th of January; that the King remained at Whitehall all that day, and the whole of the following

day, Sunday the 28th: that he was removed to St. James's Palace on Monday the 29th, and that not till that day was the place of suffering determined on and ordered; consequently the scaffold could not be begun till after the King's removal to St. James's, which was probably early; therefore his repose could not be thus disturbed, nor his feelings violated by this, as it would have been, most inhuman proceeding: it is probable he was thus removed for the very purpose of avoiding this distressing circumstance. In confirmation of this removal, he (Rushworth) proceeds to state, that on the following day, the 30th, the King was conducted from St. James's to Whitehall, the place determined on, walking through the park, guarded by a regiment of foot, his private guard of partizans, with some of his gentlemen before and some behind, bareheaded, and Bishop Juxon next him. And both Whitelock and Ludlow, and also Lord Clarendon, mention this latter circumstance of the King going from St. James's: so also does Colonel Tomlinson, in his evidence on the trial of Colonel Hacker. Sir Philip Warwick says the King was brought to St. James's on the Saturday noon, which, if correct, increases the proof of the impossibility of his being incommoded by the preparations, which could not, as has been shown, commence till Monday after determining the place of suffering. In either case, the King's nights' repose could not have been thus disturbed. Sir Philip says the Bishop was not admitted to the King till Sunday evening: Rushworth expressly says the Bishop preached before the King in his private lodgings in Whitehall on the Sunday: he, or Sir Philip, must therefore be mistaken in the time of the King's removal, and of his admission to the King: but this is immaterial; enough has been shown to prove the falsehood of the statement of the alleged inhuman disturbance of the King's repose in his approach to his last moments.

These circumstances, trivial as they may appear, show the small reliance to be placed on the statements of party writers, when misrepresentation best suits their purpose.

Lord Clarendon, at the conclusion of his account of the death

of the King, says, that it was most certain, that in that very hour that he was thus wickedly murdered in the sight of the sun, he had as great a share in the hearts and affections of his subjects in general — was as much beloved, esteemed, and longed for by the people in general of the three nations, as any of his predecessors had ever been. To conclude: — that he was the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best Christian that the age in which he lived produced: and, that if he was not the greatest king — if he were without some parts and qualities which have made some kings great and happy, no other prince was ever unhappy, who was possessed of half his virtues and endowments, and so much without any kind of vice.

The King, says Bishop Burnet, showed a calm and composed firmness, which amazed all people; and that so much the more, because it was not natural to him: that it was imputed to a very extraordinary measure of supernatural assistance: that Bishop Juxon did the duty of his function honestly, but with a dry coldness that could not raise the King's thoughts; so that it was owing wholly to somewhat within himself that he went through so many indignities with so much true greatness, without disorder or any sort of affectation. Thus, adds the bishop, he died greater than he had lived; and showed that which has been often observed of the whole race of the Stewarts, that they bore misfortunes better than prosperity: that his reign, both in peace and war, was a continual series of errors; so that it does not appear that he had a true judgment of things: that he was out of measure set on following his humour, but unreasonably feeble to those whom he trusted, chiefly to the Queen: that he had too high a notion of the regal power, and thought that every opposition to it was rebellion: that he minded little things too much, and was more concerned in drawing a paper than in fighting a battle: that he had a firm aversion to popery, but was much inclined to a middle way between protestants and papists, by which he lost the one without gaining the other. In another place the bishop says, he (the King) loved high and rough methods, but had

neither the skill to conduct them, nor the height of genius to manage them: that he hated all that offered prudent and moderate counsels, which he thought flowed from a meanness of spirit and a care to preserve themselves by sacrificing his authority, or from republican principles; and that even when he saw it was necessary to follow such advices, he hated those that gave them.

## CHAPTER XIII.

*Consideration of the proofs of Cromwell's reluctance to bring the King to trial. — Observations upon the evidence upon the trial of the King's judges brought forward to prove the contrary. — Upon Lord Clarendon's account of Cromwell's supposed cruelties in his capture of Drogheda (Tredagh) by storm. — Defence of his conduct in and after the battle of Worcester. — Defence of Ireton. — Observations upon Whitelock's account of meeting to consider of a settlement of the nation. — Also of conversation between Cromwell and himself, wherein Cromwell proposes the question, "What if a man should take upon himself to be a king?" — Consideration of the state of the parties, and of the public affairs of the nation after the conclusion of the war by the surrender of Oxford and of other the King's remaining garrisons, the unsuccessful termination of the treaty of Newport, and the death of the King, to the death of Cromwell.*

Cromwell certainly very reluctantly concurred in the measure of the trial of the King. His sincerity in the negociation for his restoration upon moderate terms, and his assistance in favouring the King's escape from Hampton-court, and placing him in a state of personal freedom to quit the kingdom, cannot reasonably be doubted. The insincerity he discovered in the King in the treaty, and the threats of the agitators, who appear to have comprehended the greatest part of the army, alarmed him, and satisfied him that he could be of no further service to the King than to facilitate his escape; and it was the King's own fault that he did not avail himself of the opportunity afforded him.

Dr. Harris, in his anxiety to place Cromwell at the bottom of all these proceedings of bringing the King to a trial, takes upon himself to say, that Cromwell had a principal hand in all these transactions; and, in proof of his assertion, quotes from Walker's History of Independency the following passage: — "When it was first moved in the House of Commons to proceed capitally against the King, Cromwell stood up and told them, that if any man moved this upon design, he should think him the greatest

traitor in the world; but since Providence and necessity had cast them upon it, he should pray God to bless their counsels, though he were not provided on the sudden to give them counsel." This speech does not appear in Rushworth or Lord Clarendon, or in Ludlow, Whitelock, or Mrs. Hutchinson; and its authenticity is not to be relied on. But, supposing Cromwell really to have thus said, it, instead of supporting the doctor's opinions, surely proves the truth of what has been before said,—that the determination to bring the King to a trial did not originate with Cromwell, and that he even then had not made up his mind to it, or formed a decided opinion upon the measure: and Neal, in his History of the Puritans, gives the same passage from Dugdale, as a proof of Cromwell's indetermination, introducing it with these words, — "This unheard of motion met with some opposition even in that packed assembly; Oliver Cromwell was in doubt, and said, if any man, &c." These passages are probably taken the one from the other, and prove nothing in support of their veracity. He (Dr. Harris) allows that Bishop Burnet says, that Ireton was the person that drove it on; for that Cromwell was all the while in some suspense about it: he (Burnet) adds, that Ireton had the principles and the temper of a Cassius in him; he stuck at nothing that might have turned England to a commonwealth. Still, notwithstanding all this evidence in confutation of his assertion, he (Dr. Harris) persists in it: accordingly, he next produces the account the bishop gives, communicated to him by Lieutenant-general Drummond, afterwards Lord Strathallan: the bishop says, that the general served on the King's side, but had many friends amongst those who were for the covenant; that the King's affairs being then ruined, he was recommended to Cromwell, who was then in treaty with the Spanish ambassador, respecting some regiments to be levied and sent over from Scotland to Flanders: that he happened to be with Cromwell when the commissioners, sent from Scotland to protest against the putting the King to death, came to argue the matter with him: that Cromwell bid the general stay and hear their conference: that they began in a heavy languid style to lay indeed great loads upon

the King, but that they still insisted on that clause in the covenant, by which they swore they would be faithful in the preservation of His Majesty's person; showing upon what terms Scotland, as well as the two Houses, had engaged in the war, and what solemn declarations of their zeal and duty to the King they had all along published, which would now appear to the scandal and reproach of the Christian name, to have been false pretences, if, when the King was in their power, they should proceed to extremities: that Cromwell thereupon entered into a long discourse of the nature of the regal power, according to the principles of Mariana and Buchanan: he thought a breach of trust ought to be punished more than any other crime whatsoever: he said, as to their covenant, they swore to the preservation of the King's person in defence of the true religion; if, then, it appeared that the settlement of the true religion was obstructed by the King, so that they could not come at it but by putting him out of the way, then their oath could not bind them to the preserving him any longer: that their covenant did bind them to bring all malignants, incendiaries, and enemies to the cause to condign punishment; and was not this to be executed impartially? what were all those on whom public justice had been done, especially those who suffered for joining Montrose, but small offenders, acting by commission from the King, who was therefore the principal and so the most guilty. The bishop adds, that Drummond said Cromwell had plainly the better of them at their own weapons and upon their own principles. The bishop does not give any date to this account; but this interview with the Scots' commissioners being before the King's death, the above particulars must have been related more than twelve years afterwards, after the Restoration in 1660; and having been given from memory, its accuracy cannot be entirely relied on. Nevertheless the substance may be true, and probably is so, but it does not support Dr. Harris's assertion, that these transactions originated with Cromwell, and that he had a principal hand in them; it only proves that he, at the time of the above interview, had determined upon the part he should take in the King's trial.

Dr. Harris then proceeds with his proofs: he says, from a publication called, "The Exact and Perfect Narrative of the Trial of the Regicides," that on the 21st January, 1648, Hugh Peters preaching at Whitehall upon the passage, "Bind your kings with chains, and your nobles in fetters of iron," and talking in his bold manner concerning the King's being liable to the law, as well as other men, Cromwell was observed to laugh. From the same authority he says, — and when, on the motion of Mr. Downes, on the last day of the trial, the court adjourned into the court of wards and was pressed in the most pathetic terms by him to give the King liberty to make some proposition to the parliament for the settlement of the kingdom, as His Majesty had in court just before desired; that after Mr. Downes had urged this, Cromwell did answer with a great deal of storm: that he told the president, that now he saw what great reason the gentlemen had to put such a great trouble upon them, saith he, sure he doth not know that he hath to do with the hardest-hearted man that lives upon the earth: that however it was not fit that the court should be hindered from their duty by one peevish man: that the bottom was known, that I (meaning Downes) would fain save his old master, and desired the court would, without any more ado, go and do their duty. From the same authority, he describes Mr. Wayte, another of the King's judges, as saying, that Cromwell laughed and jeered and smiled in the court of wards on this occasion: that he (Wayte) being told by the Lord Grey that the King would not die, the next day he went to the House; they were labouring to get hands for his execution, at the door: I, says he, refused, and went into the House: saith Cromwell, "Those that are gone in shall set their hands; I will have their hands now." He (Dr. Harris) proceeds,—Colonel Ingoldesby was a relation of Cromwell, and named a judge; but disliking the action, he always absented himself; but that the day after the sentence was pronounced, having occasion to go to the painted chamber, he saw Cromwell and the rest of those who had sat upon the King, and were then, as he found afterwards, assembled to sign the warrant for the King's death: that as soon as Cromwell's

eyes were upon him, he ran to him, and taking him by the hand, drew him by force to the table, and said, though he had escaped him all the while before, he should now sign that paper as well as they; which he, seeing what it was, refused with great passion, saying, he knew nothing of the business, and offered to go away; but that Cromwell and others held him by violence; and Cromwell, with a loud laughter, taking his hand in his, and putting the pen between his fingers with his own hand, writ Richard Ingoldesby, he making all the resistance he could. The same writer proceeds, — that Colonel Huncks (who was a witness against Colonel Axtell) declared, at his (Axtell's) trial, that a little before the King's execution he was in Ireton's bedchamber, where Ireton and Harrison were in bed together; there was Cromwell, Colonel Hacker, Lieutenant-colonel Phayer, Axtell, and himself, standing at the door: that the warrant for the execution was there produced, and Mr. Hacker was reading it, but Cromwell addressed himself to him (Huncks), commanding him, by virtue of that warrant, to draw up an order for the executioner. "I refused it," adds he; "and upon refusing it, there happened some cross passages; Cromwell would have no delay: there was a little table that stood by the door, and pen, ink, and paper being there, Cromwell stepped and writ; (I conceive he wrote that which he would have had me to write;) as soon as he had done writing, he gives the pen over to Hacker; Hacker, he stoops and did write, (I cannot say what he writ;) away goes Cromwell, and then Axtell; we all went out; afterwards they went into another room; immediately the King came out and was murdered." Then follows, in the same writer (Dr. Harris), the following relation, which, says he (if it had not been contrary to Huncks's account), is of too doubtful an authority to be absolutely relied on, though in a work of this nature it cannot well be omitted. This relation appears to be taken from Perinchief's Life of Charles the First. It is as follows:—"While these things were acting, (the fitting the scaffold for the King's execution,) the Lord Fairfax, who had always forborne any public appearance in the practices of this murder, had taken up (as is credibly re-

ported) some resolutions (either in abhorrency of the crime, or by the solicitations of others) with his own regiment, though none else should follow him, to hinder the execution: that this being suspected or known, Cromwell, Ireton, and Harrison, coming to him, after their usual way of deceiving, endeavoured to persuade him that the Lord had rejected the King, and with such-like language as they knew had formerly prevailed upon him; concealing that they had, that very morning, signed the warrant for the assassination: they also desired him with them to seek the Lord by prayer, that they might know his mind in the thing; which he assenting to, Harrison was appointed for the duty, and by compact to draw out his prophane and blasphemous discourse to God in such a length as might give time for the execution, which they privately sent their instrument to hasten; of which, when they had notice that it was passed, they rose up, and persuaded the general that this was a full return of prayer; and God having so manifested his pleasure they were to acquiesce in it. These passages," adds this writer (Dr. Harris), "are, I think, sufficient to show the part Cromwell had in this affair, though," says he, "after all, Burnet asserts, that Ireton was the person that drove it on; for that Cromwell was all the while in some suspense about it.

It is conceived that enough has been already said to prove, that the seclusion of the members, and the subsequent determination to bring the King to trial, did not originate with, or was pressed forward by Cromwell; and that he was, on the contrary, long undetermined. What induced him finally to concur with those who brought it forward, whether his conviction of the necessity of the measure, aided by, perhaps, some degree of personal apprehension from the army, or from what other cause, does not now appear. The above further circumstances, brought forward by Dr. Harris in support of his persisted-in assertion of Cromwell having a principal hand in these transactions, must be considered.

The preceding relations respecting Peters, Downs, and Wayte, are from their respective trials, and from the trial of Colonel

Axtell; and are to be found in the publication of the State Trials of those times.

The first, Cromwell's alleged laughing during Hugh Peters's sermon; — this is considered good evidence of his approval of the measure: but it is, in the first place, hardly to be credited that such a trivial circumstance, if it did really happen, should be remembered twelve years afterwards: then, even supposing Cromwell to have then approved the measure, he must have considered it a grave and awful one, and not the subject of laughter: if he really smiled, it could be only at some of those quaint things that such an eccentric man as Peters was likely to say in the course of his sermon, or it might arise from some thought that might cross his own mind, not connected with the sermon: and then, admitting the truth of this laughter or smile, the particular moment is not, nor could be ascertained, to justify the application thereof to the particular parts of the sermon that immediately related to the King's then situation, and so in proof of Cromwell's approbation of the transaction: but any the most trifling circumstance, even a turn of his countenance, is to receive a construction favourable to the great object of these party writers,—the crimination of Cromwell. Then, upon what evidence rests the fact, that Peters did preach that sermon, or, if he did, that Cromwell was present at it: it rests wholly upon the credit of witnesses called to prove it, who relate, with incredible minuteness, the passages of sermons that had been preached more than twelve years before: and this is the more extraordinary, as they appear to be persons of ordinary conditions, and probably illiterate; also to have been very willing and forward, and doubtless instructed and well-tutored witnesses: and Peters, at his trial, positively denies that he preached those things.

Downes, in his defence, endeavoured to convince the court that he was an advocate for the King, but that he was violently overruled and intimidated by Cromwell. He describes himself as starting up, upon the clerk beginning to read the sentence, and declaring aloud his dissatisfaction, and desiring the adjournment of the court to hear him: that the president declaring, that if

any one of the court were unsatisfied, the court must adjourn: it accordingly did adjourn into the inner court of wards; and that he was there called upon by Cromwell to account for his putting the court to this trouble and disturbance: that he thereupon declared he desired not the King's death, but his life; and that the nation might be settled in peace: he then proceeded to state his reasonings with the court thereon. Then follows, in the State Trials, the passage cited by Harris, containing Cromwell's reply. Then he (Downes) adds, he went into the Speaker's chamber, where he eased his heart with tears. He concludes, saying, that he had an unhappy memory, and that he had slipped many things. He seems to have remembered, at this distance of twelve years, very minutely, enough for his purpose, but to have forgotten a very material circumstance, his signing and sealing the warrant for the King's execution. The court reminding him of this circumstance, he said he did not know how to reconcile that with what he had before said, he was totally at a loss, but he refers it to the violence of the soldiers, not a man daring either to disown or speak against them; that he was threatened with his very life by one that had received his reward. He was condemned, but his sentence was remitted, and he died in prison. Not the least reliance can be had upon this account; the whole of it must be a fabrication to save his own life: he brings forward no evidence to prove any part of it, or that he had at any time afterwards, during the twelve years that had since elapsed, expressed his contrition, or given this account to any one.

Wayte's account is equally improbable. In addition to the part of his defence referring to the force he alleges to have been put upon him by Cromwell, he says, he came to London the day before the sentence was given; that he went to the House, (thought nothing,) some were sent to the Tower, and he was sent for to the House, and his name was in the act, unknown to him: that a note was sent to him in Lord Grey's name, that he would speak to him; that he went to him, and asked him what His Lordship would do with him; that His Lordship said he did not send for him, and that Cromwell and Ireton laid hold on him, saying, they

sent for him, that he was one of the High Court; no, said he, not he, his judgment was against it: that they took him to the court. He adds, that when the King desired to speak with his parliament, he (Wayte) rising up, one told him he must not be heard, for that the president was to give judgment, and that there was an order that none speak in court: that Mr. Downes moved, and the court was adjourned, and he was glad he got out: that Cromwell laughed and smiled, and jeered in the court of wards.

Instead of coming to town so late as only the day before the sentence was given, Mr. Noble says he sat on the trial on the 25th, 26th, and 27th of January, in the painted chamber, and on the last of these days in Westminster Hall, when sentence was pronounced, and that he signed and sealed the warrant for the execution of the King; and so it appears, in the plate of that warrant published by the Royal Society: these accounts are contradictory, and render the rest of them quite incredible.

Colonel Ingoldesby's account is perfectly ridiculous, and wholly unworthy of credit. Mr. Noble justly observes, that in describing the force he alleges to have been used upon him, in procuring his signature to the warrant, he forgot to say that his seal was also forced from him and used; — the hand-writing of his name in the above published plate impression is steadily written, but could not have been so written had the violence he describes, been really used. This falsehood, however, aided by his seizure of General Lambert shortly before and preparatory to the Restoration, probably saved him.

Huncks's story has the same appearance of inconsistency and falsehood: the warrant directed to Colonel Hacker himself, and Lieutenant-colonel Phayer, was a sufficient authority for those to whom it was addressed, to act upon. This meeting is stated to have been immediately previous to the execution of the sentence: that Cromwell should have been present at such a meeting is quite improbable, and if any such order should have been thought necessary, it is not likely that it should have been deferred to the last moment of its being carried into execution. The whole is,

upon the face of it, a gross falsehood, and Axtell in the most solemn manner denies the whole. Huncks was pardoned for the purpose of making him an evidence: and a most gross one must be the story of the prevention of Fairfax, by the contrivance of Cromwell, Ireton, and Harrison, from attempting the rescue of the King, Mr. Noble justly observes: so foolish a thing could not gain credit; for that he not only assisted in bringing the King to his mock trial and judgment, but knew that the warrant was signed; knew the hour appointed to put His Majesty to death, and sent the guard that was to see it done: and such was the fact. It is most extraordinary that such a writer as Mr. Hume should venture to state this story as a truth, without seeming to have examined into the probability of it, or expressing the least doubt of its authenticity. He gives it from Herbert, introducing it as a fresh instance of Cromwell's and his party's hypocrisy. It is completely falsified by the preceding accounts of Fairfax's conduct in this business; — he did every thing but sit upon the King's trial. He does not himself hint at any deception having been practised upon him.

But this story, and all the others of the like nature, are thrown out for the chance of their finding credit with those for whom they are intended; and they have had their designed effect, in stigmatising and transmitting to posterity Cromwell, and those who acted with him, or against the King, as unprincipled religious hypocrites, not to be trusted in any thing they said or did.

In further contradiction of all this supposed force upon these persons, Mrs. Hutchinson says, " Some of the King's judges, afterwards, to excuse, belied themselves, and said they were under the awe of the army, and over-persuaded by Cromwell, and the like; but it is certain that all men herein were left to their free liberty of acting; neither persuaded nor compelled; and that as there were some nominated to the commission who never sat, and others who sat at first, but durst not hold on, so all the rest might have declined it if they would; when it is apparent they should have suffered nothing by so doing: for those who then declined, were afterwards, when they offered themselves, received

in again, and had places of more trust and benefit than those who run the utmost hazard, which they deserved not; for I know upon certain knowledge that many, yea the most of them, retreated not for conscience, but for fear and worldly prudence, foreseeing that the insolency of the army might grow to that height as to ruin the cause and reduce the kingdom into the hands of the enemy; and then, those who had been most courageous in their country's cause should be given up as victims." Mrs. Hutchinson, in another part of this her work, says, "that when it came to Ingoldesby's turn to speak for himself in the parliament that brought in the King, he with many tears, professed his repentance for that murder, and told a false tale how Cromwell held his hand and forced him to subscribe the sentence, and made a most whining recantation." In another place, mentioning Colonel Hutchinson's attendance upon the attorney-general, and his pressing the colonel to own some of the hands to the warrant, and to impart some circumstances of the sealing, because himself (the colonel) was present: he (the colonel) answered that in a business transacted so many years ago, wherein life was concerned, he durst not bear a testimony, having been at that time so little an observer that he could not remember the least tittle of that most eminent circumstance of Cromwell's forcing Colonel Ingoldesby to set to his unwilling hand; which, if his life had depended on that circumstance he could not have affirmed. "And then, Sir," said he, "if I have lost so great a thing as that, it cannot be expected less eminent passages remain with me." Mrs. Hutchinson appears to consider this as meant sarcastically, to convey to the attorney-general his disbelief of the story, having heard that Colonel Ingoldesby had put him upon sending for the Colonel (Hutchinson) being in distress for witnesses to some particular points. Mr. Noble remarks, at the conclusion of his Life of Ingoldesby, that it was singular that his regiment sent up to parliament, previous to the King's trial, a petition in the most determined language against the Sovereign; so well had he tutored them; but he adds, in such times as these were, it was laudable to purchase the most obnoxious characters. The Jour-

nals of the House of Commons expressly state, that on the 30th October preceding the King's death, a petition was presented to the House by Colonel Ingoldesby's regiment, praying for justice upon the principal invaders of the liberties of the kingdom, naming the King and his party. Ingoldesby could not be a stranger to this petition, and must be considered a party to it. Ludlow says, that on account of his (Ingoldesby's) service in the suppression of the party that had followed General Lambert, he was not excepted from the act of indemnity. And it is certain that Ingoldesby continued in Cromwell's confidence; for we find him employed by him to watch and inform him of the proceedings of the Long Parliament, and his report determined Cromwell upon its immediate dissolution. These circumstances are alone sufficient to destroy the credibility of Ingoldesby's story of the force put upon him by Cromwell. It also does not appear that Ingoldesby ever, until the Restoration, mentioned to any one this supposed force, or his contrition for having signed the warrant; also acting with the subsequent ruling powers, many of them the causers and promoters of that transaction.

In Mr. Henry Marten's trial, a former servant of his describes himself as following him into the painted chamber, where the King's judges were signing the warrant, where he saw Cromwell mark Marten with the pen in the face, and Marten do the like to him. In the same trial, Sir Purbeck Temple describes himself as concealing himself in a hole in the wall, under the hangings of the room where the council was to meet for the purpose of determining the manner in which the King was to be tried: and that upon the conclusion of their usual prayer, there came news that the King was landed at Sir Robert Cotton's stairs; whereupon Cromwell ran to a window, looking on the King as he came up the garden; he returned as white as the wall: that, returning to the board, he spoke to Bradshaw and Sir William Mildmay, how they and Sir William Brereton had concluded on such a business: that then turning to the board, he said thus;—"My masters, he is come, he is come; and now we are doing that great work that the nation will be full of; therefore I desire you to let

us resolve here, what answer we shall give the King when he comes before us; for the first question that he will ask us will be, by what authority and commission we do try him?" to which none answered presently: that then, after a little space, Henry Marten rose up, and said, "In the name of the Commons and parliament assembled, and all the good people of England;" which none contradicted; so all rose up: and then, adds this witness, "I saw every officer, that had waited in the room, sent out by Cromwell to call away my Lord such-a-one, (whose name I have forgot,) who was in the court of wards' chamber, that he should send away the instrument, which came not; and so they adjourned themselves to Westminster Hall, going to the court of wards themselves as they went thither: and that, when they came to the court in Westminster Hall, he heard the King ask them the very same question that Cromwell had said to them. This witness accounts for this his hazardous curiosity, by acquainting the court, that some persons of honour, servants to the King, had proposed to him, to engage with them to attempt the King's escape, to which nothing could so much tend as to endeavour to discover some part of their counsels; it having been resolved by Cromwell to have the King tried at the High Court of Justice the next day, desiring him (the witness), if possible, to be there to discover their counsels, whereby the King might have notice, and those that were to attempt his escape.

The circumstance of a servant (in the case of Mr. Marten) appearing to swear against his master, much lessens the credit to his testimony, and which, not applying to the acts for which he was under trial, could only be brought forward for the purpose of prejudicing the minds of the jury against him. If exactly true, as represented, it would certainly be an act of gross levity, in both Cromwell and Marten, upon so solemn an occasion. It however does appear that upon one of the counsel for the prosecution saying, "We shall prove against the prisoner at the bar (because he would wipe off malice) he did this (his signing and sealing the warrant) very merrily and in great sport." Marten replied, "That does not imply malice." So far it appears that he did

not deny the charge; but he does not, to excuse himself, charge Cromwell with first marking him. Mr. Noble describes Marten to be a gay, licentious, debauched, abandoned man; and he might possibly wantonly and foolishly do this, and the other might so far forget himself at the moment as to return it; but both these stories bear strong marks of improbability, and of fabrication to answer a present purpose. The servant, probably a dismissed one, brought forward to accuse a, most likely, once kind master, a man not unlikely to be a debauched immoral character like himself; in a case that touched his life, minutely relating a trifling circumstance of more than twelve years' standing, happening in a place into which it is quite unlikely that a servant should be permitted to come. Sir Purbeck Temple's evidence, if true, certainly proves Marten's forwardness in this affair. His story, however, has much the appearance of improbability; his concealment is not credible; he could have no valuable object in this listening; no reason to expect to hear any thing at the very moment of the King's coming that could possibly assist the King's escape; nor is it conceivable that these principal members of the court should remain undetermined to this last moment on this supposed question of the King; their preparations for the trial show their expectation of his denial of the court's jurisdiction, and consequently their preparedness of the answer to that objection or question. But it appears also, in these preparatory proceedings, that they not only were aware of this objection, but that they had provided for the King's waver of it, and for his pleading to the charge, by proceeding to the examination of witnesses and the arrangement of the evidence in proof of the King's hostilities, &c. The circumstance of the presence in the room of consultation of the officers not members of the court is another incredible circumstance. Sir Purbeck also appears to have done nothing towards the King's escape in consequence of what he then heard; nor does he account for the inactivity of himself and his friends in not making the attempt. The whole of his evidence has all the appearance of a fabrication of a very willing witness, making his court to the then ruling

powers by blackening Cromwell's memory without fear of contradiction. But surely it goes very far to invalidate the servant's testimony respecting Cromwell; for if any part of this evidence of Sir Purbeck is to be credited, the whole of it must be taken as true; and to afford every reason to believe the gravity, instead of the levity, of his behaviour upon the whole of this solemn occasion; his change of countenance upon the King's approach, his hasty repetition of the words, "he is come;" his inability to advise the proper answer to the King's supposed question; also his question to Bradshaw and Mildmay, how they had concluded on such a business;—these surely must be deemed undeniable proofs of the solemn and deep impression the whole of this transaction had made upon his mind, and that some circumstances, as has been said, had hurried or drawn him into the measure.

Placed, as we of these happy times are, at so great a distance from the scene of these troubles and commotions, it is next to impossible for us to form a correct judgment of the difficulties, and of the hurry and confusion that must have attended those great and important transactions; and this consideration alone should at least abate the harsh and severe censures of subsequent times of the actors therein, and their measures and motives; but the royalist historians, the one following the other, condemn indiscriminately, and without mercy or examination.

At the Restoration, every one endeavoured to make his peace with the ruling powers, and found the sincerity of their repentance to be best proved by degrading the characters of those with whom many of them had once acted; and every idle tale to their prejudice, however insignificant or improbable, was told with confidence and without fear of contradiction, and received with avidity. Hence the many ill-natured and ill-founded stories that have reached our times, and which are now, without examination, received as settled truths.

Lord Clarendon describes the indifference of the neighbouring nations to the King's death: that there was scarce a murmur amongst any of them at it: that they made haste and sent over, that they might get shares in the spoils of a murdered monarch;

that Cardinal Mazarin, who, in the infancy of the French King managed that sceptre, had long adored the conduct of Cromwell, and sought his friendship by a lower and viler application than was suitable to the purple of a cardinal, sent now to be admitted as a merchant to traffic in the purchase of the rich goods and jewels of the rifled crown, of which he purchased the rich beds, hangings, and carpets, which furnished his palace at Paris; and that so did the King of Spain, Christina Queen of Sweden, and other sovereigns: that in this manner did the neighbour princes join to assist Cromwell with very great sums of money, whereby he was enabled to prosecute and finish his wicked victory over what yet remained unconquered, and to extinguish monarchy in this renowned kingdom; whilst they enriched and adorned themselves with the ruins and spoils of the surviving heir, without applying any part thereof to his relief, in the greatest necessities which ever king was subject to: and that, adds His Lordship, which was stranger than all this, since most men, by recovering their fortunes, used to recover most of what they were before robbed of, many who joined in the robbery pretending that they took care to preserve it for their true owner; not one of all these princes ever restored any of their unlawful purchases to the King after his blessed restoration.

No other writer than his Lordship speaks of this disposition of the King's goods. Whitelock expressly states, that commissioners were appointed to inventory them, and those of the Queen and Prince, and apprise them for the use of the public: and that an act was passed to satisfy well-affected persons to whom they were indebted before the wars, out of the produce; only the first 30,000*l.* to be for the use of the navy: and the council of state to keep such of them as they should think fit, for the use of the commonwealth: and a subsequent order was made for preserving the library, medals, and statues, at St. James's. All which appears in the Journals of the House of Commons; and is sufficient evidence of the falsehood of the charge of Cromwell's deriving any benefit from the sale of these goods.

In reference to Lord Clarendon's observations upon Lord

Capel's sentence, to the prejudice of Cromwell, the trial and sentence of his Lordship and the other prisoners, seem to have been a harsh construction of the Colchester articles of capitulation, where life was to be affected; but, it should be remembered, that Cromwell had no concern in this siege, or capitulation, or construction; nor does he appear to have been of the High Court of Justice. The speech attributed to him by Lord Clarendon does not appear in any other contemporary writers; nor does Ireton's any where else appear. The speech of Cromwell does not suit his generally allowed disposition to mercy: he is not represented in this speech as examining the justice of the sentence, but as advising its execution upon political motives, the prevention of his doing future mischief to the parliament cause: this was very unlikely to be Cromwell's view of the question. Sir Philip Warwick alone, in his great anxiety to criminate Cromwell, describes him as (previously to his going to Ireland) giving directions for severely proceeding against Lord Capel and all others who had taken part with the late King. But this cannot be true of Lord Capel, who was Lord Fairfax's prisoner, and sent by him to the High Court of Justice for trial, under His Lordship's (Lord Fairfax) own construction of the capitulation; and Duke Hamilton was tried under very different circumstances.

His Lordship, in his account of his taking of Drogheda (or Tredagh) by storm, says, that not only the garrison, but all the citizens that were Irishmen, and women and children, were put to the sword, and that the army, upon entering the town, executed all manner of cruelty.

The letter, informing of this transaction, is given by Whitelock *verbatim*, and is dated the 16th September (1649); the letter given by Dr. Harris is dated the 17th of the same month. If they be the same letters, they do not quite agree. Dr. Harris appears to give his letter from the parliamentary history: he says, that Cromwell owns that he forbid to spare any that were in arms in the town, and that he thinks they put to the sword about two thousand men the first night they entered. This order does not appear in

the letter given by Whitelock; and the difference is so far important, that he appears, in Dr. Harris's letter to have given the order not to spare, before he had summoned them to surrender; whereas, on the contrary, he had summoned them to surrender the day before and they had refused, and then quarter was refused. His Lordship, to aggravate the charge, says, that men not in arms, and women and children, were put to the sword; but, it is evident, from both letters, that only the garrison suffered. Cromwell evidently, in the letter given by Whitelock, regrets the necessity of the measure, but hopes it would save the future effusion of blood; and, it appears to have had this effect, in the speedy reduction (in less than a year, Sir Philip Warwick observes) of the rest of the country. Dr. Harris adds, as part of his quoted letter, that Cromwell expresses himself persuaded that it was a righteous judgment of God, upon those barbarous wretches who had imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood, and that it would tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future; which, he adds, are the satisfactory grounds to such actions, which otherwise, could not but work remorse and regret. This was saying enough in such a case.

In the Journals of the Commons, 2d October (1649), the House direct, that in the letter of thanks to be sent to the Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and to be communicated to the officers there, the House's approbation is to be expressed of the execution done at Drogheda, as an act, both of justice to them, and mercy to others, who may be warned by it: and, by a subsequent letter of 31st of January, Cromwell informs the House that several garrisons had surrendered in Munster, without blood, or striking a stroke.

Ludlow says, that commissioners were appointed by Cromwell to take care of the goods that were found in the towns belonging to the rebels, that they might be improved to the best advantage of the public.

Respecting the appointment of the command of the army going against Scotland, Mrs. Hutchinson, who, it will be remembered, was no friend of Cromwell, referring to the general's (Fairfax) refusal

to go, describing Scotland as having declared open war against the parliament, says, that when they (the English army) were just marching out, the general, persuaded by his wife and her chaplain, threw up his commission at such a time, when it could not have been done more spitefully and ruinously to the whole parliament interest. That Colonel Hutchinson and other parliament men, hearing of his intentions the night before, and knowing that he would thus level the way to Cromwell's ambitious designs, went to him, and laboured to dissuade him; which they had effected, but that the presbyterian ministers wrought with him to do it: that he expressed, that he believed that God had laid him aside, as not being worthy of more, nor of that glory which was already given him. To speak the truth of Cromwell, adds Mrs. Hutchinson, whereas many said he undermined Fairfax, it was false; for, that in Colonel Hutchinson's presence, he most effectually importuned him to keep his commission, lest it should discourage the army and the people in that juncture of time; but could by no means prevail, although he laboured it almost all the night with most earnest endeavours: but that this great man (Fairfax) was then as immoveable by his friends, as pertinacious in obeying his wife; whereby he then died to all his former glory, and became the monument of his own name, which every day wore out. He concludes, when his commission was given up, Cromwell was made general, and new commissions taken out by all the officers from him.

Ludlow, referring to this transaction, says, he laboured to persuade him (the general) of the reasonableness and justice of our resolution to march into Scotland, mentioning the several reasons that were urged to induce him to revoke his determination. Finding him resolved, he says, that Cromwell pressed, that notwithstanding the general's unwillingness to command upon this occasion, he might yet be continued general of the army; professing, for himself, that he would rather choose to serve under him in this post, than to command the greatest army in Europe. He (Ludlow) adds, but the council of state not approving that advice, appointed a committee of themselves to

confer further with the general in order to his satisfaction. This committee, says he, was appointed upon the motion of the lieutenant-general, who acted his part so to the life, that he really thought him in earnest, which obliged him (Ludlow) to step to him as he was withdrawing with the rest of the committee out of the council-chamber, and to desire him, that he would not in compliment and humility obstruct the service of the nation by his refusal: but, he adds, the consequence made it sufficiently evident that he had no such intention.

Nothing is unfavourable to Cromwell in all this business. Mrs. Hutchinson is decidedly in favour of his sincerity: Ludlow founds his opinion of his insincerity only upon his acceptance of the commission upon the general's declining the service. Cromwell's enemies wished it to be understood that he never meant what he said. It is impossible in this instance to determine what were his real wishes. The undertaking was hazardous and unfavourably thought of by the presbyterian party attached to the Scots, by whom he must be sure that every obstacle would be thrown in his way, and the worst construction be put upon his conduct, whether successful or otherwise; and, if unsuccessful, he might lose the military reputation he had then acquired, and become the object of his enemies' vengeance: he might not therefore wish, under all these circumstances, to take upon himself the conduct of this important concern: his acceptance of the commission was no proof of his desire to succeed the general; he must feel it to be his duty so to do; and, he must know he was the most fit person for the undertaking. Ludlow himself states, in the preceding passage, that he (Ludlow) pressed his acceptance for the service of the nation. He adds, that the success of this undertaking became very doubtful; for that the English army, through hard duty, scarcity of provisions, and the rigour of the season, became very sickly and diminished daily, obliging them to draw off to receive supplies from their shipping, which could not come nearer to them than Dunbar, distant from Edinburgh about twenty miles: that the Scots' army followed them close to Dunbar, where, having shipped their heavy baggage and sick

men, they designed to return to England: but, that the Scots' army had possessed themselves of all the passes with 30,000 horse and foot, and the English army was reduced to 10,000 at the most: that, therefore, there was no alternative but to yield themselves prisoners, or to fight upon these unequal terms. Under these disadvantages Cromwell, there can be little doubt, reluctantly took the command; and the battle of Dunbar was fought; and, had the Scots' army acted as they ought to have done in their advantageous position, and with their great superiority of force, and as Cromwell expected they would do, he and his army must have been destroyed. Dr. Harris takes upon himself to say, that Cromwell urged him (Fairfax) to continue his command with great vehemence, but in vain; and that being sure that he was immoveably fixed in his determination, pressed him and the parliament to continue him, with all that dexterity and dissimulation I have elsewhere mentioned. This is mere assertion, and unsupported by the preceding statements of this transaction: but Cromwell's supposed hypocrisy and dissimulation are this writer's favourite theme.

Ludlow, speaking of the battle of Worcester says, Cromwell called it the crowning victory; and that he took upon him a more stately behaviour, and chose new friends; neither, adds he, must it be omitted, that instead of acknowledging the services of those who came from all parts to assist against the common enemy, though he knew they had deserved as much honour as himself and the standing army, he frowned upon them, and the very next day after the fight, dismissed and sent them home, well knowing that a useful and experienced militia was more likely to obstruct than to second him in his ambitious designs. This is ill-natured and illiberal. Whitelock simply says, the militia forces behaved themselves gallantly; five thousand, out of Norfolk and Suffolk, came in cheerfully the same night of the fight; the Lord General dismissed them all home. He (Whitelock) makes no comment upon this dismissal. Cromwell would not, probably, detain them from their homes when their service was no longer necessary. Ludlow, in the same ill-humoured, probably envious, strain, adds, that many

members of parliament, attended by the city, and great numbers of persons of all orders and conditions, went some miles out of the town to meet him, which, says he, tended not a little to heighten the spirit of this haughty gentleman. Lord Clarendon says, as this victory cost the enemy little blood, so, after it, there was not much cruelty used to the prisoners who were taken upon the spot; but that very many of those who ran away, were every day knocked on the head by the country people, and used with barbarity. That towards the King's menial servants, whereof most were taken, there was nothing of severity; but that within a few days they were all discharged. This is surely in further favour of Cromwell's general lenity.

His Lordship, referring to General Ireton's death in Ireland, describes him of a melancholic, reserved, dark nature, who communicated his thoughts to very few, so that for the most part he resolved alone, but was never diverted from any resolution he had taken; and he was thought often, by his obstinacy, to prevail over Cromwell himself, and to extort his concurrence contrary to his own inclinations: but that that proceeded only from dissembling less, for that he was never reserved in the owning and communicating his worst and most barbarous purposes, which the other always concealed and disavowed. That hitherto their concurrence had been very natural, since they had the same ends and designs: that it was generally conceived by those who had the opportunity to know them both very well, that Ireton was a man, radically averse from monarchy, and so fixed to a republican government, that if he had lived, he would, either by his counsel and credit have prevented those excesses in Cromwell, or publicly opposed and declared against them, and carried the greatest part of the army with him; and that Cromwell, who best knew his nature and his temper, had therefore carried him into Ireland, and left him there, that he might be without his counsels, or importunities, when he should find it necessary to put off his mask, and to act that part which he foresaw it would be requisite to do: that others thought his parts lay more towards civil affairs, and were fitter for the modelling that government which

his heart was set upon, (being a scholar conversant in the law, and in all those authors who had expressed the greatest animosity and malice against the regal government,) than for the conduct of an army to support it; his personal courage being never reckoned amongst his other abilities. His Lordship, in continuance, referring to the deaths (by shooting) of Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Lisle, who became Lord Fairfax's prisoners upon the surrender of Colchester, imputes their deaths to Ireton, who, he says, swayed the General, and who (Ireton), he adds, was upon all occasions of an unmerciful and bloody nature.

Lord Broghill, speaking of Ireton's supposed cruelty, says, that soon after he (Ireton) had the command of the army, he was informed that a certain barony had broken the articles, in consideration whereof they had been protected: that he marched against the barony, and ordered every man, woman, and child to be killed; against the cruelty of which, Lord Broghill expostulating with him, Ireton at first, persisted, representing of how ill consequence it was to suffer villains so perfidious to be spared: that His Lordship allowed the Irish to be a perfidious people, but that it would be cruel to make no distinction; that there were amongst them many children, aged people and women, who perhaps had not broken the articles; and that it would be a horrid villainy to slay the innocent with the guilty: that he (Lord Broghill) therefore recommended that the soldiers should kill none but those who should be found in arms, or made any opposition. His Lordship adds, that Ireton, at last, though reluctantly, followed this advice, and revoked his bloody orders.

Sir Philip Warwick mentioning the circumstance of Ireton's death, speaks of him as a man of blood, (for, says he, he had deeply dyed himself in the King's;) and adds that he expired with that word in his mouth; for that in his raving, as he, Warwick, was told by one that was then there, he cried out, "I will have more blood, blood, blood!"

All this is highly improbable, and not reconcileable with the characters given him by Ludlow and Whitelock. Ludlow gives an instance of his (Ireton's) desire of doing justice, even to an

enemy: he says that Colonel Axtell was accused of not performing some conditions said to have been promised to the enemy, who pretended that after they had surrendered upon assurance of mercy, they were all put to the sword, except a few who made their escape: that the colonel endeavoured to prove that no conditions had been granted; that they were taken by force, and that they who had showed no mercy could not deserve to receive any. Though, continues Ludlow, the proof was not clear, that he had promised him their lives, yet because it appeared, that some of the soldiers had thrown out some expressions tending that way, to the enemy, Ireton was so great a friend to justice, even where an enemy was concerned, that though Colonel Axtell was a person extraordinarily qualified for the service of that conjuncture, he, together with the council of war, at which the commissioners of the parliament were also present, suspended him from his employment.

This, was surely, mercy as well as justice. He (Ludlow) gives another instance of his (Ireton's) disposition to mercy: that a daughter of the Earl of Thomond, being accused of protecting the property of the enemy, under pretence that they belonged to her, and thereby abusing the favour of his safeguard, which he had granted to her, and being charged by him therewith, and told that he expected a more ingenuous carriage from her; she burst into tears, and requested his forgiveness, when Ludlow interceding with him for the continuance of his favour to her; he said "As much a cynic as I am, the tears of this woman moved me;" and ordered his protection to be continued to her. These are surely no proofs of the cruelty or unmercifulness of Ireton's disposition.

But those, who are so fond of loading Cromwell and Ireton with the imputations of cruelty and bloodthirstiness, would do well to recal to their remembrance the bloody scenes that gave rise to this war in Ireland, and rendered necessary the making some severe examples.

Lord Clarendon speaks slightingly of Ireton's personal courage. He produces no proof of the want of it, but the story before related by His Lordship, of his refusal of Holles's chal-

lenge, and of his subsequent submission to Holles's personal insult upon such refusal. But it has been before shown from other historians, that Ireton did accept that challenge. In Ireland there is no appearance of his defective courage or activity; Ludlow says, that he accompanied him in his visiting, during the siege of Limerick, several garrisons, providing hospitals for the sick and wounded of his soldiers and for other objects of the war. And that he rode so hard that he spoiled many horses; but that he was so diligent in the public service, and so careless of every thing that belonged to himself, that he never regarded what clothes or food he used, or what horse he mounted. Sir Philip Warwick in his account of the battle of Naseby, says, that Prince Rupert routed Fairfax's left wing commanded by Ireton, who made a soldierly and notable defence.

This gentleman (Colonel Ireton), says Whitelock, was a person very active, industrious, and stiff in his ways and purposes: that he was of good abilities for counsel, as well as action; and made much use of his pen, and was very forward to reform the proceedings in law, wherein, his having been bred a lawyer, was an help to him. Dr. Bates says, he was initiated in the liberal arts in Trinity College, Oxford, and made therein no contemptible progress, and afterwards studied the common law in the Temple. Whitelock adds that he was stout in the field, and wary and prudent in his counsel, and exceedingly forward as to the business of a commonwealth: that he married Cromwell's daughter, who had a great opinion of him, and no man could prevail so much, nor order him so much, as Ireton could: that his death struck a great sadness into Cromwell; and indeed it was a great loss to him, of so able and active, so faithful and so near a relation and officer under him.

Ludlow, in mentioning the settlement of divers annual sums upon several principal officers, particularly upon Cromwell, says, that an act was ordered to be brought in, for settling two thousand pounds per annum upon the Lord Deputy Ireton, of which he being informed, was so unacceptable to him, that he said, they had many just debts, which he desired they would pay,

before they made any such presents: that he had no need of their land, and therefore would not have it: and that he should be more contented to see them doing the service of the nation, than so liberal in disposing of the public treasure. And, truly, adds Ludlow, I believe he was in earnest, for as he was always careful to husband those things that belonged to the state, to the best advantage, so he was most liberal in employing his own purse and person in the public service. Afterwards, mentioning his death, he says, some of General Cromwell's relations, who were not ignorant of his vast designs then on foot, caused his body to be transported into England, and solemnly interred at Westminster, in a magnificent monument, at the public charge, who, if he could have foreseen what was done by them, would certainly have made it his desire that his body might have found a grave where his soul left it, so much did he despise those pompous and expensive vanities; having erected for himself a more glorious monument in the hearts of good men, by his affection to his country, his abilities of mind, his impartial justice, his diligence in the public service, and his other virtues; which were a far greater honour to his memory, than a dormitory amongst the ashes of kings, who, says he, for the most part, as they had governed others by their passions, so were they themselves as much governed by them. He (Ludlow) adds, that his death was lamented by all good men. Referring, in another place to his (Ireton's) besieging and taking Carlow in Ireland, and the surrender of the garrison upon articles, he adds, " which he caused punctually to be executed, as his constant manner was." The above must be deemed a sufficient confutation of all these loose and unfounded assertions to the prejudice of Ireton.

Lord Clarendon says, that Scotland being subdued, and Ireland reduced to that obedience as the parliament could wish, nothing could be expected to be done in England for the King's advantage: that from the time that Cromwell was chosen General, he took all occasions to discountenance the presbyterians, and put them out of all trust and employment, as well in the country as in the army: that when Cromwell returned to Lon-

don, he caused several high courts to be erected, by which many gentlemen of quality were condemned and executed in many parts of the kingdom. Whitelock says the parliament ordered the trials of these persons. Cromwell did not, and could not order them: and so it appears; for in the Journals of the 6th of the same September in which the battle of Worcester was fought (1651), being the day on which the House received the intelligence of the victory, and Cromwell not being then returned to London, is an order of reference to the council of state, to take into consideration which of the prisoners that were then taken, of the Scot's army, were fit to be brought up to London; and that they send for them accordingly: and that they present their opinion to the parliament how the rest of the prisoners were fit to be disposed of: and on the 9th of the same month, is an order (upon report of a list of the prisoners taken at Worcester) of a warrant from the Speaker to Lieutenant-general Monk, to send up to London by shipping, of the prisoners taken in Scotland, all the lords, gentlemen of quality, and the ministers named in the list of the prisoners then taken, together with such of the country gentlemen, as he should find dangerous in their influence upon the people there: and referred to the council of state to consider of such prisoners, as well English as Scots, as were fit to be made examples of public justice, and all circumstances that they should think fit concerning it, and to present it to the parliament: and to give direction for securing and disposing the rest as might be most for the safety of the nation. And on the 11th of the same month, it is reported from the council of state to be their opinion, that James Earl of Derby, Colonel Edward Massey, Duke Hamilton, John Earl of Lauderdale, the Earl of Cleveland, Captain Bendbow, Sir Timothy Fetherston Haugh, and the mayor and sheriffs of Worcester, were fit persons to be brought to trial, and made examples of justice. And resolved accordingly; and referred to the council of state to see those votes put in execution effectually and speedily.

Journals, 14th November (1651). The House, according to former order, did this day take into debate, Whether it be now a

convenient time to declare a certain time for the continuance of this parliament, beyond which it should not sit. The question being propounded, and the previous question being put; the House was divided: tellers for the yeas, Lord-general, Lord Chief Justice, with the yeas, 50; tellers for the noes, Colonel Morley, Mr. Bond, with the noes, 46: so it passed in the affirmative: and the main question being put, the House was again divided: the same tellers, with the yeas, 49; the same tellers, with the noes, 47: therefore resolved to be now a convenient time to declare a certain time for the continuance of this parliament, beyond which it shall not sit; and adjourned: and on the Tuesday following, being the 18th same November, it was resolved, that the time for the continuance of this parliament, beyond which they resolve not to sit, shall be the third day of November, 1654.

About the 10th of December following (1651), says Whitelock, Cromwell desired a meeting with divers members of parliament, and some chief officers of the army, at the Speaker's house; and a great many being there, he proposed to them, that now, the King being dead, and his son being defeated, he held it necessary to come to a settlement of the nation; and that, in order thereunto, he had requested this meeting, that they might together consider and advise what was fit to be done, and to be presented to the parliament.

Speaker. "My Lord; this company were very ready to attend Your Excellency; and the business you are pleased to propound to us, is very necessary to be considered. God hath given marvellous success to our forces under Your command; and if we do not improve these mercies to some settlement, such as may be to God's honour, and the good of this commonwealth, we shall be very much blameworthy."

Harrison. "I think that which my Lord-general hath propounded, is to advise as to a settlement, both of our civil and spiritual liberties; and so that the mercies which the Lord hath given unto us, may not be cast away: how this may be done is the great question."

Whitelock. " It is a great question, indeed, and not suddenly to be resolved; yet it were pity that a meeting of so many able and worthy persons as I see here should be fruitless. I should humbly offer in the first place, whether it be not requisite to be understood in what way this settlement is desired, whether of an absolute republic, or with any mixture of monarchy."

Cromwell. " My Lord-commissioner Whitelock hath put us upon the right point, and indeed it is my meaning that we should consider whether a republic, or a mixed monarchical government will be best to be settled; and, if any thing monarchical, then in whom that power shall be placed."

Sir Thomas Widdrington. " I think a mixed monarchical government will be most suitable to the laws and people of the nation; and if any monarchical, I suppose we shall hold it most just to place that power in one of the sons of the late King."

Colonel Fleetwood. " I think that the question, Whether an absolute republic, or a mixed monarchy, is best to be settled in this nation, will not be very easy to be determined."

Lord Chief Justice St. John. " It will be found that the government of this nation without something of monarchical power, will be very difficult to be so settled as not to shake the foundation of our laws, and the liberties of the people."

Speaker. " It will breed a strange confusion to settle a government of this nation without something of monarchy."

Colonel Desborough. " I beseech you, my Lord, why may not this, as well as other nations, be governed in the way of a republic."

Whitelock. " The laws of England are so interwoven with the power and practice of monarchy, that, to settle a government without something of monarchy, would make so great an alteration in the proceedings of our laws, that you have scarce time to rectify, nor can we well foresee the inconveniences which will arise thereby."

Colonel Whalley. " I do not well understand matters of law; but, it seems to me the best way, not to have any thing of monarchical power in the settlement of our government; and, if we

should resolve upon any, whom have we to pitch upon? The King's eldest son hath been in arms against us, and his second son is likewise our enemy."

Sir Thomas Widdrington. "But the late King's third son, the Duke of Gloucester, is still among us, and too young to have been in arms against us, or infected with the principles of our enemies."

Whitelock. "There may be a day given for the King's eldest son, or for the Duke of York his brother, to come in to the parliament, and upon such terms as shall be thought fit and agreeable, both to our civil and spiritual liberties, a settlement may be made with them."

Cromwell. "That will be a business of more than ordinary difficulty; but really, I think, if it may be done with safety and preservation of our rights, both as Englishmen and as Christians, that a settlement with somewhat of monarchical power in it, would be very effectual."

Much other discourse, adds Whitelock, was by divers gentlemen then present, upon several points, and too large to be here inserted; generally, the soldiers were against any thing of monarchy, though every one of them was a monarch in his own regiment or company: that the lawyers were generally for a mixed monarchical government; and many were for the Duke of Gloucester to be made King: but that Cromwell still put off that debate, and came off to some other point: and that, in conclusion, after a long debate, the company parted, without coming to any result, only Cromwell discovered by this meeting, the inclinations of the persons that spake, for which he fished, and made use of what he then discerned.

It was about this time (November, 1652), says Whitelock, that the Lord-general Cromwell, meeting with him, saluted him with more than ordinary courtesy, and desired him to walk aside with him, that they might have some private discourse together: that Whitelock waited on him, and he began the discourse, which was to the following effect: —

Cromwell. "My Lord Whitelock, I know your faithfulness

and engagement in the same good cause with myself and the rest of our friends, and I know your ability in judgment, and your particular friendship and affection for me; indeed, I am sufficiently satisfied in these things, and therefore I desire to advise with you in the main and most important affairs relative to our present condition."

Whitelock. "Your Excellency hath known me long, and, I think, will say, that you never knew any unfaithfulness or breach of trust by me; and, for my particular affection to your person, your favours to me, and your public services, have deserved more than I can manifest; only there is, with your favour, a mistake in this one thing, touching my weak judgment, which is incapable to do any considerable service for yourself or this commonwealth; yet, to the utmost of my power, I shall be ready to serve you, and that, with all diligence and faithfulness."

Cromwell. "I have cause to be, and am, without the least scruple of your faithfulness, and I know your kindness to me, your old friend, and your abilities to serve the commonwealth, and there are enough besides me that can testify it; and, I believe, our engagements for the commonwealth have been, and are, as deep as most men, and there never was more need of advice and solid hearty counsel than the present state of our affairs doth require."

Whitelock. "I suppose no man will mention his particular engagement in this cause, at the same time when Your Excellency's engagement is remembered; yet, to my capacity, and in my station, few men have engaged further than I have done, and that, besides the goodness of your own nature and personal knowledge of me, will keep you from any jealousy of my faithfulness."

Cromwell. "I wish there were no more ground of suspicion of others than of you; I can trust you with my life and the most secret matters relating to our business, and to that end I have now desired a little private discourse with you; and really, my Lord, there is very great cause for us to consider the dangerous condition we are all in, and how to make good our station, to improve the mercies and successes which God hath

given us, and not to be fooled out of them again, nor to be broken to pieces by our particular jarrings and animosities one against another; but to unite our counsels, and hands, and hearts, to make good what we have so dearly bought with so much hazard, blood, and treasure; and that the Lord having given us an entire conquest over our enemies, we should not now hazard all again by our private janglings, and bring those mischiefs upon ourselves which our enemies could never do."

Whitelock. "My Lord, I look upon our present danger as greater than ever it was in the field; and, as Your Excellency truly observes, our proneness to destroy ourselves when our enemies could not do it. It is no strange thing for a gallant army, as yours is, after full conquest of their enemies, to grow into factions and ambitious designs, and it is a wonder to me that they are not in high mutinies, their spirits being active, and few thinking their services to be duly rewarded; and the emulation of the officers breaking out daily more and more in this time of their vacancy from their employment; besides, the private soldiers, it is to be feared, will, in this time of their idleness, grow into disorder, and it is your excellent conduct, which, under God, hath kept them so long in discipline and free from mutinies."

Cromwell. "I have used, and shall use the utmost of my poor endeavours to keep them all in order and obedience."

Whitelock. "Your Excellency hath done it hitherto, even to admiration."

Cromwell. "Truly, God hath blessed me in it exceedingly, and I hope will do so still. Your Lordship hath observed, most truly, the inclinations of the officers of the army to particular factions and to murmurings, that they are not rewarded according to their deserts; that others, who have adventured least, have gained most; and they have neither profit nor preferment, nor place in government which others hold, who have undergone no hardships nor hazards for the commonwealth; and herein they have too much of truth; yet their insolency is very great, and their influence upon the private soldiers works them to the like discontents and murmurings. Then, as for the mem-

bers of parliament, the army begins to have a strange distaste against them, and I wish there were not too much cause for it; and really their pride, and ambition, and self-seeking, ingrossing all places of honour and profit to themselves and their friends, and their daily breaking forth into new and violent parties and factions: their delays of business, and design to perpetuate themselves, and to continue the power in their own hands; their meddling in private matters between party and party, contrary to the institution of parliaments, and their injustice and partiality in those matters, and the scandalous lives of some of the chief of them;—these things, my Lord, do give too much ground for people to open their mouths against them, and to dislike them. Nor can they be kept within the bounds of justice and law or reason, they themselves being the supreme power of the nation, liable to no account to any, nor to be controuled or regulated by any other power, there being none superior or co-ordinate with them. So that unless there be some authority and power so full and so high as to restrain and keep things in better order, and that may be a check to these exorbitances, it will be impossible in human reason to prevent our ruin."

Whitelock. "I confess, the danger we are in by these extravagances and inordinate powers is more than, I doubt, is generally apprehended; yet, as to that part of it which concerns the soldiery, your Excellency's power and commission are sufficient already to restrain and keep them in their due obedience; and, blessed be God, you have done it hitherto; and I doubt not, but, by your wisdom, you will be able still to do it. As to the members of parliament, I confess, the greatest difficulty lies there; your commission being from them, and they being acknowledged the supreme power of the nation, subject to no controul, nor allowing any appeal from them: yet I am sure Your Excellency will not look upon them as generally depraved; too many of them are much to blame in those things you have mentioned, and many unfit things have passed amongst them; but I hope well of the major part of them, when great matters come to a decision."

Cromwell. " My Lord, there are little hopes of a good settlement to be made by them, really there is not, but a great deal of fear that they will destroy again what the Lord hath done graciously for them and us: we all forget God, and God will forget us, and give us up to confusion, and these men will help it on, if they be suffered to proceed in their ways; some course must be thought on to curb and restrain them, or we shall be ruined by them."

Whitelock. " We ourselves have acknowledged them the supreme power, and taken our commissions and authority, in the highest concernments, from them; and how to restrain and curb them after this, it will be hard to find out a way for it."

Cromwell. " What, if a man should take upon him to be a King?"

Whitelock. " I think that remedy would be worse than the disease."

Cromwell. " Why do you think so?"

Whitelock. " As to your own person, the title of king would be of no advantage, because you have the full kingly power in you already, concerning the militia, as you are general. As to the nomination of civil officers, those whom you think fittest are seldom refused; and although you have no negative vote in the passing of laws, yet what you dislike will not easily be carried; and the taxes are already settled, and in your power to dispose the money raised: and as to foreign affairs, though the ceremonial application be made to the parliament, yet the expectation of good or bad success in it, is from Your Excellency; and particular solicitations of foreign ministers are made to you only. So that I apprehend, indeed, less envy, and danger, and pomp, but not less power and real opportunities of doing good, in your being general, than would be if you had assumed the title of king."

Cromwell. " I have heard some of your profession observe, that he who is actually king, whether by election or by descent, yet, being once king, all acts done by him as king are lawful and justifiable, as by any king who hath the crown by inheritance from

his forefathers: and that by an act of parliament in Henry the Seventh's time, it is safer for those who act under a king, be his title what it will, than for those who act under any other power; and surely the power of a king is so great and high, and so universally understood and reverenced by the people of this nation, that the title of it might not only indemnify, in a great measure, those that act under it, but likewise be of great use and advantage in such times as these, to curb the insolencies of those whom the present powers cannot controul, or at least are the persons themselves who are thus insolent."

Whitelock. "I agree in the general what you are pleased to observe as to this title of king; but whether for Your Excellency to take this title upon you, as things now are, will be for the good and advantage either of yourself and friends, or of the commonwealth, I do very much doubt, notwithstanding that act of parliament, 11 Hen. VII. which will be little regarded or observed to us by our enemies, if they should come to get the upper hand of us."

Cromwell. "What do you apprehend would be the danger of taking this title?"

Whitelock. "The danger, I think, would be this: one of the main points of controversy betwixt us and our adversaries is, whether the government of this nation shall be established in monarchy, or in a free state or commonwealth, and most of our friends have engaged with us upon the hopes of having the government settled in a free state, and to effect that, have undergone all their hazards and difficulties; they being persuaded, though I think much mistaken, that under the government of a commonwealth they shall enjoy more liberty and right, both as to their spiritual and civil concernments, than they shall under monarchy, the pressures and dislike whereof are so fresh in their memories and sufferings. Now if Your Excellency shall take upon you the title of King, this state of your cause will be thereby wholly determined, and monarchy established in your person; and the question will be no more, whether our government shall be by a monarch or by a free state, but whether Cromwell or

Stuart shall be our king and monarch: and that question, wherein-before so great parties of the nation were engaged, and which was universal, will by these means become in effect a private controversy only: before, it was national, what kind of government we should have; now it will become particular, who shall be our governor, whether of the family of the Stuarts or of the family of the Cromwells. Thus the state of our controversy being totally changed, all those who were for a commonwealth, (and they are a very great and considerable party,) having their hopes therein frustrate, will desert you, — your hands will be weakened, your interest straightened, and your cause in apparent danger to be ruined."

Cromwell. "I confess, you speak reason in this; but what other thing can you propound that may obviate the present dangers and difficulties wherein we are all engaged?"

Whitelock. "It will be the greatest difficulty to find out such an expedient; I have had many things in my private thoughts upon this business, some of which perhaps are not fit or safe for me to communicate."

Cromwell. "I pray, My Lord, what are they? you may trust me with them; there shall no prejudice come to you by any private discourse betwixt us; I shall never betray my friend; you may be as free with me as with your own heart, and shall never suffer by it."

Whitelock. "I make no scruple to put my life and fortune in Your Excellency's hand, and so I shall if I impart these fancies to you, which are weak, and perhaps may prove offensive to Your Excellency; therefore, my best way will be to smother them."

Cromwell. "Nay, I prithee, My Lord Whitelock, let me know them; be they what they will, they cannot be offensive to me, but I shall take it kindly from you; therefore, I pray, do not conceal these thoughts of yours from your faithful friend."

Whitelock. "Your Excellency honours me with a title far above me; and, since you are pleased to command it, I shall discover to you my thoughts herein, and humbly desire you not to take in ill part what I shall say to you."

Cromwell. " I shall not; but I shall take it, as I said, very kindly from you."

Whitelock. " Give me leave, then, first to consider Your Excellency's condition. You are environed with secret enemies. Upon the subduing of the public enemy, the officers of your army account themselves all victors, and to have had an equal share in the conquest with you. The success which God hath given us, hath not a little elated their minds, and many of them are busy and of turbulent spirits, and are not without their designs how they may dismount Your Excellency, and some of themselves get up into the saddle; — how they may bring you down, and set up themselves.

" They want no counsel and encouragement herein: it may be from some members of parliament who may be jealous of your power and greatness, lest you should grow too high for them, and in time overmaster them; and they will plot to bring you down first, or to clip your wings."

Cromwell. " I thank you that you so fully consider my condition; it is a testimony of your love to me and care of me; and you have rightly considered it; and I may say without vanity, that in my condition yours is involved and all our friends, and those that plot my ruin will hardly bear your continuance in any condition worthy of you. Besides this, the cause itself may possibly receive some disadvantage by the strugglings and contentions among yourselves. But what, Sir, are your thoughts for prevention of those mischiefs that hang over our heads?"

Whitelock. " Pardon me, Sir, in the next place a little to consider the condition of the King of Scots. This prince being now, by your valour, and the success which God hath given to the parliament and to the army under your command, reduced to a very low condition, both he and all about him cannot but be very inclinable to hearken to any terms whereby their lost hopes may be revived of his being restored to the crown, and they to their fortunes and native country. By a private treaty with him, you may secure yourself and your friends and their fortunes; you may make yourself and your posterity as great and perma-

nent to all human probability as ever any subject was, and provide for your friends. You may put such limits to monarchical power as will secure our spiritual and civil liberties, and you may secure the cause in which we are all engaged; and this may be effectually done by having the power of the militia continued in yourself and whom you shall agree upon after you. I propound therefore for Your Excellency to send to the King of Scots, and to have a private treaty with him for this purpose: and I beseech you to pardon what I have said upon the occasion; it is out of my affection and service to Your Excellency and to all honest men; and I humbly pray you not to have any jealousy thereupon of my approved faithfulness to Your Excellency and to this commonwealth."

Cromwell. "I have not, I assure you, the least distrust of your faithfulness and friendship to me, and to the cause of this commonwealth; and I think you have much reason for what you propound; but it is a matter of so high importance and difficulty that it deserves more time of consideration and debate than is at present allowed us. We shall therefore take a further time to discourse of it."

That with this, adds Whitelock, the general brake off, and went into other company, and so into Whitehall, seeming by his countenance and carriage displeased with what had been said; yet that he never objected against Whitelock in any public meeting afterwards; only that his carriage towards him from that time was altered, and his advising with him not so frequent and intimate as before: and that it was not long after, that he found an occasion, by an honourable employment to send him out of the way; as some of his nearest relations, particularly his daughter Claypoole, confessed that he (Whitelock) might be no obstacle or impediment to his ambitious designs; as, he says, may appear by the process of this story.

The unsuccessful termination of the treaty of Newport left both the King and the nation in a most distressing dilemma. No hope could remain of an agreement between the King and the presbyterian party, whilst that party so obstinately persisted in

the establishment of their own exclusive form of worship, and from which there remained no prospect of their receding; the independent party had ceased to treat with the King, when they found him dealing with others; and the republican party did not wish his return to power upon any terms, being determined upon another, a republican form of government. Indeed, all of them had reason to suspect the King's sincerity in his dealings with them; their discovery of his reluctant acknowledgment of the parliament, and his recorded denial of its being one, for the purpose of supplying him with an excuse for disavowing at any future convenient opportunity its legal existence, and for thereby avoiding and nullifying his engagements with them, left no security upon which they could rely, for the performance of any treaties he might make with them. Nor can it be doubted, that in all his negociations with the parliament, subsequently to his going to the Scots' army, he considered himself a prisoner, or under a degree of restraint, from which he could not extricate himself, otherwise than by acceding to their terms; notwithstanding the parliament's declaration, particularly in the treaty of Newport, that he should be in a state of freedom, safety, and honour. To have placed him really in that state, he should have been understood, in his several treaties with the Commons subsequently to his surrender of himself to the Scots' army, to have been at liberty to quit the kingdom, in case of an unsuccessful termination of such treaties. Of the use he might make of this his situation of restraint he was evidently well aware, by his question to the Scots' commissioners whilst with that army, when, as Whitelock says, he, at Newcastle, propounded to them, in what condition he stood, whether a freeman or under restraint? adding, that if not a freeman, then his answer to their desires could not be valid. All the different parties being thus apprised, in their several treaties with the King, of the power he felt he had in himself of avoiding his obligations, and of the impossibility of securing themselves from the consequences of this possible, or rather probable, breach of faith, saw that there remained to them no encouragement for a renewal of treaties. The King appears to have

retained to the end of his life the principles of passive obedience and non-resistance, and all the other high-prerogative principles of his education; and, consequently, did always, from the commencement of the opposition to his measures, consider his opposing subjects rebels, and, as such, incapable of being dealt with in any other way than by subjection to his will: therefore, all his treaties were compulsory, and to be avoided when opportunity should offer. For these sentiments he is, perhaps, more to be pitied than blamed: it would have been happy for his subjects could he have fallen in with the advancing freer sentiments of the times; but, in addition to his own prejudices, he had the misfortune to have in succession, three of the most arbitrary ministers that a sovereign could be cursed with; who, instead of advising him to moderation, did every thing to inflame and instigate him to those violent measures that terminated in their own deserved destruction, and in the King's unfortunate dethronement and death. Quarrels between Kings and their subjects are, of all evils, to be deprecated: they can never be amicably terminated; if they could forgive, they never can again trust one another; and, if recourse be had to arms, victory and defeat are equally ruinous of all sides. Mr. Hume observes, that after the commencement of the war, it was very difficult, if not impossible, to find security for both parties, especially for that of the parliament: that, amidst such violent animosities, power alone could ensure safety, and the power of one side was necessarily attended with danger to the other: and that few or no instances occur in history, of an equal, peaceful, and durable accommodation, that has been concluded between two factions which had been inflamed into civil war.

The war being terminated by the surrender of Oxford to the parliament on the 24th June (1646), and the King in their hands, the disbanding of part of the army, and sending other part into Ireland, became the first object of the desire and consideration of the presbyterian party. It appears that this party considered the army as firmly attached to, and under the entire influence and controul of Fairfax and Cromwell and other the independent

party in the House of Commons. By sending some to Ireland, and disbanding the remainder, this army would have been, in effect, annihilated; and Fairfax, and Cromwell, and Ireton, and the other leaders of the independent party, left at the mercy of their enemies. Cromwell was particularly and early marked out by Mr. Holles and his party, as an object of their vengeance, in the fore-mentioned meeting at Essex-house, given by Whitelock, leaving no room for doubt of their intention to have declared him and other the obnoxious heads of the independent party, public incendiaries, and, as such, to have sent them to the Tower, never more to be heard of. Well aware of these views of the presbyterian party, and probably having reason to suspect their intention to raise a new army that should be at their devotion, or to bring the Scots' army into England to overpower this independent army, the leaders of that party would feel themselves fully justified in keeping together their own army, until it should become proper and safe to disband them.

Mr. May, in his Breviary, relating the King's arrival at Holmby-house, observes, that though the King's party, which had fought against the parliament and liberties, were absolutely subdued, yet that a quiet liberty and security could not be suddenly obtained by the victory: for that, the civil war being ended, a dissension more than civil, arose amongst the conquerors, which seemed therefore more sad to all good men; because, it was between those who before had, with most united affections and desires, thrown their lives and fortunes into hazard against a common enemy, and whom the same cause, the same fervour of reforming religion and restoring liberty, and the same prayers, had linked together in the nearest bonds of conscience: that by this division of the friends of liberty into two parties, under the names of presbyterian and independent, which was continually increasing, the minds of men came to be embittered against each other beyond all measure: one side complained that the covenant was broken; the other, that it was not rightly interpreted by them, nor so as that it could any way be a vindication of the cause undertaken for the public safety: that on both sides were men of great re-

putation: that yet they did not at first so far dissent, but that both sides seemed forward to vindicate the common cause against the King's party, who were called Malignants: that it must be longer time, that must by degrees so far work upon the consciences of that side, which seemed weakest, as to make them cleave to the malignants for a prop: that the malignants were ready to join with either side, that they might ruin both: that, though disarmed, they were now become the greatest number, especially by the inconstancy of many men, either upon particular grievances, or on account of the burden of taxations: that a great number of the citizens of London, not of the meanest, but highest rank, had revolted from their former principles; insomuch, that the inhabitants of that city (all the King's garrisons having been by Fairfax's bloodless victories emptied into it) came to be in such a condition of strength, as that the parliament, without the army's help, could not safely sit there: that these dissensions of presbyterians and independents (because the motions and intentions of men are not enough known) he meant to touch with brevity: that it were a work of too much length and difficulty to recite how many calumnies were raised by the other faction against the army, which they had before so much admired, as being maintainers of the independent faction; how divers petitions were drawn up, and subscriptions eagerly sought in the county of Essex against this army, (referring to the petition mentioned in Rushworth,) which was then quartered about Walden, in the month of April: and that, in the parliament itself, it was so far and in that manner debated concerning the disbanding of the army, that the soldiers (being now taught to value their own merits) conceived themselves much injured, and in May presented a petition to their general, in which they desire to be satisfied, not only for their due pay as soldiers, but in things concerning the public liberties, which they had fought for, and which they said belonged to them as free-born sons of the nation: of which petition, continues Mr. May, great complaint was made by those of the other faction: that these and some other alterations wrought at last so far, as that the soldiers, about the be-

ginning of June, (upon what design or what jealousies he leaves his readers to judge,) took away the King from Holmby, out of the parliament's commissioners' hands, and carried him along with them to the army, so that his person was to be in some town or palace near to their quarters.

The blame of these misunderstandings of the parliament and the army, have been very generally laid upon the army, as supposing them to have determined, after having subdued all their, the parliament's enemies, to subdue the parliament itself and form a government more agreeable to their own views. A standing and deliberating army must always be dangerous to the government of a country, and should be disbanded or reduced, so soon as the objects for which it was raised shall have been accomplished. But the common soldiers of the parliament army did not consider themselves of the usual description of common soldiers: — not, as they themselves say, a band of janizaries hired to fight the parliament's battles, but voluntarily taking up arms for the liberty and defence of the nation of which they were a part. Whitelock describes Cromwell's regiment, as a brave regiment of horse of his countrymen, most of them freeholders and freeholders' sons, and who upon matter of conscience engaged in this quarrel: and thus, adds he, being well armed within by the satisfaction of their own consciences, and without by good iron arms, they would, as one man, stand firmly and charge desperately. Of the same description was probably the majority of the parliament army.

Of these two parties, thus dividing the parliament, the presbyterians were for uniformity in doctrine and discipline, without allowance to the tender consciences of those who differed from them in either. They were the inveterate foes of the independents:—Neal, in his History of the Puritans, says, they, the presbyterians, were now in the height of their power, the hierarchy being destroyed, the King their prisoner, and the best if not all the livings of the kingdom distributed amongst them; but still adds he, they were dissatisfied for want of the top-stone to their new building, which was church-power; the pulpits and convers-

ation of the city were filled with invectives against the men in power, because they would not leave the church independent on the state: and that the presbyterian ministers were very troublesome, the parliament being teased every week with church grievances of one kind or another. He says, the presbyterian government was as narrow as the prelatical, not allowing liberty of conscience, but claiming a civil as well as ecclesiastical authority over men's persons and properties: in confirmation whereof he gives some extracts from a zealous presbyterian writer of that time against the sectaries; who, after giving a catalogue of many of the errors, heresies, and blasphemies of that, his time, calls down the vengeance of the higher powers upon these supposed deluded people; adding that the great opinion of an universal toleration tends to the laying all waste, and dissolution of all religion and good manners; a connivance and suffering whereof without punishment, provokes God to send judgments; that a toleration doth eclipse the glory of the most excellent reformation, and makes these sins to be the sins of the legislature, that countenances them: that a magistrate should use coercive power to punish and suppress evils, as appears from the example of Eli. The same writer (Neal) adds, that this writer might have enlarged his catalogue with papists, prelates, deists, and others; but his business was, to blacken the adversaries of presbyterian uniformity, that the parliament might crush them by sanguinary methods. The independents, he says, were put at the head of the sectaries, because they were for toleration of all Christians who agreed in the fundamentals of religion.

Mrs. Hutchinson, in her forementioned memoirs, says, that upon Colonel Hutchinson her husband going to London upon the termination of the war, to attend his duty in the House of Commons, he found a very bitter spirit of discord and envy raging; and the presbyterian faction, of which were most of those lords and others that had been laid aside by the Self-denying Ordinance; endeavouring a violent persecution upon the account of conscience, against those who had in so short a time, accomplished by God's blessing, that victory which he was not pleased

to bestow on them: that their directory of worship was at length sent forth for a three years' trial, and such as could not conform to it marked out with an evil eye, hated and persecuted under the name of separatists: that the Colonel (Hutchinson) who abhorred that malicious zeal and imposing spirit which appeared in them, was soon taken notice of for one of the independent faction, whose heads were accounted Pierrepoint, Vane, St. John, and some few other grandees.

Whitelock, upon the same subject, says that many complaints and cavils were made against the officers and soldiers of the army, as such who held erroneous and schismatical opinions, contrary to the true doctrine, and that they took upon them to preach and expound Scripture, not being learned or ordained; and, adds Whitelock, some of the King's party were not wanting to foment these things, and to raise an odium upon the army in the peoples' minds: and those, says he, who so lately were in their highest esteem and respect as freers of their country from servitude and oppression, are now by the same people looked upon as sectaries and oppressors themselves. Thus, continues he, we may see the inconstancy of the giddy multitude, and the uncertainty of worldly affairs: when their turns are served, their minds change, their best friends when they relieve them are counted their enemies when they are relieved: that the best course is to provide for such a condition as will always afford comfort, and will never change; not to trust in men, but in God alone.

The same writer observes that Mr. Holles, Sir Philip Stapleton, Recorder Glyn, and others of that party, did put on eagerly the business of disbanding the army; some others declared their opinion against it, as that which might prove dangerous to them and to all the parliament party if it should succeed: and withal that they believed the army would not submit to it, and ill consequences might follow if the votes should pass for the doing it. But they still, both in public and in private, pressed that point, having taken a pique against the army, themselves, many of them, having been left out by the Self-denying Ordinance, and Cromwell and Skippon and other members of the House, continuing

officers of the army; and their great success did increase the envy against them: that they likewise apprehended the advantage in prosecuting this business, as that which would generally please the people, by ridding them of the soldiers, and easing of the taxes; and they would not consider the doubt of the army's mutiny and disobedience, being over-resolute in this temper: that the other party took occasion to have the more converse with Cromwell and that party, who entertained them with all respect and affection, and highly courted them. Yet it was observed, continues Whitelock, that this was not upon design or policy in them to come off to a new party who might be thought more growing into power than the other, but it was their clear judgment: but what they gained with the one party they lost with the other, neither continuing firm to them who were not thorough-paced in all things which they laboured to bring to pass. But, observes he, we shall find, in all sorts of business, that honesty is the best policy; and that a clear and sincere dealing, according to one's judgment and conscience, is seldom without a blessing accompanying it.

Ludlow in this place observes, that the party in the House that were betraying the cause of their country, became encouragers of such petitioners as came to them from the city of London and other places to that effect; very many of whom had been always for the King's interest, but their estates lying in the parliament's quarters, they secured them by their presence in the House, and at the same time promoted his designs by their votes: that there was another sort of men who were contented to sacrifice all civil liberties to the ambition of the presbyterian clergy, and to vest them with a power as great or greater than that which had been declared intolerable in the bishops before: that to this end they encouraged the reduced officers of the Earl of Essex, such as Massey, Waller, Poyntz, and others, to press the parliament for their arrears in a peremptory and seditious manner; that being furnished with money they might be enabled to stand by these their patrons in whatsoever design they had to carry on; and that the better to facilitate the disbanding of the army, which they so

much desired, they resolved to draw off a considerable part of them for the service of Ireland; and, to render the work more acceptable, voted Major-general Skippon to command them, joining the Earl of Warwick and Sir William Waller in commission with Sir Thomas Fairfax, to draw out such forces as were willing to go, to continue such as should be thought necessary for the security of the nation, and to disband the rest: that the army being well informed of the design, began to consult how to prevent it; and though many of the officers were prevailed with to engage by advancement to higher commands, yet the major part absolutely refused: that the commissioners of the parliament having done what they could in prosecution of their instructions, ordered those who had engaged in the Irish service to draw off from the army, which then lay at Saffron Walden, and about Newmarket, and to be quartered in the way to Ireland; which done, they returned to London with an account of their proceedings: that the parliament being informed of what passed, were highly displeased with the carriage of the army; but the prudence and moderation of Major-general Skippon, in his report of that matter to the House, much abated the heat of their resentment; yet that some menacing expressions falling from some of them, Lieutenant-general Cromwell took the occasion to whisper him (Ludlow) in the ear, "these men will never leave till the army pull them out by the ears;" which expression, adds Ludlow, he should have resented, had the state of affairs permitted. He then proceeds to relate the choice of agitators, and their other proceedings as before related.

The foregoing accounts of the proceedings of the parliament and army upon the conclusion of the war, leave no room for doubt that the object of the presbyterian party was to rid themselves of the army. This measure would have given them the complete ascendancy over the independent party in parliament, and would have placed in their power all those individuals that obstructed their progress to absolute sovereignty.

In prosecution of this object, it appears upon the Journals of the House of Commons, that on the 31st July, 1646, only about

one month after the surrender of Oxford, which terminated the war, it was proposed that four regiments of foot and two regiments of horse, of the army under General Fairfax's command, should be forthwith sent into Ireland for the relief of that kingdom: that upon the previous question, (that this question be put,) the House divided, when the numbers were,—for the question, ninety, including the tellers, Mr. Holles and Sir Philip Stapleton; against it, ninety-one, including the tellers, Sir Arthur Heselrigge and Sir John Evelyn of Wilts. The question being lost this force was consequently not then sent; but this division proves the then equality of strength of the two parties in the Commons. It appears, nevertheless, that in the following month a considerable force from several counties was ordered for Ireland, and that Cromwell was desired to inform the colonel of one of the regiments so ordered of its destination.

The army saw through these designs of the presbyterians, and, as might have been expected, determined upon resistance; hence sprung the agitators: they were, as described by Rushworth, to consist of committees to be chosen by the soldiers from amongst themselves, out of every troop and company, for the purpose of conferring together upon the votes of the House, for the satisfaction of the soldiers for arrears, and for indemnity, and for discovering the distempers of the army. The committees reported their proceedings to their officers, and they to the headquarters, and from thence to be sent to the parliament. The idea of forming these committees appears to have wholly originated with the soldiers, for the purpose of protecting their interests against the unfavourable designs of the presbyterian party in parliament, and against the possibility of injury from the opposite views or inattention of their officers. They (the soldiers) refused to disband, or to go to Ireland, until the discharge of the arrears of their pay, and an indemnity for all their acts as soldiers during the late war; some of them appearing to have been prosecuted for these acts, as individuals, by the royalists in different parts of the kingdom. They assert their right of petitioning in common with their fellow-subjects: they also required, amongst other

things, that the Houses should be purged of those members who, for delinquency or corruptions, or by undue elections, ought not to sit there; and that those who had abused the parliament and the army, and endangered the kingdom, should be disabled from further mischief, particularly to the individuals of the army, when they should be disbanded and dispersed, and in the condition of private men: and they required some other things to be done for the settlement of the King and kingdom in peace, disclaiming all intentions to overthrow presbytery, and to introduce independency; only claiming the promise that had been made of a provision for tender consciences, in order that all who, upon conscientious grounds, might differ from the established forms, might not be debarred from the common rights belonging equally to all, whilst they should live soberly and inoffensively towards others, and peacefully and faithfully towards the state. This was all very reasonable; and the general and principal officers openly countenanced the inferior officers and soldiers in their applications to parliament for the redress of these their grievances; and these applications, whether by petition or remonstrance, were signed by the general (Fairfax) himself, or by his secretary, Rushworth, by his order. But the parliament gave them little attention, unless when alarmed by the apprehension of their (the army's) approach towards London, when they would order them a little more of their pay, leaving still much in arrear; nevertheless expecting they should disband, or go to Ireland. These proceedings of the army therefore appear to have been self-defensive: finding, as they did, the tardiness of the parliament in the payment of their arrears, and in the redress of their other grievances, whilst they continued together, they had no reason to expect more attention from them when separated; and the principal officers of the army, and probably the greatest part of the army itself, being of the independent party, they were not likely to experience any mercy from their inveterate enemies, the presbyterian party, when they should become defenceless individuals: under these circumstances it would have been the extreme of folly to have separated.

Lord Clarendon, with his usual ingenuity, has worked up this

simple transaction into a contrivance of the army to share with the parliament in the settlement of the kingdom; and, with his accustomed acrimony, when speaking of Cromwell, introduces him as having the sole influence over the army, underhandedly, as he expresses it, making them petition the Houses against any thing that was done contrary to his opinion.

It appears to have been His Lordship's great object throughout his history, to destroy the characters of all the leading men in the parliament, by attributing all their proceedings to a settled design of raising themselves upon the ruins of the late government. He could not do this more effectually than by representing them as a set of religious hypocrites, solemnly protesting one thing and meaning another, introducing upon every occasion their fasts and prayers and preaching, in aid of their deceptions. But Cromwell was the grand object of his hatred; not an action of his public conduct upon which he does not put an ill construction; no faith or reliance is to be placed in his most solemn promises or declarations; some sinister design in every thing he does or says, to serve the purposes of an inordinate ambition. He represents him and his officers as taking upon themselves to preach and to pray publicly to their troops, and admitting few, or no chaplains in the army, but such as bitterly inveighed against the presbyterian government as more tyrannical than episcopacy: also that the common soldiers as well as officers, did not only pray and preach among themselves, but went up into the pulpits in all churches and preached to the people; who quickly became inspired with the same spirit; women as well as men, taking upon them to pray and preach; which made as great noise and confusions in all opinions concerning religion, as there was in the civil government of the state; scarce any man being suffered to be called in question for delivering any opinion in religion by speaking or writing, how profane, heretical or blasphemous soever it was, which they said was to restrain the spirit. His Lordship adds, that liberty of conscience was become the common argument and quarrel, whilst the presbyterian party proceeded with equal bitterness against the several sects as enemies

to all godliness, as they had done, and still continued to do, against the prelatical party: and that finding themselves superior in the two Houses, little doubted, by their authority and power there, to be able to reform the army and to new-model it again, which they would no doubt have attempted, if it had not pleased God to have taken away the Earl of Essex, some months before this, who died without being sensible of sickness. He insidiously adds, that it was loudly said by many of his friends that he was poisoned. Sure, says he, it is, that Cromwell and his party (for he was now declared the head of the army, though Fairfax continued General in name,) were wonderfully exalted with his death, he being the only person whose credit and interest they feared, without any esteem for his person. He means this insinuation shall have the effect of making it believed that Cromwell or some of his party had poisoned him. Whatever might be the imperfections of Cromwell's character, a disposition to rid himself of his enemies by assassination was not one of them. Fortunately, in refutation of this unworthy aspersion, Ludlow, who is no friend to Cromwell, says that he died from overheating himself in the chase of a stag in Windsor Forest. Dr. Bates attributes his death to his lying on the ground in a sweat after hunting. He adds, that his death was a great loss to his party. His Lordship describes Cromwell and his party as having introduced the principal officers of the army and others of their friends to be elected members of the House of Commons, in the room of deceased members, or of those who had been expelled by them for adhering to the King; by which means, he says, Fairfax, Ireton, Harrison, and many others of the independents, officers and gentlemen of the several counties who were transported with new fancies in religion, and were called by a new name, fanatics, sat in the House of Commons: notwithstanding all which the presbyterians carried it.

His Lordship's account of the presbyterian party's intention to reform and new-model the army, had the Earl of Essex lived, must surely be deemed a justification of the army's refusal to disband till they should have secured themselves against the

undue exercise of the power that the presbyterian party would have then had over them, and which the heads of the army had sufficient reason to know would have been severely executed. Mrs. Hutchinson, referring to the King going to the Scots' army, says, that the independent party had certain evidence that they (the Scots army) were prepared and had an intent to have cut off the English army who beleaguered (besieged) Newark; but that God changed their counsels, and made them take another course, which was to carry the King to Newcastle: all that dissimulation and artifice therefore, of which His Lordship so freely accuses Cromwell, amounts to no more than the prudent and vigilant exertions of a wise man to defeat the machinations of a powerful and vindictive party. He certainly was become apprehensive of the agitators in the army, who had become suspicious that he and some other principal officers were treating privately with the King: and this explains his complaint mentioned by His Lordship (if really made) of the licence that had got into the army, and of his having become odious to them. Ludlow mentions the circumstance referred to by His Lordship, of a determination of some in the House to secure Cromwell, and of his withdrawing to the army, upon his having intimation of it; adding, so they missed of him, and were not willing to show their teeth since they could do no more. The same writer, introductory of his account of the taking the King from Holmby, describes the agitators as aware of the perilous situation in which they were placed in consequence of a vote of the House brought about by Mr. Holles, declaring their petition to be seditious and themselves traitors: and that they must be at the mercy of the parliament, unless they could secure themselves from their power by prosecuting what they had begun. The same writer, giving some instances of the army's respectful attention to the King after his removal from Holmby, says, that the King began to promise himself that his condition was altered for the better, and to look upon the independent interest as more consisting with episcopacy than the presbyterian interest; for that it would subsist under any form, which the other could not do: that he therefore largely

promised liberty to the independent party, being fully persuaded how naturally his power would revive upon his restitution to the throne, and how easy it would be for him to break through all such promises and engagements, upon pretence that he was under a force.

This account, coming from one who was no friend to monarchy, and consequently was apprehensive of the King's restoration, and was likewise not well disposed towards Cromwell, of whom he repeatedly expresses himself suspicious of looking too much to his own aggrandisement, is good evidence of the reality of his (Cromwell's) serious apprehensions of the agitators' jealousy of his design to assist in the restoration, and of the reality and sincerity of that design: had the King been, at that time, equally sincere, and had not trifled and balanced between the parliament and the army under the delusion of an opinion that he held to the last, that neither of them could form a government without him; he might at that time, apparently, by adhering to the army, have been restored upon reasonable terms for the nation as well as for himself: one of the great obstacles to a successful treaty with the presbyterian party, the establishment of presbytery, would have been out of the way, when treating with the independent party; and some settlement of the question of religion might have been devised that might have removed the King's scruples, and accorded with the liberal religious sentiments of the independents.

Lord Clarendon himself testifies the army's respectful treatment of the King after his removal from the parliament's commissioners, where he describes him to have been, in various instances, much and rigidly restrained. The parliament appear from His Lordship to have been very apprehensive of the army's agreement with the King, and used every endeavour to counteract them, by getting him again into their possession. The army with reason, according to His Lordship's own account, suspected the King's sincerity: nor does it afford any reason to doubt, and which is confirmed by Ludlow, Sir John Berkley, and other writers, of the sincere desire of Cromwell and Ireton to treat with the King, who, says His Lordship, doubted how to carry

himself towards the different parties; instead of hesitating, he should have decidedly closed with the army, whose terms the King himself allowed to be much more liberal than those of the presbyterian party. But Cromwell and Ireton discerned, what His Lordship acknowledges, that he (the King) was balancing, as before observed, between the army and the parliament, and playing off, if the expression may be allowed, one against the other, whereby he lost the confidence of both. For, says His Lordship, the King made use of the liberty allowed him at Hampton-court, by consulting the Lord Capel and others of his friends that resorted to him, and by forming the plan His Lordship describes, of availing himself of the war which he expected would shortly happen between the two nations of England and Scotland, in which the presbyterians were expected to join the Scots against the army; when his own party were to hold themselves in readiness to act with their assistance in crushing the army, and reinstating him without its assistance.

Cromwell and Ireton were not ignorant of these proceedings; hence their sudden reserve towards the King and those about him, and their resolution, related by His Lordship, of their determination never to trust the King, or to do any thing further towards his restoration. His Lordship also says, that Cromwell expostulated with Mr. Ashburnham, and complained that the King could not be trusted, and that he had no affection for, or confidence in the army, but was jealous of them and of all the officers, and that he had intrigues in the parliament, and treaties with the presbyterians in the city to raise new troubles: that he had a treaty concluded with the Scots' commissioners to engage the nation again in blood; and that therefore he would not be answerable if any thing fell out amiss, and contrary to expectation: their complaints appear to have been all well founded. His Lordship, in another place, says, the parliament maintained no further contests with the army, but tamely submitted to whatsoever they proposed; the presbyterians in both Houses, and in the city, being in a terrible agony lest some close correspondence they had held with the King, during his abode at Hampton-court,

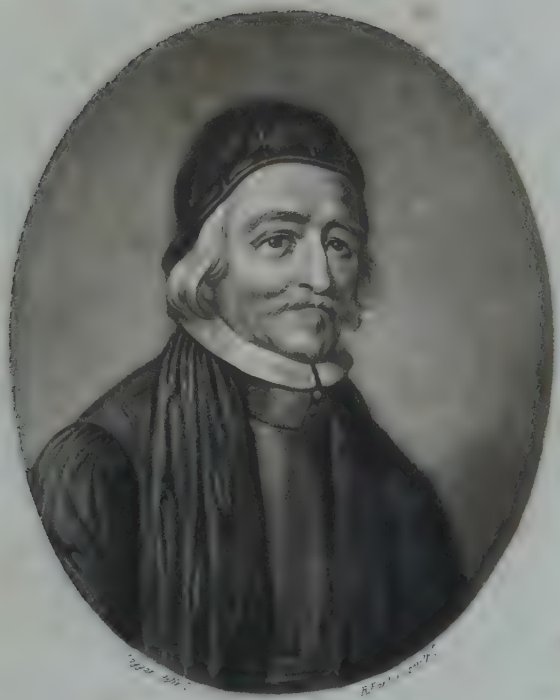
should be discovered, and therefore would have no further occasion of jealousy by any contradictions; leaving it to their clergy to keep the fire burning in the hearts of the people by their pulpit inflammations; and that they stoutly discharged their trusts.

In a subsequent part of his history, His Lordship says, that when the Scots' commissioners had, by various insinuations, gained new credit with the King, and had undertaken that their invading England with an army, equal to the undertaking, should be the foundation upon which all other hopes were to depend, they began to propose to him many conditions which would be necessary for His Majesty to engage himself to perform towards that nation; without which it would not be easy to induce it into so unanimous a consent and engagement as was necessary for such an enterprise; to which the King utterly refused to consent, and so the agreement was not concluded when the King left Hampton-court; but that, as soon as he was in the Isle of Wight, the Scots' commissioners repaired to him at the same time with those who were sent to him from the parliament for his royal assent to the four bills that they had sent to him: that then, in that season of despair, they prevailed with him to sign the propositions he had formerly refused; and having great apprehension from the jealousies they knew the army had of them, that they should be seized upon and searched in their return to London, they made up their precious contract in lead, and buried it in a garden in the Isle of Wight, from whence they easily found means afterwards to receive it. So constant, says His Lordship, were those men to their principles, and so wary to be sure to be no losers by returning to their allegiance; to which neither conscience nor honour did invite or dispose them: that so, after a stay of some months at London to adjust all accounts, and receive the remainder of those monies they had so dearly earned, or so much of it as they had hope would be paid, they returned to Scotland with the hatred and contempt of the army and of the parliament, that was then governed by it; but with the veneration of the presbyterian party, which still had faith in them, and exceedingly depended upon their future negociation, which was

now incumbent upon them: and that, in order thereunto, a fast intercourse and correspondence was settled, as well by constant letters, as by frequent emissaries of their clergy, or other persons whose devotion to their combination was unquestionable.

Without having recourse to those supposed inventions and subtleties of Cromwell which His Lordship is so fond of discovering and dwelling upon, the above circumstances, given by His Lordship himself, must surely be deemed cause sufficient for Cromwell's and Ireton's determination to have no more intercourse with the King.

Notwithstanding all His Lordship's assertions and insinuations to the contrary, the sincerity of Cromwell and of other the principal officers in treating with the King, and the reality of their disposition to restore him upon reasonable terms, ought not, upon an impartial review of the authentic histories of those times, to be doubted: those engaged made no secret of it. Whitelock says, letters from Sir Thomas Fairfax to the parliament, full of respect towards the King; and taking notice of some reports, as if he and his officers were upon some underhand contract with the King; and so, to slander their integrities and endeavour a misunderstanding betwixt the parliament and their army, which their enemies would fain effect, to hinder the settlement of the people's rights; but that a good accord between them was their design to preserve. He declares that they had not done, nor should do any thing which they should desire to hide from the parliament and the world, and should not avow to the faces of their adversaries: that their desires to settle the King's rights, he first giving his concurrence to secure the rights of the kingdom they had already declared publicly: that since their papers sent in to the parliament, several officers were sent to the King, to satisfy him concerning those papers, and some others sent to him about his removes; in which addresses they bargained not, nor asked any thing of the King, as to any private interest of their own; but that they endeavoured only the settlement of the public peace and rights of the nation; and assured the King, that this being done with his concurrence, the rights of His Majesty



Dr. BAIL[illegible]

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Cromwell

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and his family should be provided for; and in the mean time His Majesty should find from them all personal civilities and respects, and such freedom as might stand with safety, and the trust lying upon them: that they were no enemies to monarchy and civil government: that upon His Majesty's importunity (though with some reluctancy) they did give way for the Duke of Richmond and the two chaplains to come to His Majesty, as that which they thought reasonable and just, and to make the King less prejudiced against others: that they conceived, to avoid all harshnesses, and afford all kindnesses to His Majesty, consisting with the peace and safety of the kingdom, was the most Christian, honourable, and prudent way; and that tender, equitable, and moderate dealing towards His Majesty, his family, and party, was the most hopeful course to take away the seeds of war and feuds, and to procure a lasting peace; and that being settled with the rights and liberties of the nation, and propagation of the gospel of truth, and they, honoured to be instrumental therein, they should be willing to be dismissed, and be happy to be discharged, not only from military employments, but from all matters of power whatsoever.

He (Whitelock) also, in an article in September (1647), says, letters from the commissioners with the King,— that he was willing to settle presbytery for three years, and the militia as he before offered, but others he was not satisfied to assent unto; but desired to put himself upon the proposals of the army, and that they might be taken into consideration. He adds, some private treaties are said to have been by some officers of the army with the King, and instructions given by Cromwell and others, that if he would assent to their proposals, lower than those of the parliament, the army would settle him again in his throne. But, proceeds Whitelock, (unfortunate as to him,) his bishops persuaded him against what he was inclined in his own judgment to have agreed unto, and thereby ruined him and themselves at the present.

His Lordship says, that Cromwell's continuance in his northern progress was the reason that all they who wished ill to the treaty

of Newport, had used and interposed all the delays they could, that he might return before it began, as those who wished it might succeed were as solicitous that it might be concluded before that time; which made them the less insist upon many particulars both in the propositions and in the instructions, which they hoped might be more capable of remedies in the treaty than before it.

This is wholly assertion, not founded in fact. So far from precipitation, every article of the propositions was debated and disputed, and nothing material on the part of the parliament was conceded. The article of religion was particularly pressed upon the King in a most harsh and cruel manner. Nothing but the establishment of the presbyterian form of church-government and worship would satisfy the parliament, without the least allowance to the scruples of the King, or of any of the sects. It appears in Rushworth, that the King first consented to confirm for three years, by act of parliament, the presbyterian form of church-government, but not to abolish episcopacy; only he would agree to the alteration and regulation of the present hierarchy, so as that episcopacy, reduced to its primitive state, might be continued. And that he would confirm the public use of the Directory in all churches and chapels, and would consent to the repeal of so much of the statutes as only concerned the book of Common Prayer, and the taking the same away out of all churches and chapels, provided that the use thereof might be continued in His Majesty's chapel for himself and his household. All this to be confirmed by act of parliament for three years; and in the mean time a future form of church-government to be considered of. He declared himself not satisfied to take the covenant. He afterwards declared his consent to abolish archbishops, deans, and chapters, and the rest of the hierarchy, except bishops; and made some further concessions respecting bishops and ecclesiastical government. He also relinquished the continuance of the use of the Common Prayer in his own family and household, only reserving to himself the liberty to use therein some other set form of worship; and he declared the above concessions to be the furthest

he could go in conscience: all these concessions were voted, not satisfactory.

More than this, says Whitelock, could not be obtained from His Majesty, though most earnestly begged of him by some of the commissioners (great persons) with tears, and on their knees; particularly as to the proposition touching religion, wherein the church-government and public worship, and chiefly the revenues of the church, swayed more with the King's chaplains then about him, and they more with His Majesty, (continually whispering matter of conscience to him,) than the parliament and all their commissioners could prevail with him for an agreement, though possibly his own judgment, which was above all theirs, might not be so fully convinced by his eager divines about him; and thus terminated, unsuccessfully, this last treaty with the King.

The failure of this treaty must be deemed to be principally imputable to the obstinacy of the presbyterian party in thus pressing upon the King and upon the nation their own form of church-government and worship, without even allowing the King the use of the liturgy in his own private and family devotions.

Here is no appearance of haste, or independent interference: the presbyterian party had, uninterruptedly, all the time they required; and it does appear most extraordinary, that a set of people, whose opposition to the measures of the King had been principally grounded upon their sufferings from religious intolerance, and who had so lately rescued themselves from the smart of it, should now be attempting religious uniformity: but they had entangled themselves in their engagement with Scotland, by the solemn league and covenant, which obliged them not only to assist the Scots in maintaining the reformed religion in the church of Scotland, but to endeavour the reformation of religion in England, according to the best reformed religion, so as to bring the churches in the three kingdoms as near together as possible. The similar attempt of the King in Scotland was one of the grounds of his quarrel with the Scots. What national and individual confusion and distress has this foolish attempt to bring about an impossibility, of no use to the state could it have been accomplished

caused in the world in all times! It might have been expected, that the number of sects into which the professors of Christianity are divided, would present an insurmountable obstacle to the attempt. Not only the several different sects are separated by different modes of worship or religious sentiments from each other, but each of such sects are frequently divided amongst themselves; and even the clergy of our own establishment are not of one opinion upon the construction of many of its own articles. Had not the contrary appeared in all ages of the Christian church, religious persecution would not have been credible.

His Lordship says, the independents were more learned and rational than the presbyterians; who, though they had not so great congregations of the common people, yet infected and were followed by the most substantial and wealthy citizens, and by others of better condition: that to these men Cromwell and most of the officers of the army adhered with bitterness against the other. This bitterness of the independents towards the presbyterians is well accounted for by the intolerant persecuting spirit of the presbyterians, who hated them for their tolerance of all religious opinions and modes of worship, and, could they have prevailed, would have persecuted the independents to utter extirpation. Had the King sincerely and exclusively treated with the independents instead of the presbyterians, he would not probably have found any difficulty in the article of religion, which was the great obstacle in his treaties with the presbyterians; they must, and would, no doubt, upon their own principles, have consented to his enjoyment of his own mode of worship, though not perhaps consenting to its re-establishment, reserving to the nation its liberty of adoption of the same, or any other mode each individual might for himself prefer.

Neal, in his History of the Puritans, observes, that the royal party being broken, and the King, as it were, a prisoner, had no prospect of recovering his throne, but by dividing his enemies, or making the best terms with them he could: that the presbyterians being in league with the Scots nation were most numer-

ous and powerful; but that, that which rendered their agreement with the King impracticable, was his belief that episcopal government was essential to Christianity, and that he was bound by his coronation-oath to maintain it; whereas the others held themselves equally bound by their solemn league and covenant to abolish episcopacy, and establish presbytery in its room: that both parties were immoveable, and upon this rock, says he, they split: that His Majesty's agreement with the army was more open and practicable, because they would have set aside the covenant, and obliged the parliament to tolerate episcopal government as well as the sectaries: but, adds Neal, he affected to play the army and the parliament against each other, hoping to take advantage of their divisions, and establish himself upon the ruins of both; for that it was His Majesty's maxim, which he did not scruple to avow, that neither party could subsist without him, and that those must be ruined whom he abandoned; by which conduct he lost his interest both in the parliament and army, and laid the foundation of his own ruin.

The presbyterians, proceeds Neal, were no less unhappy; for the majority of the House of Commons, with the City of London and the whole Scots nation, being firmly in their interest, they imagined nothing could stand before them, and therefore would abate nothing of their demands, nor hearken to any other terms of accommodation with the King than those of the covenant, which were the entire abolishing of prelacy, and the establishing presbyterian uniformity throughout both kingdoms, with an absolute extirpation of all sectaries whatsoever: that this embarrassed them, not only with the King, but awakened the jealousy of the army, who were thoroughly convinced, that when the presbyterians were in the legal possession of their demands, they would exercise equal tyranny over the consciences of men with the bishops of that reign; and that indeed nothing less was to be expected, considering their steady adherence to the covenant in all their treaties with the King, their efforts in parliament to get the power of the keys into their hands, their frequent addresses for the suppressing all sectaries by the civil authority, and their

declamations, both from the pulpit and the press, against toleration and liberty of conscience.

Neal adds, in another place, the independents' principles might be too narrow and mistaken in some points, and their zeal for Christian liberty might betray them into some imprudences; but on which side was the stiffness? on theirs who only desired a peaceable toleration; or on theirs who were determined to make the whole nation stoop to presbyterian uniformity? Were not these the men that kept open the church's wounds? Had their discipline been never so good, yet they might have had some regard to men of equal piety and virtue, that could not see with their eyes. Could they not be content with being the established religion, and having most of the livings of the kingdom divided amongst them, but they must subvert the religious rights of mankind, by enforcing an absolute uniformity, which can never be maintained but upon the ruins of a good conscience?

Ludlow's recollection of the part he took in the exclusion of the more than forty members of the House of Commons, for the purpose of carrying his and his party's point of procuring the votes of no more addresses to the King, and for bringing him to trial, should have moderated his wrath upon the occasion of Cromwell's dissolution of the Long Parliament. Had the exclusion of the whole House been necessary to the accomplishment of their object, they would not have scrupled it by the same means of military force. There is no difference between the two transactions, other than the extent; the principle upon which both acted was the same, the accomplishment of their respective particular purposes. Cromwell, notwithstanding the persistence of some writers to the contrary, had no concern in the exclusion of the above members; Ludlow takes the whole (as he conceives it) merit of this transaction to himself.

His (Cromwell's) dissolution of the Long Parliament, brought upon him the displeasure and resentment of Ludlow and his republican party, and of all others whose views were thereby frustrated. Ludlow presumes to dive into the thoughts and views of Cromwell, after the battle of Worcester: all he says is mere con-

jecture, arising probably out of a little-minded jealousy of Cromwell's superior talents and military renown. Even his moderation towards the royal party, of which Ludlow accuses him, and his magnanimity in procuring the act of oblivion, are unfavourably represented, and sinister motives applied to both.

The reasons for this dissolution are to be found in a declaration published a few days afterwards, and given at some length by Dr. Harris; and the substance by Whitelock. They are also fully entered into, and given in Cromwell's speech delivered in the council-chamber upon the 4th of July (1653) following the dissolution, which was, on the 20th of the preceding April, published in 1654 separately, by authority. It is stated to have been delivered to the persons then assembled and intrusted with the supreme authority of the nation. After giving a short history of the preceding times, concluding with the battle of Worcester; he proceeds to remind them of the passages that had been since transacted, whence coming, he says, with his fellow-officers and soldiers, they expected, and had some reasonable confidence that their expectations should not be frustrate. A few lines afterwards he says, that himself and those gentlemen that had been engaged in those military affairs, upon their return, came fully bent in their hearts and thoughts, to desire and use all fair and lawful means they could, to have had the nation to reap the fruit of all that blood and treasure that had been expended in the cause: that they were very tender for a long time so much as to petition; till August last they never offered to petition, but that some of their members and others having good acquaintance and relation to divers members of the parliament, they did, from time to time, solicit that which they thought (if there had been nobody to prompt them, nobody to call upon them) would have been listened to, out of ingenuity and integrity in them that had opportunity to have answered their expectations: that when they saw nothing would be done they did, as they thought, according to their duty, remind them by a petition in July or August then last, to which they had no return: that finding the people dissatisfied, they had divers meetings, at

least ten or twelve, with divers members of parliament; the first in October then last, whom they besought, that they would, of their own accords, do those good things that had been promised, that so it might appear they did not do them by any suggestion from the army, but of their own ingenuity; so tender were they (the army) to preserve them in the reputation and opinion of the people to the uttermost: that at last, when they saw that things would not be laid to heart, they had a serious consideration amongst themselves (the army) what other way to have recourse unto: that when they (the army) began to take those close considerations, they (the parliament) began to take the act of the new representation to heart, and seemed exceeding willing to put it on, the which, had it been done with that integrity, with that caution, that would have saved this cause, and the interest they (the army) had been so long engaged in, there could nothing have happened to their (the army's) judgments, more welcome than that would have been: but that they found plainly that the intendment of it was not to give the people their right of choice, but only the appearance of it, and that their real intention and design was to recruit the House, the better to perpetuate themselves. " And truly having divers of us, spoken to, to that end that we should give way to it, a thing to which we had a perpetual aversation, which we did abominate the thoughts of, we always declared our judgments against it, and our dissatisfaction; but yet they would not hear of a representative, before it lay three years before them, without proceeding with one line considerably in it; they that could not endure to hear of it then, when we came to our close considerations, then, instead of protracting, they did make as much preposterous haste, on the other hand, and ran into that extremity, and finding that this spirit was not according to God, and that the whole weight of this cause, which must needs have been very dear unto us who have so often adventured our lives for it, and we believe is so to you; when we saw plainly that there was not so much consideration how to assist it; or to provide security for it; and, indeed, to cross these, that

they reckoned the most troublesome people they had to deal with, which was the army, which by this time was sufficiently their displeasure: when we saw this truly, that had power in our hands, to let the business go to such an issue as this, was to throw back the cause into the hands of them we first fought with; we came to this first conclusion amongst ourselves, that, if we had been fought out of it, necessity would have taught us patience; but, to be taken from us so unworthily, we should be rendered the worst people in the world," &c. In a subsequent part of this speech, that when they (the army) saw the parliament's intendment to be, to perpetuate themselves, and that they could not endure to hear of being dissolved, they (the principal officers of the army) did desire, once more, the night before the dissolution, that they might speak with some of the principal persons of the House, that they might open their hearts to them, to the end that they might be either convinced of the ground of their principles and intentions to the good of the nation, or that, if they (the officers) could not be convinced, they (the parliament) would hear their (the officers') offer or expedient to prevent this mischief: that they told the members they met, that they desired to know from them what security lay in the way of their proceedings, so hastily with their representative, wherein they had made a few qualifications (such as they were), and how the whole business should be executed; and that if they did proceed in honest ways, as might be safe to the nation, they (the army) might acquiesce therein: that, when pressed to give satisfaction in this, the answer was, that nothing could be good to the nation, but the continuance of this parliament: that " seeing they would not give us that which might satisfy us that their way was honest and safe, they would give us leave to make our objections; — we did tell them, that we thought that way they were going in would be impracticable; we could not tell them how it would be brought to pass, to send out an act of parliament into the country, to have qualifications in an act to be the rules of electors and elected, and not to know who should execute this: desired to know whether the next parliament were not like to consist of all presbyters; whether those qualifications would

hinder them or neuters? and though it be our desire to value and esteem of that judgment, only they having, as we know, deserted this cause and interest upon the King's account, and upon that closure between them and the neighbour nation, we do think we must profess, we had as good have delivered up our cause into the hands of any, as into the hands of interested and biassed men; for it is one thing to live friendly and brotherly, to bear with and love a person of another judgment in religion, another thing to have any so far set into the saddle upon that account, as that it should be in them to have all the rest of their brethren at mercy: that having had this discourse, making these objections of bringing in neuters, or such as should impose upon their brethren, or such as had given testimony to the King's party, and objecting to the danger of it, in drawing the concourse of all people, to arraign every individual person, which indeed did fall obviously in, and the issue would certainly have been, the putting it into the hands of men that had little affection to this cause: that the answer again was made, and it was confessed by some that these objections did lie, but answer was made by a very eminent person, at the same time as before, that nothing would save the nation but the continuance of this parliament:" that this being so, they (the army) proposed an expedient, that the government being in that condition it was, and things being in so much ill sense abroad, and so likely to come to confusion if it went on, they (the parliament) would devolve the trust over to persons of honour and integrity, well known, and well affected to religion and the interest of the nation, which they confessed was no new thing, when these nations had been under the like distractions: that to this it was answered, that nothing would save the nation but the continuance of that parliament: that finding their endeavours did directly tend thereto, and they giving this answer, — that the things we had offered were of a tender and very weighty consideration, and making objections how we should raise money, and some other objections, we told them that that we offered as an expedient, because we thought better than that for which no reason was or thought could be given. We desired them to lay the thing seriously to heart; they told us

they would take consideration of these till the morning, that they would sleep upon them: "and, I think," continues Cromwell, "there was scarce any day that there sat above 50, 52, or 53. That at the parting, two or three of the chief ones did tell us, that they would endeavour the suspending the proceedings of the representative the next day, till they had had a further conference, and we did acquiesce, and had hope, that if our expedient would take up a loving debate, the next day we should have some such issue of it as would have given a satisfaction to all. They went away late at night, and the next morning, we, considering how to order that which we had to offer to them, when they were to meet in the evening, word was brought they were proceeding with a representative with all the eagerness they could. We did not believe persons of such quality could do it; a second and a third messenger told us they had almost finished it, and had brought it to that issue, with that haste that had never been before; leaving out the things that did necessarily relate to due qualifications, as we have heard since, resolved to make it a paper bill; not to ingross it, that they might make the quicker dispatch of it; thus to have thrown all the liberties of the nation into the hands that never bled for it: upon this account we thought it our duty not to suffer it; and upon this the House was dissolved." The speech then proceeds to exhort and instruct the persons then assembled in the performance of their duties; and concludes with ordering the instrument of government to be read; which he (Cromwell) had signed by the advice of his council of officers.

The cause of this apparently strong proceeding of Cromwell's dissolution of the Long Parliament, must be sought for in the circumstances in which he found himself at the time. The forementioned conversation at Essex-house, with the heads of the presbyterian party, related by Whitelock, proves the early dislike of the Scots and English presbyterians to Cromwell, and their wish to get rid of him by the prosecution of him as an incendiary between the two nations. It appears also, from Lord Clarendon and Ludlow, that the presbyterian party in the House of Commons was the most powerful party, and that they made several

attempts to impeach, and send him to the Tower. They also repeatedly attempted to disband the army, for the generally understood purpose of depriving Cromwell and the other obnoxious chiefs, of that support, and reducing them, as individuals, into their power, subjecting them also to a commonwealth form of government, with a presbyterian church-government and Directory, without the least allowance to the scruples of those who could not conscientiously submit to this church-government, or the use of such Directory: in opposition to the independents' liberal indulgence of all religious denominations, in the exercise of their natural right of private judgment in matters of religion.

These considerations alone were sufficient to determine Cromwell and his party upon resistance to this, the presbyterian party's attempt of sovereignty.

The above speech expressly charges the presbyterian party in the House with the design of perpetuating themselves and their own power, by filling up the parliament from their own party; thus having, as the speech expresses, the rest of their brethren at their mercy. It also appears from the speech, that the parliament leaders deceived the army in the breach of their promise, to take the army's proposals into consideration the next morning, and to endeavour the suspending the parliament's proceedings till they should have a further conference; instead of which, they were found proceeding with all eagerness with their proposed bill for their representative; which determined the army upon their dissolution, and which was effected by Cromwell, as before related, upon the 20th April, 1653.

This parliament consisted, at the time of its dissolution, of not more (according to Cromwell's statement in his above speech) than 53 members. Referring to the Journals, the number upon the resolution to dissolve the House of Lords, was only 73; the number upon the resolution of a commonwealth form of government soon after the King's death, does not appear; but, upon the resolution of the act of oblivion in April (1649), the number was only 47; upon the appointment of the council of state in the same year it was 90; and, upon the vote shortly afterwards, for

completing the number of the same council, the number then in the House was reported to be 108; upon the 24th November (1652), upon the election of a new council of state for the ensuing year, the number present was agreed to be 122; and on the 26th of the same month 97.

Thus the small numbers before stated took upon themselves to determine upon a commonwealth form of government, without King or House of Lords: but, it is evident that this form had not been universally acquiesced in, or considered to be finally settled; for, the consideration and determination of the form of government to be adopted, was the express object of the meetings mentioned by Whitelock; upon which there was much difference of opinion.

Whitelock's observations upon this transaction are certainly very severe upon Cromwell and his party; they, however, confirm the impartiality of his memorials; notwithstanding his disapprobation of some parts of Cromwell's conduct, he continued to act with him during the remainder of his public life, and appears to have entertained a very favourable opinion of him. All other writers friendly to a commonwealth form of government, or for any other reason hostile to him, allow him no excuse.

It should be remembered, that the republican form of government was but an assumption upon the destruction of the monarchical form, to which the nation had always been accustomed, and might be supposed to have been generally partial: that it was certainly most tyrannical and oppressive, imposing upon the people an establishment and mode of public worship to which they had not been accustomed, framed by the presbyterian divines, under the sanction of the parliament, without the least regard to the different religious opinions and scruples of those upon whom it was imposed, and subjecting the disobedient to the severest penalties. There cannot be a stronger proof of their intolerance, than their refusal, in their treaty in the Isle of Wight, to permit the King the use of the Liturgy, and of every other form of prayer in its stead, in his own household and family, insisting upon his use of the Directory only.

It is not therefore to be conceived, that Cromwell and his party would tamely submit themselves to the arbitrary domination of this assumed power; their inveterate enemies, seeking every opportunity to rid themselves of such formidable opponents of their ambitious views. Cromwell's victories, and great endowments, had placed him and his party in the ability to determine upon this question; and they had, at least, as much right to deliberate upon and determine the form of the government of the country, as the party who had taken upon themselves so to do.

At the fore-mentioned meeting, in December 1651, of members of parliament and chief officers of the army soon after the battle of Worcester, which was on the 3d of the preceding September, for the purpose of considering of a settlement of the nation, Whitelock describes Cromwell as proposing for consideration, whether a republic or a mixed monarchical government would be best; and, if any thing monarchical, then, in whom that power should be placed: that different opinions were given; some for a republic, others for a mixed monarchy, to be placed in one of the sons of the late King: that Cromwell thought this a business of more than ordinary difficulty; but that a settlement with somewhat of monarchical powers in it, would be very effectual, if to be accomplished with safety and preservation of the nation's rights and privileges: but that the company parted without coming to any result, only that Cromwell thus discovered the inclinations of those present, for which he fished, and made use of what he then discerned.

A book or pamphlet is amongst the Cromwell family papers, appearing to have been published subsequent to Cromwell becoming Protector, entitled, "Animadversions upon a Letter and Paper subscribed and sent to him by certain Gentlemen and others in Wales," being, as described, "a Word for God, or a Testimony on Truth's behalf; from several Churches, and divers hundreds of Christians in Wales (and some few adjacent), against wickedness in High Places." This letter severely censures Cromwell for taking upon himself this office.

The animadversions are anonymous; they appear to be impartially written; favourable to Cromwell, but not to his becoming Protector.

Referring to the dissolution of the Long Parliament, the writer says, that it deserved to be mentioned with much honour by all honest men in the nation that did adhere to it; for that it had in it many sound and worthy men, and was a long time a bulwark that kept off slavery and destruction from breaking in upon us in many a hard brunt and desperate assault; yet that the removing of them at that time might be no injury to them or us: that parliament, as it then stood, was no legal constitution, nor had they right to the government by our laws: what right had they to take away the life and office of a King by whose authority they were made a parliament? or what right had they to take away the House of Lords, a constitution ancienter than themselves? when this was done, what just power had they to constitute themselves a commonwealth? that there was no act of the people that either made them so, or gave them power to make themselves so; they had no such power inherent in themselves, neither could they ever manifest any such stamp of majesty set upon them by God and his providence. Now, proceeds the writer, the parliament did assume the government without any rule or authority, and impose it and themselves upon the people, and so upon the army; what law is broken in pulling down that which stands not by law? that that government, such a constitution as it had, was from the army; the army urged them to do justice upon the King, which they neither could, nor durst do themselves; for that they and every rational man must confess, that were it not for the strength, honour, and success of the army, that which we call parliament, government, and commonwealth, would have been made confederacy and rebellion: that it is true the army did at least tolerate, and so far consent, as to submit to this government; but I (the writer) know not that they did, by any act, ratify it, or ever intend to perpetuate it; and that consent was not an act of judgment and righteousness; for in all our affairs hitherto, we have not had so much light and clearness as to produce any work of true wisdom and understanding: but, as

in all other things, so in this, we are driven and thrust forward from one thing to that which is next, as the sense of danger and the hopes of ease lead us, in the dark, without judgment: and so the army set up or admit of this government, by a parliament, without King or Lords being at hand, knowing no better, finding some ease in being freed from worse oppressors, and as a present conveniency: and, if they had power to admit it, or set it up when they found it useful, why may they not pull it down and reject it when they felt it grievous and burthensome; that which you call the government, as it never had a formal constitution, either from God or men, (that I know of,) so, before it was taken down, it had quite lost the nature and spirit of government, — a dry tree shrunk into a private and selfish spirit: there were good men and good things amongst them, but mingled with a perverse and foolish spirit: that four or five of the best of them could not agree in any one proposition for public good, though they were wise and honest men, yet (they themselves know) they were absurdly and peevishly divided, in so great a confusion, that there could be no reason of expecting any more fruit from them: they were a long while a burthen to the nation, and the people very sensible of it, and did, by a general dislike and scorn of them, recall that choice that they had made of them, and the honour they had put upon them, and would, if the army had not guarded them, have expressed their rejecting of them from being their representatives, by pulling them out of the House: they were indeed full ripe, and had not the army done it, the rage of women, or some base hand, would have gathered them. I believe they were self-condemned, and the more ingenuous of them were sensible of an enlargement, by their being discharged from their sore and unprofitable travel; only having long enjoyed their places, they lingered, and were loth to depart; and when they saw they must go, they would provide for their speedy return, and would have died to live again; which was the great incivility done them in their apprehensions; they were prevented in their propagating their likeness and themselves also in a new representative.

Lord Clarendon, referring to this dissolution, observes, that there were many members of the House who seemed to think it necessary for abating the great envy which was confessedly against the parliament throughout the kingdom, that they should be dissolved, to the end that the people might make a new election of such persons as they might think fit to trust with their liberty and property, and whatever was dearest to them; but that it was finally determined, that the parliament would not yet think of dissolving, nor would take it well, that any persons should take the presumption any more to make overtures to them of that nature, which was not fit for private and particular persons to meddle with: and that, to put a seasonable stop to any farther presumption of that kind, they appointed a committee speedily to prepare an act of parliament for the filling up of their House; and by which it should be declared to be high treason for any man to propose, or contrive the changing of the present government settled and established: that this bill being prepared by the committee, they resolved to pass it with all possible expedition; so, says his Lordship, Cromwell clearly discerned that they would never be persuaded to part with that authority and power which was so profitable and so pleasant to them: that all things being thus prepared, Cromwell thought this a good season to expose those enemies to peace to the indignation of the nation, which he knew was generally weary of the war. Then follows His Lordship's account of the dissolution of that parliament.

Ludlow is vehemently indignant at Cromwell's dissolution of the Long Parliament. He commences his account of this transaction upon the conclusion of his account of the parliament's successes in Ireland; by observing that the enemy, by the blessing of God upon the counsels of the parliament, and endeavours of their army, being every where dispersed and conquered, and the nation likely to attain in a short time that measure of happiness which human things were capable of, the hopes and expectations of all good men were disappointed by the ambition of one man. General Cromwell, says he, had long been suspected by wise and good men; but that he had taken such care to form and mould

the army to his humour and interest that he had filled all places, either with his own creatures, or with such as hoped to share with him in the sovereignty, and removed those, who, foreseeing his designs, had either the courage or honesty to oppose him in it: that his pernicious intentions did not discover themselves till after the battle of Worcester, which, in one of his letters to the parliament, he called, the crowning victory. So much, continues Ludlow, was he elevated with that success, that Mr. Hugh Peters told him (Ludlow) that he took so much notice of it as to say in confidence to a friend upon the road, upon his return from Worcester, that Cromwell would make himself king: that he now began to despise divers members of the House, whom he had formerly courted, and grew most familiar with those to whom he used to show most aversion; endeavouring to oblige the royal party by procuring for them more favourable conditions than consisted with the justice of the parliament to grant, under colour of quieting the spirits of many people, and keeping them from engaging in new disturbances to rescue themselves out of those fears, which many, who had acted for the King, yet lay under; though at the same time, adds he, he designed nothing, as by the success was most manifest, but to advance himself by all manner of means, and to betray the great trust which the parliament and good people of England had reposed in him: that to this end he pressed the act of oblivion with so much importunity, that though some members earnestly opposed its bearing date till after some months, as well in justice to those of that party who had already fined for their delinquency, that others as guilty as themselves might be upon an equal foot with them, as that the state might thereby be supplied with money which they wanted; and that such as had been plundered by the enemy might receive some satisfaction from those who had ruined them: yet that nothing could prevail upon the general, and so the act was passed; the parliament being unwilling to deny him any thing for which there was the least colour of reason. But, proceeds Ludlow, though he had gained this point, and eagerly coveted his own advancement, he thought it not convenient yet to unmask him-

self, but rather to make higher pretences to honesty than ever he had done before, thereby to engage Major-general Harrison, Colonel Rich, and their party to himself; and to this end he took all occasions, in their presence, to asperse the parliament, as not designing to do those good things they pretended to, but rather intending to support the corrupt interests of the clergy and lawyers: and that, though he was convinced that they were hastening with all expedition to put a period to their sitting, having passed a vote that they would do it within the space of a year, and that they were making all possible preparations in order to it, yet did he industriously publish that they were so in love with their seats, that they would use all means to perpetuate themselves, which, and other calumnies, he had so artfully insinuated into the belief of many honest and well meaning people, that they began to wish him prosperity in his undertaking. He, Ludlow, then gives the same account, in substance, as Whitelock, of the dissolution of the parliament.

The same writer (Ludlow) says, that in the afternoon of the day on which he (Cromwell) had interrupted the parliament (the 20th April, 1653) Cromwell came to the council of state, who were assembled to do their duty at the usual place, accompanied by Major-general Lambert, and Colonel Harrison, and told them at his entrance, that if they were met there as private persons they should not be disturbed, but if as a council of state, that was no place for them, and that since they could not but know what was done at the House in the morning, so they were to take notice that the parliament was dissolved: that to this, Serjeant Bradshaw answered, " Sir, we have heard what you did at the House in the morning, and before many hours, all England will hear it; but, Sir, you are mistaken to think that the parliament is dissolved, for no power under Heaven can dissolve them but themselves; therefore take you notice of that:" that something more was said to the same purpose, by Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr. Love, and Mr. Scot; and then the council of state, perceiving themselves to be under the same violence, departed.

Ludlow proceeds; — that soon after Cromwell had thus barbar-

ously treated the parliament, and effaced the civil authority, he sent for Major Salloway, and Mr. John Carew, to whom he complained of the great weight of affairs that by this undertaking was fallen upon him; affirming that the thoughts of the consequences thereof made him to tremble, and therefore desired them to free him from the temptations that might be laid before him, and to that end to go immediately to the Chief Justice St. John, Mr. Selden, and some others, and endeavour to persuade them to draw up some instrument of government that might put the power out of his hands: that to this was answered, by Major Salloway, The way, Sir, to free you from this temptation, is for you not to look upon yourself to be under it, but to rest persuaded that the power of the nation is in the good people of England, as formerly it was: that Cromwell, perceiving by this answer that he was better understood than he could have wished, fell upon another expedient before he would openly discover himself, appointing a meeting of the chief officers of the army to be at Whitehall, in order to consider what was to be done in this exigency. He (Ludlow) then mentions the meeting and determination of Cromwell and his officers to settle the representation of the nation referred to by Whitelock.

The above extracts from Ludlow are not in Whitelock, and Ludlow being at the time in Ireland must have had this information from others: whether, therefore, true or false cannot now be ascertained.

In Whitelock's forementioned conversation, which, he says, passed between Cromwell and him in November (1652), previous to this dissolution of the Long Parliament, he says of its members, that the army began to have a strange distaste against them; and really, says he, their pride and ambition, and self-seeking, ingrossing all places of honour and profit to themselves and their friends, and their daily breaking forth into new and violent parties and factions; their delays of business, and design to perpetuate themselves, and to continue the power in their own hands; their meddling in private matters between party and party, contrary to the institution of parliaments; and their injustice and

partiality in those matters, and the scandalous lives of some of the chiefs of them; these things do give too much ground for people to open their mouths against them, and to dislike them. Nor can they be kept within the bounds of justice, and law or reason; they themselves being the supreme power of the nation, liable to no account to any, nor to be controuled or regulated by any other power, there being none superior, or co-ordinate with them: so that, adds he, unless there be some authority and power so full and so high as to restrain and keep things in better order, and that may be a check to these exorbitances, it will be impossible in human reason to prevent our ruin. Whitelock acknowledges the danger to be feared from these extravagances and inordinate powers, both of the army and of the parliament, those of the army he thinks might be corrected by his great powers, but that the greatest difficulty lay with the parliament for the above reasons, that too many of them were much to blame in those he had mentioned and many unfit things had passed; but that he hoped well of the major part of them when great matters should come to a decision.

Whitelock, in another part of his history, referring to the parliament's arbitrary exercise of power, relates, that they, upon hearing Sir Jacob Garrett's business, (he does not describe it,) sentenced three of his false accusers to stand in the pillory: — thus, says he, they took upon them, and exercised all manner of jurisdiction, and sentenced persons *secundum arbitrium.*

After some further conversation with Whitelock to the same effect, Cromwell puts the question, " What, if a man should take upon him to be a king?" Whitelock thinks that remedy would be worse than the disease; for which he assigns his reasons, to be found, with Cromwell's answers, in the fore-mentioned conversation. By the desire of Cromwell, Whitelock states his sentiments of the remedy to be found for the obviating the then dangers and difficulties, wherein it was agreed all were engaged. He tells Cromwell that he is environed with secret enemies in the army, who were not without their designs how they might dismount him; how they might bring him down, and set up

themselves: and that they wanted no counsel and encouragement from some members of parliament, jealous of his power and greatness, who would plot to bring him down, or to clip his wings. Cromwell admits that Whitelock had rightly considered his situation, and presses him to disclose his proposed remedy, which is the restoration of the King (Charles the Second) by a private treaty, upon certain terms. Cromwell, in answer, says, that he thought he had much reason in what he had propounded, but that it was a matter of so high importance and difficulty, that it deserved more time of consideration than at present allowed. Whitelock adds, that Cromwell seemed displeased, though he never afterwards objected it against him; only that his carriage was, from that time, altered, and his advising with him not so frequent.

The preceding statements must, surely, be deemed fully to justify this act of Cromwell's dissolution of the Long Parliament.

The substance of Cromwell's speech of the 4th July, 1653, to the persons then assembled, and entrusted with the supreme power, (his reasons for dissolving the Long Parliament,) has been already given. The substance of the instrument of government therein referred to, will be found in the before-given extracts from Whitelock. The title of this assembly was determined to be, "The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England."

On the 12th of the following December (1653), this parliament determined its longer sitting not to be for the good of the commonwealth, and delivered up to Cromwell the power they had received from him; and on the 16th of the same month it was determined by Cromwell and a council of officers, that the government should be by a council of twenty-one persons, and by Cromwell as Lord Protector, who was thereupon invested with that office. The instrument of government consisted of forty-two articles; the proclamation of the council upon this occasion begins with relating, that this parliament dissolved itself.

Mr. Maidston, in his fore-mentioned letter to Mr. Winthrop, of the 24th March, 1659, in Thurloe's State Papers, speaking of this

parliament, says, they meet and accept it (the government), assume the title of parliament, and sit in the House of Commons and enact sundry laws; but in a short time made it appear to all considering and unprejudiced men that they were *huic negotio impares, non obstante* their godliness; of which the more judicious of them being sensible, contrived the matter so as to dissolve themselves by an act of their own, and devolve their authority, whence they first derived it, upon the general.

Lord Clarendon, referring to this proceeding, says, that when they (this parliament) had tired and perplexed themselves some time in their debates, upon their meeting in the morning of the 12th December, and before many of them were come, who were likely to dissent from the motion, one of them stood up and declared, that he did believe they were not equal to the burthen that was laid upon them; and therefore that they might dissolve themselves, and deliver back their authority into their hands from whom they had received it, which being presently consented to, their Speaker, with those who were of that mind, went to Whitehall and redelivered to Cromwell the instrument they had received from him, acknowledged their own impotency, and besought him to take care of the commonwealth; and that, by this frank donation, he and his council of officers were once more possessed of the supreme sovereign power of the nation.

In the parliament, held pursuant to the instrument of government on the 4th September (1654), Cromwell made a speech, which Whitelock calls a subtle one. Describing the confusions, both civil and religious, into which the nation had fallen, he says, that it might not sink into confusion, a remedy must be applied: a remedy has been applied; this government, a thing that is seen and read of all, and which (let men say what they will, I can speak with comfort before a greater than you all as to my intention, and let men judge out of the thing itself,) is calculated for the interest of the people, for their interest alone, and for their good, without respect had to any other interest. It hath endeavoured to reform the laws; and for that end hath joined persons

(without reflection upon any) of as great integrity and ability as any other, to consider how the laws might be made plain, short, and easy; which may, in due time, be tendered. It hath taken care to put into seats of justice, men of the most known integrity and ability. The chancery hath been reformed, and I hope, to the satisfaction of all good men. It hath put a stop to that heady way for every man that will to make himself a preacher; having endeavoured to settle a way for approbation of men of piety and fitness for the work; and the business committed to persons, both of the presbyterian and independent judgment, men of as known ability and integrity as (I suppose) any the nation hath; and who (I believe) have laboured to approve themselves to God, and their own consciences, in approving men to that great function. One thing more, it hath been instrumental to call a free parliament; blessed be God, we see here, this day, a free parliament; and that it may continue so, I hope, is in the heart of every good man of England: for my own part, as I desired it above my life, so to keep it free I shall value it above my life. He then says, that a peace has been made with Sweden; it being of much importance to have a good understanding with our Protestant neighbours: also with the Danes, honourable, and to the satisfaction of the merchants; the Sound open to us, from whence, as from a fountain, our naval provisions are supplied: a peace with the Dutch. I beg that it may be in your hearts to be zealous of the Protestant interest abroad, which, if it be ever like to come under a condition of suffering, it is now; many being banished, and driven to seek refuge among strangers: a peace is made with Portugal (though it hung long) of great concernment to trade; and the people that trade thither, have freedom to enjoy their consciences, without being subjected to the bloody Inquisition: a treaty with France now depending. He proceeds, it may be necessary, in the next place, for you to hear a little of the sea affairs, and to take notice of the great expense of the forces and fleet; and yet 30,000*l.* is now abated of the next three months' assessment. These things are but

entrances and doors of hope; you are brought to the edge of Canaan (into which many that have gone before, could not enter); but if the blessing and presence of God go along with you in the management of your affairs, I make no question, but he will enable you to lay the topstone of this work. But this is a maxim not to be despised,—though peace be made, yet that it is interest that keeps peace; and further than that, peace is not to be trusted. The great end of calling this parliament is, that the work of God may go on, that the ship of this commonwealth may be brought into a safe harbour. I shall put you in mind, that you have a great work upon you; Ireland to look to, that the beginning of that government may be settled in honour: that you have before you the considerations of those foreign states, with whom peace is not made; who, if they see we manage not our affairs with prudence, as becomes men, will retain hopes, that we may still, under the disadvantages thereof, break into confusion. I shall conclude with my persuasion to you, to have a sweet, gracious and holy understanding, one of another, and put you in mind of the counsel you heard this day in order thereunto. And I desire you to believe, that I speak not to you, as one that would be a lord over you, but as one that is resolved to be a fellow-servant with you to the interest of this great affair.

It appears from the Journals of the House of Commons, that one of the first subjects of debate was, Whether the government should be in one single person and a parliament. This was evidently aimed personally at Cromwell. Whitelock, says the debates grew high, and that Cromwell, apprehending that the parliament would too far invade, or endeavour to overthrow the new government, sent for the members to meet him in the painted chamber, on the 12th of the same September, and addressed them to the effect given in Whitelock. Amongst other things, he tells them, that in informing them they were a free parliament, he considered there was a reciprocation, for that the same government that made them a parliament, made him Protector, and that, as they were entrusted with some things, so was he with all other things: that there were some things in the govern-

ment fundamental, and could not be altered; viz. that the government should be in one person, and a parliament; that parliament should not be made perpetual, which would deprive the people of their successive elections; nor that the parliament should be always sitting, that is, as soon as one parliament was up, another should come and sit in their places the very next day; that this could not be, without subjecting the nation to an arbitrary power in governing, because parliaments, when they sit, are absolute and unlimited: that the militia was not to be entrusted in any one hand or power, but to be so disposed, that, as the parliament ought to have a check upon the Protector to prevent excesses in him, so, on the other hand, the Protector ought to have a check upon the parliament in the business of the militia, to prevent excesses in them; because if it were wholly in the parliament, they might, when they would, perpetuate themselves; but that the militia being disposed of as it was, the one stood as a counterpoise to the other, and rendered the balance of government the more even, and the government itself, the more firm and stable: a due liberty of conscience in matters of religion, wherein bounds and limits ought to be set, so as to prevent persecution: and that the rest of the things in the government, were examinable and alterable, as the occasion and the state of affairs should require: that, as for a negative voice, he claimed it not, save only in the foresaid particulars: and that in all other things, he had only a deliberative power, and that if he did not pass such laws as were presented to him, within twenty days after their presentment, they were to be laws without his consent: and concludes with requiring the members to sign the forementioned recognition, before they again went into the House. In his speech of the 22d January following (1654), upon dissolving this parliament of the 4th of the preceding September, referring to the various favourable circumstances, affording good ground of hope that the nation had arrived at a safe port, and might reasonably look to a happy termination of all their difficulties; he proceeds to show by what means this favourable opportunity had been: is there not, says he, yet upon the spirits of men a strange itch?

nothing will satisfy them, unless they can put their finger upon their brethren's consciences, to pinch them there. To do this, was no part of the contest we had with the common adversary; for religion was not the thing at the first contested for: but God brought it to that issue, and gave it to us by way of redundancy, and at last it proved to be that which was most dear to us; and wherein consisted this, more than in obtaining that liberty from the tyranny of the bishops to all species of protestants, to worship God according to their own light and consciences; for want of which many of our brethren forsook their native countries, to seek their bread from strangers, and to live in howling wildernesses, and for which also, many that remained here, were imprisoned and otherwise abused and made the scorn of the nation: those that were sound in the faith, how proper was it for them to labour for liberty, for a just liberty, that men should not be trampled upon for their consciences. Had not they laboured but lately under the weight of persecutions, and was it fit for them to sit heavy upon others? Is it ingenuous to ask liberty, and not to give it? What greater hypocrisy than for those who were oppressed by the bishops to become the greatest oppressors themselves so soon as their yoke was removed? I could wish that they who call for liberty now, also had not too much of that spirit, if the power were in their hands. As to profane persons, — blasphemers, such as preach sedition, the contentious railers, evil speakers, who seek by evil words to corrupt good manners, persons of loose conversation, punishment from the civil magistrate ought to meet with them, because if these pretend conscience, yet walking disorderly, and not according, but contrary to the Gospel, and even to natural light, they are judged of all, and their sins being open make them subjects of the magistrates' sword, who ought not to bear it in vain. In another part of this speech, he says, I will not presage what you have been about ordering in all this time, nor do I love to make conjectures; but I must tell you this, that as I undertook this government in the simplicity of my heart, and as before God, and to do the part of an honest man, and to be true to the interest which in my conscience is dear to many of you,

though it is not always understood what God in his wisdom may hide from us as to peace and settlement; so I can say, that no particular interest, either of myself, estate, honour, or family are, or have been prevalent with me to this undertaking: for if you had, upon the old government offered to me this one thing, (I speak as thus advised and before God, as having been to this day of this opinion, and this hath been my constant judgment, well known to many that hear me speak,) if this one thing had been inserted that this government should have been and placed in my family hereditary, I would have rejected it; and I could have done no other, according to my present conscience and light. I will tell you my reason, though I cannot tell what God will do with me nor you, nor the nation, for throwing away precious opportunities committed to us: this hath been my principle, and I liked it when this government came first to be proposed to me, that it put us off that hereditary way, well looking that as God had declared what government he had delivered to the Jews, and placed it upon such persons as had been instrumental for the conduct and deliverance of his people; and considering that promise in Isaiah, that God would give rulers as at the first, and judges as at the beginning, I did not know but that God might begin; and though, at present with a most unworthy person, yet as to the future, it might be after this manner, and I thought this might usher it in. I am speaking as to my judgment against making it hereditary, to have men chosen for their love to God, and to truth and justice, and not to have it hereditary: for as it is in Ecclesiastes, Who knoweth whether he may beget fool or wise, honest or not; whatever they be, must come in upon that account, because the government is made a patrimony. And this I do, perhaps, declare with too much earnestness, as being my own concernment, and know not what place it may have in your hearts, and of the good people in the nation; but however it be, I have comfort in this my truth and plainness. I have thus told my thoughts, which truly I have declared to you in the fear of God, as knowing he will not be mocked, and in the strength of God, as knowing and rejoicing that I am kept

in my speaking, especially when I do not form or frame things without the compass of integrity, and honesty, that my own conscience gives me not the lie to what I say, and then, in what I say I can rejoice. In another place, speaking of necessities to raise money without parliamentary authority, and to do other things for the benefit of the nation, he says, — But if any man shall object; it is an easy thing to talk of necessities, when men create necessities; would not the Lord Protector make himself great and his family great? Doth not he, make these necessities? and then he will come upon the people with this argument of necessity. This were something hard indeed, but I have not yet known what it is to make necessities, whatsoever the judgments or thoughts of men are. And I say this, not only to this assembly, but to the world, that that man liveth not, that can come to me, and charge me that I have in these great revolutions made necessities. I challenge even all that fear God; and, as God hath said, My glory I will not give unto another, let men take heed and be twice advised how they call his revolutions, (the things of God,) and his working of things from one period to another, — how, I say, they call them necessities of man's creation; for, by so doing, they do vilify and lessen the works of God and rob him of his glory, which he hath said he will not give unto another, nor suffer to be taken from him. It was, say some, the cunning of the Lord Protector, (I take it to myself,) it was the craft of such a man and his plot that hath brought it about: and, as they say in other countries, there are five or six cunning men in England that have skill; they do all these things. Oh! what blasphemy is this, because men that are without God in this world, and walk not with him, and know not what it is to pray or believe, and to receive returns from God, and to be spoken unto by the Spirit of God, who speaks without a written word sometimes, yet according to it. In another place he says, They that shall attribute to this or that person the contrivances and productions of those mighty things God hath wrought in the midst of us, and that they have not been the revolutions of Christ himself, upon whose shoulders the government is laid,

they speak against God, and they fall under his hand without a Mediator; that is, if we deny the Spirit of Jesus Christ the glory of all his works in the world, by which he rules kingdoms, and doth administer and is the rod of his strength, we provoke the Mediator, and he may say, I'll leave you to God, I'll not intercede for you. Therefore whatsoever you may judge men for, and say; this man is cunning, and politic, and subtle; take heed, again I say, how you judge of his revolutions as the products of men's inventions. After censuring the parliament for neglecting to provide for the pay of the army, and thereby obliging them to live upon free quarter, he concludes, I have troubled you with a long speech, and I believe it may not have the same resentment with all, that it hath with some; but because that is unknown to me, I shall leave it to God, and conclude with that, that I think myself bound in my duty to God, and the people of these nations to their safety and good in every respect; I think it my duty to tell you: that it is not for the profit of these nations, nor for common and public good, for you to continue here any longer; and therefore I do declare unto you, that I do dissolve this parliament."

Cromwell's speech to the parliament of the 4th September (1654), Whitelock calls a subtle one. Wherein this subtlety lies is not very discernible: he (Cromwell) describes the instrument of government as calculated for the interest of the people, and so it appears to be, in their then circumstances: it regulates the numbers and choice by each county and the places therein, of the members to be sent to parliament, and the qualifications of the electors; and it declares the parliaments triennial: it declares Cromwell to be the Protector, but the protectorship to be elective, not hereditary; also the free and unrestricted profession of religion. Lord Clarendon, in commendation of this mode of election, says, that though he (Cromwell) did not observe the old course in sending out writs to all the little boroughs, which used to send burgesses, (by which method some single counties sent more members than six other counties did,) he thought he took a more equal way, by appointing more knights for every

shire, to be chosen, and fewer burgesses; whereby the number of the whole was much lessened, and yet the people being left to their own election, it was not by him thought an ill temperament, and was then generally looked upon as an alteration fit to be more warrantably made, and in a better time.

This speech must surely be allowed to be a manly and able speech: no ambiguities, but a plain and interesting statement of the very advantageous and elevated situation in which his talents and exertions had placed the nation, both at home and abroad; and solid advice for their (the parliament's) future proceedings.

The parliament, instead of following the recommendations of this speech, began by disputing Cromwell's title to the Protectorship, and endeavouring to overthrow this new government. This Cromwell could not suffer, with justice or safety to himself; and, accordingly, in his before-given speech of the 12th of the same September, he remonstrates with them upon the irregularity of their proceedings, and states to them those things in the government, subject and not subject, to their alteration or controul: but the parliament still persisting in these proceedings, he dissolves it on the 22d January following: religious intolerance is one of the causes assigned for this dissolution, which would have been of itself sufficient for this determination of Cromwell, whose great principle was, the right of private judgment in matters of religion: he disavows all private interest in his undertaking the government by aggrandizement of himself or his family: he positively denies creating necessities for his own purposes, with which he appears to have been charged, and defies any one to charge him therewith: he accuses them with not providing for the army, and thereby obliging them to live on free-quarter, and thus unintentionally rendering themselves odious and burdensome to the country: he deems these, and other circumstances, sufficient grounds for putting an end to this parliament.

Cromwell's speech to the parliament commencing Wednesday 17th September (1656), is not in Whitelock, or in the Journals of the House of Commons.

It appears that a certificate was required of every member upon

his entrance into the House, of his approbation by the council; and that those who had been excluded in consequence of the council's disapprobation, published a protest or remonstrance; which is given at length in Whitelock, and is signed by ninety-eight names.

In the Journals of the House of Commons, is a resolution of the 20th same September, to desire the council to give to the House their reasons for disapproving the excluded members; and, on the 22d of the same month their answer is reported, — That it being ordained by a clause in the government, that the persons elected to serve in parliament should be such, and no other than such, as were persons of known integrity, fearing God, and of good conversation: that the council, in pursuance of their duty, and according to the trust reposed in them, had examined the said returns, and had not refused to approve any who had appeared to them to be persons of integrity to the government, fearing God, and of good conversation: and that those who were not approved, His Highness had given order to some persons, to take care that they do not come into the House. And the question for referring the excluded members to the council for its approbation, and for the House proceeding in the great affairs of the nation, was carried by 125 to 29.

Mr. Whitelock observes, upon Cromwell's final determination not to take upon himself the title of King, which was the first object of the petition and advice of the Commons, that he was satisfied in his private judgment that he should do it, but that afterwards, by the solicitation of the commonwealthsmen, and fearing a mutiny and disaffection of a great part of the army, his mind changed: and that many of the officers of the army gave out high threatenings against him, in case he should do it; therefore, he thought best to attend some better season and opportunity, and refused it at this time with great seeming earnestness.

Lord Clarendon says, that it was reported, that an officer of name, in the eclaircissement upon the subject, told him resolutely and vehemently, that if he ever took the title upon him, he would kill him. Certain it is, continues his Lordship, that Cromwell

was informed and gave credit to it, that there were a number of men, who bound themselves by oath, to kill him within so many hours after he should accept that title.

The title of King being laid aside, in consequence of Cromwell's declining it in his speech of the 8th May (1657), and it being determined that "Lord Protector" should be the title to be inserted in the petition and advice, Cromwell, upon its presentment to the House with this, and some other alterations, gave his assent in a short speech, on the 25th of the same month.

Cromwell's speech at the meeting of the Commons, and of the other House, (the newly formed House of Lords,) on the 20th January following (1657), according to their adjournment, is in the Journals. It is short, on account, Mr. Whitelock says, of his indisposition of health. In Whitelock is the speech of the Lord-commissioner Fiennes immediately following it, which is very long. The following passages refer to the persecuting spirit by which these parliaments appear to have been throughout actuated: There is another rock, says he, and it is also a dangerous one; it is a rock upon which many have split themselves in our view; and it hath, lying right over against it, a quicksand no less dangerous, which hath swallowed up many in our sight: the rock is, a spirit of imposing upon men's consciences, where God leaves them a latitude, and would have them free: the quicksand is an abominable licentiousness to profess and practice any sort of detestable opinions and principles: for the former, the prelates and all their adherents, nay, and their master and supporter too, with all his posterity, have split themselves upon it: the bloody rebels in Ireland, that would endure no religion but their own amongst them, have split themselves upon it: but as God is no respecter of persons, so neither is he any respecter of forms, but in what form soever this spirit appeareth he hath, he will testify his displeasure against it, though it be not of so deep a dye as that I have spoken of before. If men, though otherwise good men, will turn ceremony into substance, and make the kingdom of Christ to consist in circumstances, in disciplines, in forms, (though these things also may have their use as to order and decency, so

they be strained no further, and not carried beyond their line and measure,) but, I say, if uniformity in these things shall dissolve unity among brethren, and especially if it grow to such a height of animosity, and so high a degree of asperity, that if one say but Siboleth instead of Shiboleth, it shall be accounted ground enough to cut his throat, though one of his brethren. — If any man shall account all as heathens and no Christians that are not under such or such an ordinance; all men devils that are out of such a circle, such a form; and all men the seed of the serpent, that will not father such or such an opinion, (it may be but fancies too when all is done,) such principles, such practices, men cannot bear, God will not endure; and in vain do they protest against the persecution of God's people, when, as eagerly persecuting all others, they make the definition of God's people so narrow, that their persecution becometh as broad as any others, and usually more fierce, because ordinarly edged with a sharper temper of spirit. It may be, that many amongst these, shall by God's mercy meet together in heaven; but certainly, had they power at will, they would not suffer one another to live upon the earth. Therefore, blessed be God, who, in mercy to us and them, hath placed the power in such hands as make it their business to keep peace amongst them, and to hinder them from biting and devouring one another. In another part of this speech, there must be a voice, but it must be a small and still voice, enough to hold forth a certain and distinct sound, but not to make so great a noise, as to drown all other voices besides. It is good, it is useful, to hold forth a certain confession of the truth, but not so as thereby to exclude all those that cannot come up to it in all points, from the privileges which belong to them as Christians, much less which belong to them as men.

There is no speech on the dissolution of this parliament on the 4th February following (1657), either in Whitelock or in the Journals.

Whitelock, referring to this dissolution and to the disagreement between the two Houses upon the Commons' disinclination to acknowledge the House of Lords, observes, all these passages

tended to their own destruction, which was not difficult to foresee: that the Protector looked upon himself as aimed at by them, though with a side wind, and as testimonies of their envy towards him, and he was the more incensed, because, at this time, the Fifth Monarchy men began again their enterprises to overthrow him and his government by force, whereof there were clear discoveries: that he therefore took a resolution suddenly to dissolve the parliament: that he was advised not to do it, and told the danger of frequent dissolving of parliaments, and the streights it would bring him into for money, which he could not raise without the highest discontent, except it were given by them; that a little time would cool their heats, and bring the parliament into a better temper; but, continues Whitelock, some fierce men and flatterers, to comply with him, advised the dissolution: that some were troubled at this, others rejoiced at the troubles, and were suspected to be assisters of the new designs of insurrection: that divers were imprisoned upon the new plot, and the Protector and his council were busy in the examination concerning it; and Thurloe did them good service: that General Harrison was deep in it: that he, Whitelock, was much retired, and not satisfied with the public transactions: that the Cavalier party were again at work upon a new design, whereof the Protector had intelligence from abroad, and from some of the actors here: that about this he advised, and sent for the lord mayor and aldermen of London, and acquainted them therewith, and desired their care to put the city into a posture of defence; who presented to him a petition and representation of their faithfulness and duty to him: and that divers like addresses were made from General Monk's and other regiments: and he answered them with thanks.

Lord Clarendon, introductory of his account of Cromwell's death, which happened on the 3d September following (1658), says, it had been observed in England, that though, from the dissolution of the last parliament, all things seemed to have succeeded both at home and abroad to the Protector's wish, and his power and greatness to be better established than ever it had

been, yet, that after he had refused the crown, he never had the same serenity of mind he had been used to, but was out of countenance and chagrin, as if he were conscious of not having been true to himself, and much more apprehensive of danger to his person than he had used to be; insomuch, as he was not easy of access, nor so much seen abroad, and seemed to be in some disorder when his eyes found any stranger in the room, upon whom they were still fixed: that when he intended to go to Hampton-court, which was his principal delight and diversion, it was never known till he was in the coach which way he would go; and he was still hemmed in by his guards, both before and behind, and the coach in which he was, was always thronged as full as it could be with his servants, who were armed; and he seldom returned the same way he went, and scarcely lodged two nights together in the same chamber; but had many furnished and prepared to which his own key conveyed him and those he would have with him, when he had a mind to go to bed, which made his fears the more taken notice of, and public, because he had never been accustomed to those precautions: that he seemed much afflicted at the death of his friend, the Earl of Warwick, for whom he had a fast friendship: that his domestic delights were lessened every day. He plainly discovered that his son Falconbridge's heart was set upon an interest that was destructive to his, and grew to hate him perfectly; but that that which chiefly broke his peace, was the death of his daughter Claypoole, who had been always his greatest joy, and who, in her sickness, which was of a nature the physicians knew not how to deal with, had several conferences with him, which exceedingly perplexed him: though nobody was near enough to hear the particulars, yet her often mentioning, in the pains she endured, the blood her father had spilt, made people conclude that she had presented his worst actions to his consideration; and that though he never had the least show of remorse for any of those actions, it is very certain that what she said, or her death, affected him wonderfully: that whatever it was, about the middle of August he was seized only by a common tertian ague, from which he believed a little ease and

divertisement at Hampton Court would have freed him; but the fits grew stronger, and his spirits much abated, so that he returned again to Whitehall, when his physicians began to think him in danger, though the preachers who prayed always about him, and told God Almighty what great things he had done for him, and how much more need he had still of his service, declared, as from God, that he should recover; and he himself was of the same mind, and did not think he should die till even the time that his spirits failed him: that then he declared to them, that he did appoint his son to succeed him, his eldest son Richard, and so expired upon the 3d day of September 1658, a day he thought always very propitious to him, and on which he had twice triumphed for two of his greatest victories: and this now, adds His Lordship, was a day very memorable for the greatest storm of wind that had been ever known, for some hours before and after his death, which overthrew trees, houses, and made great wrecks at sea; and the tempest was so universal, that the effects of it were terrible both in France and Flanders, where all people trembled at it; for that, besides the wrecks all along the sea-coast, many boats were cast away in the very rivers; and within a few days after, the circumstance of his death, that accompanied that storm, was universally known.

He was one of those men, continues His Lordship, *quos vituperare ne inimici quidem possunt, nisi ut simul laudent*, whom his very enemies could not condemn without commending him at the same time; for he could never have done half that mischief without great parts of courage, industry, and judgment. — That he must have had a wonderful understanding in the natures and humours of men, and as great a dexterity in applying them; who, from a private and obscure birth (though of a good family), without interest or estate, alliance or friendship, could raise himself to such a height, and compound and knead such opposite and contradictory tempers, humours, and interests into a consistence that contributed to his designs and to their own destruction; whilst himself grew insensibly powerful enough to cut off those by whom he had climbed, in the instant that they projected to

demolish their own building: that what was said of Cinna might very justly be said of him,—*ausum eum, quæ nemo auderet bonus; perfecisse, quæ à nullo, nisi fortissimo, perfici possent.* He attempted those things which no good man durst have ventured on, and achieved those in which none but a valiant and great man could have succeeded. — That without doubt, no man with more wickedness ever attempted any thing, or brought to pass what he desired more wickedly, more in the face and contempt of religion and moral honesty; yet wickedness as great as his could never have accomplished those designs without the assistance of a great spirit, an admirable circumspection and sagacity, and a most magnanimous resolution. — That when he appeared first in the Parliament, he seemed to have a person in no degree gracious, no ornament of discourse, none of those talents which use to conciliate the affections of the stander-by: yet, that as he grew into place and authority, his parts seemed to be raised, as if he had had concealed faculties till he had occasion to use them; and when he was to act the part of a great man, he did it without any indecency notwithstanding the want of custom. — That after he was confirmed and invested Protector by the humble petition and advice, he consulted with very few upon any action of importance, nor communicated any enterprise he resolved upon with more than those who were to have principal parts in the execution of it, nor with them sooner than was absolutely necessary. What he once resolved, in which he was not rash, he would not be dissuaded from, nor endure any contradiction of his power and authority; but extorted obedience from them who were not willing to yield it.

To reduce three nations, which perfectly hated him, to an entire obedience to all his dictates; to awe and govern those nations by an army that was indevoted to him, and wished his ruin, was an instance of a very prodigious address. But his greatness at home was but a shadow of the glory he had abroad. — It was hard to discover which feared him most, France, Spain, or the Low Countries, where his friendship was current at the value he put upon it: that as they did all sacrifice their honour and

their interest to his pleasure, so there was nothing he could have demanded that either of them would have denied him. — To manifest which, there needs only to be mentioned one instance amongst many: — when those of the valley of Lucern had unwarily risen in arms against the Duke of Savoy, which gave occasion to the Pope and the neighbour princes of Italy to call and solicit for their extirpation, and their prince positively resolved upon it, Cromwell sent his agent to the Duke of Savoy, a prince with whom he had no correspondence or commerce, and so engaged the cardinal, and even terrified the pope himself, without so much as doing any grace to the English Roman Catholics (nothing being more usual than his saying, that his ships in the Mediterranean should visit Civita Vecchia, and that the sound of his cannon should be heard in Rome,) that the Duke of Savoy thought it necessary to restore all that he had taken from them, and did renew all those privileges they had formerly enjoyed, and newly forfeited.

That he would never suffer himself to be denied any thing he ever asked of the cardinal, alleging that the people would not be otherwise satisfied; which the cardinal bore very heavily, and complained of to those with whom he would be free. One day he visited Madame Turenne, and when he took his leave of her, she, according to her custom, besought him to continue gracious to the churches. — Whereupon the cardinal told her, that he knew not how to behave himself; if he advised the King to punish and suppress their insolence, Cromwell threatened him to join with the Spaniard; and if he showed any favour to them at Rome, they accounted him an heretic. — That, contrary to all expectation both at home and abroad, this earthquake was attended with no signal alteration: that never monarch, after he had inherited a crown by many descents, died in more silence, nor with less alteration; and there was the same, or a greater calm in the kingdom than had been before. — That the next morning after the death of Oliver, Richard, his son, was proclaimed his lawful successor; the army congratulate their new general, and renew their vows of fidelity to him; the navy doth the like; the city appear more

unanimous for his service than they were for his father's; and most counties in England, by addresses under their hands, testified their obedience to their new sovereign without any hesitation. The dead is interred in the sepulchre of the kings, and with the obsequies due to such. His son inherits all his greatness and all his glory, without the public hate that visibly attended the other. Foreign princes addressed their condolences to him, and desired to renew their alliances; and nothing was heard in England but the voice of joy, and large encomiums of their new Protector.

Sir Philip Warwick, referring to Cromwell's death, says, that agitated, some time before his death, by several untoward circumstances in his government, he seemed dispirited; and that by the acquaintance he had with an old gentlewoman, who made his broths and jellies, and other such cockering meats, he learnt, that for one, while he frequently used these, and for another, he took large draughts of wine, and that he seldom waked in the night, but with one or other of these he must be replenished. And sure, adds he, those were better comforts to him than the reflections on his successes. So, adds Sir Philip, at last falling into a fever, he soon fell into a delirium; and one of his physicians, with whom he (Sir Philip) was intimately acquainted, assured him that, during all his sickness, he was never master of so much reason as to determine any thing of his successor, or matters of state: and that though it was pretended at that time by Thurloe the secretary, and Goodwin the minister, that he gave them particular directions that his son Richard should be his successor, and they brought in others afterwards to testify the same; yet that this physician assured him that he never was in any such condition. And thus, says Sir Philip, on his beloved and victorious day, the 3d of September (1658), he expired, ten years after he had spilt the innocent blood of the King; and that though he had run through so many dangers, and had so many plots against his life, and committed so many wicked and flagitious acts, he yet breathed out his last in his bed; but, adds Sir Philip, as if the elements as well as men had waited for this day, the day preced-

ing, there was as loud and great a tempest as was at any time ever known.

Ludlow, referring to the same event, Cromwell's death, says, that Mrs. Claypoole, Cromwell's daughter and favourite, laboured earnestly with her father to save Dr. Hewitt's life, who had been tried and convicted of a conspiracy against Cromwell; but that having been unsuccessful, it so affected her, that it was reported to have been one cause of her death, which happened soon after, with the concurrence of an ulcer in her womb. — That, after her death, it was observed that Cromwell grew melancholy, and also distempered with divers infirmities, particularly a malignant humour in his foot; which hindering him from the exercises of walking or riding abroad, he obliged his physicians to endeavour to disperse it; which drove it upwards to his heart: that, by these means, he became desperately sick; and as some about him had for a long time deceived others, so they now endeavoured to impose upon God himself: for that Dr. Goodwin, his creature and trencher chaplain, used this expression in his prayer during the time of his sickness; "Lord, we beg not for his recovery; for that thou hast already granted and assured us of, but for his speedy, recovery."

## CHAPTER XIV.

*Consideration of Mr. Denzil Holles's charge of cowardice — Of the circumstances of his last illness and death; and of the death of his daughter, Mrs. Claypoole — And of his appointment of his son Richard to be his successor — Of the different parts of his character as given by Lord Clarendon and by other royalist, and by republican writers; — As, his supposed enthusiasm — Hypocrisy — Defective learning and eloquence — Inhumanity. — His real character; as, his affectionate attention to his family — Really religious — No enthusiast or hypocrite — Exemplary, moral, and regular in his private conduct, and an enemy to vice in others — Kind and merciful to his enemies and to those who occasionally offended him — Courteous and affable — Indulgent to the several religious sects. — Interposition in favour of the persecuted Waldenses. — Generous and public spirited. — His judges upright and learned, and justice impartially administered. — An encourager of learning and learned men. — No enemy to innocent recreations. — National reputation under his administration. — Comparison of his supposed religious enthusiasm and hypocrisy, with the religious characters of Whitelock, Lockhart, and other eminent public characters.*

Cromwell's great valour, industry, and judgment, and wonderful understanding of men, and skill in his application of that understanding, are acknowledged by Lord Clarendon in the last-cited passages from his history, who describes him as a valiant and great man, of a great spirit, admirable circumspection and sagacity, and a most magnanimous resolution: that as he grew into place and authority, his parts seemed to be raised as if he had concealed faculties, till he had occasion to use them; and when he was to act the part of a great man, he did it without any indecency, notwithstanding the want of custom. Sir Philip Warwick describes him as of a great and majestic deportment and comely presence. These qualities appear to be allowed him by the writers of all parties, except that his courage, strange to tell, has been impeached by one writer, whose charge of cowardice will be hereafter considered. His Lordship concludes, that as he had been guilty of many crimes, against which damnation was denounced, and for which

hell-fire was prepared, so he had some good qualities which had caused the memory of some men in all ages to be celebrated; and that he would be looked upon by posterity as a brave wicked man.

In the attainment, and in the possession and exercise of the supposed objects of his ambition, he is accused of every species of hypocrisy, tyranny, cruelty, and oppression.

Previously to considering, whether, and how far, these charges are well founded, and thus to ascertain his (Cromwell's) real character, it is desirable to examine and dispose of this charge of cowardice.

It is to be found in the Memoirs of Lord Holles, theretofore Mr. Denzil Holles: these memoirs are addressed to the unparalleled couple, (as he calls them,) Mr. Oliver St. John, His Majesty's solicitor-general, and Mr. Oliver Cromwell, the parliament's lieutenant-general, the two grand designers of the ruin of three kingdoms: they are written in the most abusive style, apparently in a transport of rage and disappointment, they were not published till after his death, when it might be supposed that there would be no danger of contradiction of any of his bold and unsupported assertions. It is a very discreditable performance to Mr. Holles's memory, and his living so long after his writing it, and not publishing it, afford good reason to believe that he determined that it should never see the light. The editor is aware of what he calls the vehemence of his style, which he is disposed to attribute to the supposed barbarous usage he had received, his concern for the presbyterian party, and his supposed displeasure at the King's misfortunes, to whom he says he was then an adherent and a friend; and which he seems to suspect has guided his pencil to draw the lines of Cromwell's face too strong, and the shades too many. The editor should have seen, that the publication of such a work must lower Mr. Holles's character, and should have buried it in silence, which must have been Mr. Holles's own determination, or he would have published it himself; and he determined wisely. There cannot be a stronger proof of the extreme length to which he carried his

inveteracy to Cromwell, than this charge of cowardice, which he founds upon the following circumstances. — He says, that he had several times heard from Crawford's own mouth, (who was, he says, major-general to the Earl of Manchester's brigade,) and he thinks he shall not be mistaken if he says that Cromwell himself has heard it from him; for that he once said it aloud in Westminster Hall, when Cromwell passed by him, with a design he might hear him: that when the whole army at Marston Moor was in a fair possibility to be utterly routed, and a great part of it was running, he saw the body of horse of that brigade standing still, and to his seeming, doubtful which way to charge, backward or forward; when he came up to them in great passion, reviling them with the name of poltroons and cowards, and asked them if they would stand still and see the day lost? whereupon Cromwell showed himself, and, in a pitiful voice, said, "Major-general, what shall I do:" that he (Crawford), begging pardon for what he had said, not knowing he was there, towards whom he knew his distance as to his superior officer, told him, "Sir, if you charge not, all is lost:" that Cromwell answered, "that he was wounded, and was not able to charge," (his great wound being a little burn in the neck by the accidental going off behind him of one of his soldiers' pistols;) that then Crawford desired him to go off the field, and sending one away with him, (who very readily followed wholesome advice,) led them on himself; which was not the duty of his place, and as little for Cromwell's honour, as it proved to be much for the advancement of his and his party's pernicious designs. This, adds Mr. Holles, I had but from relation, but believe it upon the credit of the reporter, who was a man of honour, and that was not ashamed nor afraid to publish it in all places. Besides that he had a parallel story of his valour from a Colonel Dalbier, of his cowardly behaviour at the storming of Basinghouse: also, of his own knowledge, of his base keeping out of the field at Kineton (Edgehill) battle, where he with his troop of horse came not in, impudently and ridiculously affirming the day after, that he had been all that day seeking the army and place of fight, though his quarters were but

at a village near hand; whence he could not find his way, nor be directed by his ear, though the ordnance was heard (as he, Mr. Holles, had been credibly informed,) twenty or thirty miles off; so that, adds he, certainly he is far from being the man he is taken for: and that that man is as much a coward, as he is notoriously perfidious, ambitious, and hypocritical. Mr. Holles adds, "that those who did the principal service that day were Major-general Leslie, who commanded the Scots' horse, Major-general Crawford, and Sir Thomas Fairfax, who, under his father, commanded the Northern brigade." But, says he, sarcastically "My friend Cromwell had neither part nor lot in the business."

This cowardly General (Cromwell) had in the preceding year fought the battle of Horncastle, (or Winsby,) commanding (Lord Fairfax, in his memorial, says) the Earl of Manchester's forces, which had been previously joined by His Lordship and under the immediate eye of the Earl: that he (Cromwell) had the command of the van, the reserve of horse, and the Earl all the foot. The royalists were defeated. In this same battle, Rushworth says that the Earl's horse and foot came on to the attack, singing psalms: that Cromwell's horse was shot and fell upon him, and that, as he rose, he was knocked down by the gentleman that charged him, supposed to be Sir Ralph Hopton; but that he again rose and recovered a poor horse in a soldier's hand, which he mounted, and pursued his success. In favour of this same cowardly general was suspended, at the request of the same General Lord Fairfax, the operation of the Self-denying Ordinance, that he might be present and assist him in the then expected engagement with the royal army, and which shortly afterwards happened at Naseby; the total defeat of which was principally, if not wholly, attributed to Cromwell's courage and conduct. He afterwards subdued the Welch royalists; defeated the Scots army, under Duke Hamilton, though very greatly superior in numbers to his own army; he defeated the Scots army at Dunbar, and reduced Edinburgh Castle; and finally defeated King Charles the Second's army at the battle of Worcester. These, with many other lesser engagements, were the

successes of Cromwell's arms. To these, Mr. Holles was no stranger: nevertheless with his eyes open to all this, he could give implicit credit to this story of Crawford's. The quality of personal courage was one of the very few good ones left undenied to Cromwell: nor has it ever been doubted but in this single instance.

This story of Crawford's bears all the marks of falsehood upon the face of it; the hesitation about charging, and the pitiful voice of Cromwell's complaint of the slight burn in his neck does not belong to Cromwell's character. Nor, above all, is it possible to believe that Cromwell, the commander-in-chief of one of the wings of the army, should be led off the field attended by a single soldier, and no notice given to the general of so important a change. Crawford certainly intends it to be understood, that Cromwell remained in this inactive and cowardly state in the rear of the army during the remainder of the action, and that he (Crawford) took his place and was the cause of that wing obtaining the victory. How happened it that all these circumstances were not immediately made known? Such a dereliction of duty, such cowardice, must immediately after the action have been noticed and censured by the general, and Cromwell's military character been for ever lost: Crawford must have been also publicly thanked; but Crawford is silent upon this part of the subject; so is Lord Fairfax. None of the writers of those times, adverse to Cromwell, appear to have been aware of this extraordinary story, and it remains secreted amongst Mr. Holles's papers during his life: he died in 1658; Mr. Holles in 1679. These memoirs are addressed to him (Cromwell) as Lieutenant-general, and they were not made public until 1699, forty years after Cromwell's death, and twenty years after Mr. Holles's death. The danger of contradiction had passed away.

Mr. Holles's blind partiality to the Scots gives them a share in this victory of Marston Moor; when, on the contrary, Rushworth, Lord Clarendon, and Whitelock, all agree in attributing it principally to Cromwell. Rushworth says expressly, that he was acknowledged by all to be a great agent therein; he notices

his wound in the neck, but says, not dangerously. Lord Clarendon says, that the whole army of the Scots were totally routed and defeated, flying all ways for many miles together, and knocked on the head or taken prisoners by the country. Ludlow describes the left wing of the enemy as charging the right wing of the parliament army, consisting of English and Scots, and so totally routing them, that the generals quitted the field and fled towards Cawood Castle: and that the left wing, commanded by Cromwell, after an obstinate dispute, obtained the victory. — No notice of Crawford, who would have been gladly brought forward by Ludlow, to Cromwell's disadvantage. Sir Philip Warwick also, who cannot be suspected of partiality to Cromwell, describes the Scots and English part of the army under the command of General Leslie, and the Lord Fairfax as totally routed, and driven out of the field, and as not returning to the army in two days: but that Cromwell (who had experience of what import a good reserve was in a day of battle) came and turned the scale, and that though the Marquis of Newcastle's foot stood like a wall, yet he mowed them down like a meadow. — Still not a word of the heroic Major-general Crawford.

But the general's (Lord Fairfax) account of this battle, in his fore-mentioned short memorials, must be deemed to be a full confutation of this story of Crawford's. His Lordship relates the advance of Prince Rupert to relieve the city of York, then besieged by the parliament forces under the command of His Lordship, General Leslie, and the Earl of Manchester: that in consequence the siege was raised; Hessey-moor was, he says, appointed the rendezvous; that the whole army drew thither; that about a mile from thence lay the Prince (Rupert), the river Ouse being between them, which he that night passed over at Popleton: that the next day he drew his army into the same moor, which being joined by the Lord Newcastle's army, made about 23,000 or 24,000 men, the parliament's army something more: that the parliament generals were divided in their opinions what to do; the English were for fighting, the Scots for retreating, to gain, as they alleged, both time and place of more advantage: that this being resolved

on, they marched to Tadcaster, which made the enemy advance the faster: that Lieutenant-general Cromwell, Leslie, and himself (Lord Fairfax) were appointed to bring up the rear: that they sent word to the generals of the necessity of making a stand, or else that the enemy, having this advantage, might put them to some disorder; but that, by the advantage of the ground we were on, we hoped to make it good till they came back to us, which they did: that the place was Marston-fields, which afterwards gave the name to this battle: that here we drew up our army; the enemy was drawn up in battalia on the moor, a little below us; that the day being most part spent in preparations, we now began to descend towards them: that Lieutenant-general Cromwell commanded the left wing of the horse, and was seconded by Major-general Leslie; I (Lord Fairfax) had the right wing, with some Scots' horse, and lances for my reserve; the three generals were with the foot: that the left wing first charged the enemy's right wing, which was performed for a while with much resolution on both sides, but the enemy at length was put to the worst: that our right wing had not all so good success, by reason of the furzes and ditches we were to pass over before we could get to the enemy, which put us into great disorder; notwithstanding, proceeds his Lordship, I drew up a body of 400 horse; but, because their intervals of horse in this wing only was lined with musketeers, who did us much hurt with their shot, I was necessitated to charge them: that we were a long time engaged one within another, but at length we routed that part of their wing which we charged, and pursued them a good way towards York: myself (Lord Fairfax) only returned presently to get to the men I left behind me; but that part of the enemy which stood, perceiving the disorder they were in, had charged and routed them before I could get to them, so that the good success we had at the first was eclipsed by this bad conclusion: our other wing (the left), and most of the foot, went on prosperously till they had cleared the field. Lord Fairfax, in that truly brave manly spirit which characterised him, acknowledges the defeat of his own wing, and most honestly declares the victory to have been obtained by the left wing under

Cromwell's command, not making the slightest allusion to the Major, although he mentions his own (Lord Fairfax) escape from different parties of the enemy, upon his return from the pursuit of the part of the left wing of the enemy that his right wing had defeated, to the Lord Manchester's horse in the other (the left) wing, which Cromwell commanded, which must have afforded him an immediate opportunity of knowing all that is alleged by Crawford to have passed, and which he could not have failed to have noticed in this his memorial, particularly as he had no intention of publishing it: but, unfortunately for this Major-general, or rather perhaps more correctly Colonel Crawford, his Lordship referring to approaches made in the siege of York, (prior to the battle,) to St. Mary's tower, which he mentions to have been in the Earl of Manchester's quarters, and the mining that tower, says, that Colonel Crawford, a Scotchman, who commanded that quarter, (he must be the same fore-mentioned Crawford, it being unlikely there should be two of the same name in the Earl of Manchester's brigade,) sprung the mine, being ambitious to have the honour alone of it, without acquainting the other two generals, for their advice and concurrence, which proved very prejudicial; for that having engaged his party against the whole strength of the town, without more forces to second him, he was repulsed with the loss of 300 men; for which, says his Lordship, he had surely been called to an account, but escaped the better by reason of the triumviral government. No allusion to his alleged great service at Marston-moor, a few days afterwards.

A passage given by Rushworth, from the life of the Duke of Newcastle, (who must have been related to Mr. Holles,) said to be written by his Duchess, describing this battle of Marston-moor, says, that the left wing of the parliament horse was commanded by the Earl of Manchester and his Lieutenant-general, Cromwell: "That the first division of Prince Rupert's horse advanced, and with them his Highness in person, charged Cromwell's division of 300 horse, in which he was in person, and very hard put to it, being charged by Prince Rupert's bravest men, both in front and flank, and stood at sword's point a pretty

while, hacking one another; but at last Cromwell broke through, and at the same time the rest of his horse of that wing." That the royalists' left wing was more successful against the parliament's right wing, which they defeated, and pursuing their success, and being just ready to seize all the carriages, " Cromwell with his horse and Manchester's foot, came back from the chase of the Prince's right wing, and perceiving their friends in the meantime thus worsted, advanced in good order to a second charge with all the Prince's horse and foot that had thus disordered their right wing and main battle; who seeing their approach, gave over the pursuit, and prepared to receive them, both sides being not a little surprised to see they must fight it over again for that victory which each thought they had already gained: that the battle, thus renewed, grew very desperate; but that, at length, after the utmost efforts of strength and courage on either side, victory wholly inclined to the parliament forces.

Considering the undisputed (except in this instance) character of Cromwell's personal courage and military skill, it may be thought that too much consequence has been attached to this story of Crawford's; and unnecessary pains bestowed upon the confutation of it. But Mr. Holles's positive charge of general cowardice, is founded upon his belief of this (Crawford's) story, and upon two other proofs, as he calls them, coming nearly within his own knowledge, but which, when told, appear to be merely conjectural, and the indulgence of a prejudiced mind, open to the admission of every ill-founded charge to the injury of Cromwell's character and hardly-earned fame. His inveterate party-rancour against Cromwell, must have prevailed over his understanding and better knowledge, to believe these improbable stories, without examination, and against the conviction of his own mind, aware, as he was, of the great victories obtained, confessedly by all parties, by Cromwell's personal valour and able conduct in the command of the parliament forces.

This supposed cowardly Cromwell, is, nevertheless, the man of whom Mr. May, in his parliamentary history says, that he contributed by his great wisdom and indefatigable industry, to crush

in the beginning, all the endeavours of the King's party in several counties to raise a force for the King: and, in a subsequent part of such history, he describes the successful services of this one gentleman, whose wisdom, valour, and vigilancy, he says, were no less available in those important businesses than remarkable afterwards, in the highest services and greatest battles of the whole war: that it pleased God to raise him afterwards into the greatest commands, and prosper in so high a measure all his undertakings, that he became within a few years one of the chief props on which the parliament leaned.

Bishop Burnet says of Mr. Holles, that he was a man of great courage and of as great pride; that he was counted for many years the head of the presbyterian party; that he engaged in a particular opposition to Cromwell in the time of the war; that they hated one another equally; that Holles seemed to carry this too far, for that he would not allow Cromwell to be either wise or brave, but often applied Solomon's observation to him, "that the battle was not to the strong, nor favour to the man of understanding, but that time and chance happened to all men;" that he was well versed in the records of parliament, and argued well, but too vehemently, for he could not bear contradiction; that he had the soul of an old stubborn Roman in him; that he was a faithful but a rough friend, and a severe but fair enemy; that he had a true sense of religion, and was a man of an unblamable course of life, and of a sound judgment, when it was not biassed by passion; and that he was made a lord for his merits in bringing about the Restoration.

Lord Clarendon's confinement of Cromwell's character to the terms of "brave and wicked," does not include all that it was incumbent upon His Lordship to say, consistently with his preceding account of him: he should have added to his bravery, his great ability of understanding, and his magnanimity of resolution, which he there acknowledges in the strongest terms. His alleged wickedness and contempt of religion and of moral honesty, in the accomplishment of his ambitious designs, rest upon unproved assertions, very much the offspring of His Lordship's own imagin-

ation, and of his inveterate hatred of Cromwell. He seems to feel an awkwardness in summing up Cromwell's character, in the conviction that he is not doing it justice; and that his history does not support the severity with which he treats his memory.

The unimpeachableness of his, Cromwell's private character, and his sobriety and morality, and religious deportment, in all his different situations and circumstances, also his bravery and personal courage, and his great abilities, are allowed on all hands; except his courage in the above solitary feeble attempt of Mr. Holles, they are indisputable; but he is described by His Lordship, and all other his enemies of the then, and even of the present times, as hypocritical and tyrannical, cruel and bloodthirsty; as obtaining his elevation by deceit and violence, and generally, as a most wicked and depraved character, destitute of every valuable quality and worthy motive in any of his seemingly best actions. The justness of these parts of his character remain to be considered.

But it will not be amiss, first to dispose of His Lordship's assertions respecting the Earl of Warwick and Lord Fauconberg. Mentioning the Earl's death, His Lordship describes him, Lord Warwick, as one for whom he, Cromwell, had a fast friendship, though neither their humours or their natures alike: that upon the death of the heir of that house, who had married his youngest daughter, all his relation or confidence in that family was at an end, the other branches of it abhorring his alliance. The truth of this abhorrence, and how his Lordship acquired the knowledge of it, does not appear. Certain it is, that from the letters with the Cromwell family papers (hereafter given), the Earl himself and his family, and the Cromwell family, appear to have had the most affectionate regard for each other.

Mr. Rich, the Earl's grandson, was married to Cromwell's daughter Frances, 11th November, 1657; Lord Clarendon says at Whitehall, but it was at the parish church of St. Martin in the Fields, according to the certificate of the marriage in Mr. Noble's memoirs. He died 16th February following: the Earl of Warwick died 19th April following, sud-

denly, as Lord Fauconberg, in a postscript of a letter upon other subjects, informs Mr. Thurloe. A letter is to be found in Thurloe's State Papers from Henry Cromwell, then Lord Deputy of Ireland, to Lord Broghill, dated 24th of the same month of February in which Mr. Rich died, in which he writes, — "I am sending over to my Lord of Warwick and my Lady Devonshire, to condole our loss of dear Robin Rich; indeed I am much affected with that Providence, which I desire you to let them know as there is occasion."

Accordingly follows a letter of the same date from Henry Cromwell to the Earl of Warwick: — "My Lord; I am ashamed to have been so negligent of my obligations to Your Lordship, that nothing but so sad an occasion as the death of my dear brother, Mr. Rich, should mind me of it; and I am sorry that I cannot say what is just, in honour to his memory, without a kind of cruelty to Your Lordship; and truly, my Lord, but that I know religion is more prevalent with Your Lordship than other worldly consideration; that you do not so much look upon your own loss as our dear friend's gain, nor upon your own disappointment as the fulfilling of that will to which we must all submit, I should almost despair of Your Lordship's patience under so searching and proving a triall, but I know Your Lordship has learnt to mourn, as not without hope, and to read the mind of God in these characters of his Providence; and withall to believe, that all things shall work for the best to those that feare him. Upon these grounds I do the more presume upon Your Lordship's courage under this dispensation. For my own part, I am cut very short in my expectations: for I placed much happiness, even in thinking, upon the fruits of those seeds which I understood to be in Mr. Rich, both as to the honour of our whole family and the advantage of my own particular concernments.

"But I hereby learn, that even these best things are but frail, not knowing but that this stroke may be a reproof, particular unto myself, for placing (if it were possible) too much upon the consequences of this alliance. Upon these considerations I need not tell Your Lordship how I and my wife resent (feel) this Providence,

and sympathise with Your Lordship's just sorrow; the fuller accompt whereof I leave to the bearer. In the mean time, praying the Lord to sanctify this affliction to all concerned in it, giving us to make due use of it to his glory; and withall, that God would help Your Lordship to moderate the sense of this rebuke, and to recompense this loss unto us by some more durable good than this world can afford. In which affections I remayne, My Lord, Your Lordship's, &c.

H. Cromwell."

Then follows his, Henry Cromwell's, letter of the same date, to the Countess of Devonshire:—"Madam; I know not how seasonable it would be to tell Your Ladyship my thoughts of my brother Rich, nor what honour and support his virtues promised to both our families, lest I should aggravate Your Ladyship's grief, already too great. There be many reasons why our family, and particularly myself, should be affected with this stroke; yet there is none more prevalent with me than my concernment for Your Ladyship's own person; for, considering my obligations, I must be very illnatured if I should not grieve because Your Ladyship is grieved; and I am sure the loss of the only son of an only daughter, and the hopes which, Madam, you had of that now blessed person, cannot but grieve Your Ladyship. I am confident Your Ladyship has so learned Christ, the world, and the use of these dispensations, as to be enabled to bear this crosse even beyond what might be expected from flesh and blood, and that tenderness of affection so eminent in Your Ladyship: and truly, Madam, this consideration only wipes my eyes; for truly I am assured the Lord will bring you safe out of this affliction. This occasion calls for your best thoughts; nor would I willingly interrupt them, the end of this expresse being to express how much my wife, myself, and indeed all good people, are affected with this Providence; and to assure Your Ladyship, that although God hath seem'd to break the bond that men think would have held our familys together, yet I desire Your Ladyship to believe that nothing shall be wanting in me to strengthen this knott,

whereof I was ever ambitious. I hope the bearer will bring me a good accompt of the Lord's supporting Your Ladyship under this visitation, the happy newes whereof would be most welcome to, Madam, Your Ladyship's, &c.

" H. Cr."

Then follows a letter to Henry Cromwell from the Earl of Warwick, in answer to the above letter to him: it has only the day of the month (the 11th March), and the place from whence it was written, but not the year; it must be the March of the year 1657, in which Mr. Rich died, because the Earl's death was (as before mentioned) in the April following (1658). It is indorsed " The Earl of Warwick to my father on the death of the Earl's grandson, Mr. Rich. — My Lord; My penne & my heart were ever Y^r Lo^p's servants, now they are become y^r debtors. This paper cannot enough confesse my obligation, & much lesse discharge it, for your seasonable and sympathizing letters, w^ch (besides the value they derive from soe worthy a hand) expresse such faithfull affections, and administer such Christian advice, as render them beyond measure welcome and deare to mee. And although my heavinesse and distraction of thoughts persuades mee rather to peruse those excellent lines thn to answer them, and to take releife from them rather then make a return to them, yet I must not be so indulgent to myne own sorrowes, as to lose this opportunitie of being thankfull to y^r Lo^p for so greate a favoure. My L^d, I dare not be insensible of that hand w^ch hath lay'd a verie sharpe & awakeing affliction upon mee; but wee may not bee so presumptuous as to make choise of our own Rodde, or so much as in thought to detract from, or diminish, the justice & wisdom and goodness of God in those harde events, w^ch must all stand invioliable when millions of such worms as I am are gone to dust. I must needs say I have lost a deare and comfortable relation, one in whom I had much determined my affections & lodged my hopes, w^ch are now rebuked & withered by a hasty and earely death; but my propertie in him was inferior to his who hath taken him, and I must reste my

hearte in his proceedings, making it my care and suite, that those evills w^ch^ cannot be averted may be sanctifyed. In order to w^ch^ I desire from this one sadde instance to argue the whole worlde of vanitie and variablenesse. Alas! what a staffe of reed are....these things, w^ch^ have noe stay in themselves, and therefore canne give none to us. They witnesse their own impotencie, & themselves admonish us to pitch our rest above this sphere of changeable mortalitie, and to caste anchor in heaven, while we canne finde noe holde at all on earth. Assuredly, hee that will have & holde a right tranquilitie, must found it in a sweete fruitio^n^ of God, w^ch^ whosoever wants may be secure, but cannot be quiet. That this breach therefore may be filled upp w^th^ the presence & communicatiōs of God, shall be my daylie desire and prayer. My Lord, all this is but a broken echo of your pious counsell, w^ch^ gives such ease to my oppressed minde, that I canne scarse forbidd my Penne being tedious. Onely it remembers Your Lo^ps^ many weighty & noble employm^ts^, w^ch^ (together w^th^ your prudent, heroique, and honourable managery of them) I doe heere congratulate as well as my griefe will give me leave. Others goodnes is their owne, yours is a whole countries, yea, three kingdomes, for w^ch^ you justly possesse interest and renowne w^th^ wise and good men: vertue is a thousand escushions. Goe on, my Lord, goe on happily to love religion, to exemplify it. May Your Lo^p^ longe continue an instrum^t^ of use, a patterne of vertue, & a precedent of glory. This is the inward & affectionate prayer of, My Lord,

Your Lo^ps^ most affectionate Servant,

"Warwicke."

"I desire my humble service may bee presented to y^r^ good Lady.

"Beddinto', this 11th of March."

The above first three letters are stated in the margin of Thurloe to have been in the possession of William Cromwell, Esq. (one of Henry Cromwell's grandsons), but are not to be now found with the family papers. They must have been lent by this Mr. Cromwell with many others also missing, for publication,

and not returned. The letter to the Earl of Warwick is still with the family papers.

Of Lord Fauconberg's and Cromwell's supposed mutual hatred nothing appears but in the above (Lord Clarendon's) account. His character is given in a letter of Lockhart to Cromwell through Thurloe, dated Paris, 21–31 March, 1657. It begins, — "May it please Your Highnesse, since my last I have had the opportunity of seeing my Lord Falconbridge, who, in my humble opinion, is a person of extraordinary parts, and hath (appearingly) all those qualities in a high measure that can fitt one for His Highnesse and countrie's service, for both of which he owns a particular zeale. He seemed to be much troubled for a report he heard, that the enemys gave him out to be a catholic; and did purge himself from having any inclinations that way. He desyres His Highnesse may cause make exact enquiry after his carriage in England, and hopes by that means his innocency will be vindicated, and the malice of his accusers discovered. He is of opinion that the intended settlement will be very acceptable to all the nobility and gentry of his country, save a few who may be biassed by the interests of their relations."

Thurloe, in a letter to Henry Cromwell, dated 23d November following (1657), says, "This week hath in a great part been taken up in solemnizeinge the marriage of my Lady Mary with my Lord Falconbridge. They were marryed at Hampton-court upon Thursday. He is a person of very great parts and sobrietye, and I hope His Highnesse and his family will have comfort in hym." Lord Clarendon says, this, and Mr. Rich's marriage, were at Whitehall; but it has been shown not to be true, as to either of them. He adds, that though these marriages were performed in public view according to the rites and ceremonies then in use, they were presently afterwards in private married by ministers ordained by bishops, and according to the form in the Book of Common Prayer; and this with the privity of Cromwell, who pretended to yield to it in compliance with the importunity and folly of his daughters. This is mere assertion; it may, or may not be true.

Henry Cromwell, in a letter to Lord Falconberg, dated 9th December following, stated in Thurloe to be in the possession of the above Mr. William Cromwell, and a copy in his handwriting, yet in the family, says, — "My Lord; Your Lordship's letter was very welcome to me, as bringing demonstration of His Highnesse's wisdom, and my sister's happiness. I wish His Highness may make as happy a choice of members for the other House of Parliament, as he hath done of a husband for his daughter. But I hope that God, who assisted him in the one will also continue his goodness for the other. I may repeat Your Lordship's words,—' This near degree of alliance, united with the satisfaction I have received of Your Lordshipp's personal meritt, affords me a double happiness ;' only I must confess, that this contentment (great as it is) doth not so much satisfy me as fill me with new desires; for now I am longing to have a nearer converse with Your Lordship; being apt to think my absence the ill husbandry of so great a talent. I will not wish Your Lordship in Ireland (although our barbarisms here, by giving Your Lordship a greater lustre, might be some advantage, if Your Lordship could be pleased with such airs) but rather wish myself in England, where I might in that measure which becomes Your Lordship's meritt, express myself, My Lord, Your Lordship's most affectionate brother, and humble and faithfull servant,

"H. Cromwell."

The following is a letter from Thurloe's State Papers, dated Whitehall, 9th February 1657, from Lord Fauconberg to Henry Cromwell: — "My Lord; After the liberty Your Lordship has given me, there cannot ought of concerne happen in this place which I shall not endeavour to give you the perfectest account of, and, if possible, outstrip all others in it. But those great things expected in order to the nation's settlement, from the two Houses meeting, it has pleased God to dash all of a sodaine. — For, my Lord, two days after my last, H. H. (His Highness) surprised us all, not only us of the lower orbe, but those, I mean of his councell, most (I am sure) of them, if not all, by putting

an end to boath the Houses of Parliament that Thursday morning. This, we now see, he was forced to doe, least some turbulent spirits amongst them should have put an end to the peace of this nation, by embroyling it as farre in blood and confusions as ever.

" Major General Packer, who commands H. H. (His Highness's) owne regiment, is now with H. H., (His Highness) and I have some reason to think his commission will be taken from him ere they part. It is believed some others too must follow; but I dare not say who, being resolved to give Your Lordship all the truth of matters I can, without the least mixture of my owne or other's conjectures.

" I cannot at all perceive H. H. disposed to that of Your Lordship's coming into England, tho' for never so small a time; and the truth is, I do not marvell att all as things now stand; for the troblers of our quiet will, no doubt, be watching all advantages there, as well as heere, and a greater then Your Lordship's absence I am sure they do not wish, whose actions stirre up as much dread in them, as wonder in all us that love you. This, my Lord, is the language of my judgement only, for my affection runnes quite counter, and would perswade that for a few months Your Lordship might be dispensed with, there being no person alive so impatiently longing for the honour to kisse Your Lordship's hands as, My Lord, Your Lordship's most faithfull and obedient servant, " FAUCONBERG."

The following is a letter from Thurloe's State Papers, dated 20th February in the same year (1657), from Henry Cromwell to Lord Fauconberg (stated to have been in the possession of the above William Cromwell, esq.): " My Lord; When your Lordship had any communication to impart unto me, I was always made sensible of your liberality therein; wherefore now I must attribute as much to Your Lordship's prudent tenderness of me, in that when the sad news of poor Robin Riche's death must be written, your Lordship was but sparing in your mention of that sad story. My Lord, these providences are singly in themselves no miracles; yet when they happen so thick as of late upon Sir

John Reynolds (who was shipwreck'd in his return to England from his service in assisting the French in their war against Spain), and now upon this gentleman, I cannot think but that God intends them for our instruction. I desire Your Lordship on my behalf, to condole with my poor sister. Your Lordship is able to say whatever is materiall upon this occasion: wherefore, for me to venture upon any particulars, were to put Your Lordship upon a kind of pennance, in observing my impertinencies, and to endanger the end of comforting myself, which cannot miscarry upon Your Lordship's single management. I hope Your Lordship's being called to succour my dear sister, your lady, tends but to repair our family of the late loss it hath sustained; and I hope that the sad apprehensions occasioned by this late stroke, will not frustrate our hopes therein. I believe your Lordship may by this time repent of the liberty you have given me, and see the inconvenience of good nature and civility. My dear Lord, I will be at present more moderate in troubling Your Lordship, begging at this time only the leave not to omitt declaring myself, my Lord, Your Lordship's, &c.

"H. Cromwell."

A letter in Thurloe's State Papers, by Lord Fauconberg to Lockhart, the ambassador in France, dated Whitehall, January 25—February 4. 1657–8, which was after Cromwell's death, and during Richard Cromwell's protectorate, proves His Lordship's continued confidential connection with him. The last passage in this letter is as follows:—"Last of all, as to newes, I shall tell you, that the House of Commons appeare yett, a little pettish, refusing on Saturday last, upon a message, sent them from the House of Lords, to owne them for such. This afternoone, both Houses, by command from H. H. mett him in the Banquetting-house, where (His Highness Richard) he made a very pious and eloquent speech to them, tending to unity among themselvès, and provision against the common enimyes of this nation. The Lord Lambert appeared this day in the Lower House, as did Sir Arthur Haselrig, notwithstanding his writ of summons to the other, and without ever wayting on

H. H. to excuse itt. What these things will produce, God Almighty only knows: to whose protection I comitt you, subscribing myselfe with all sincere affection, yours "FAUCONBERG."

A letter from Lord Fauconberg to Henry Cromwell, dated Whitehall, 8th June, 1658, informs of his return from his embassy at the French court, where, he says, he had the honourablest reception imaginable, which he particularly describes. He adds,— "In summe, through all their actions, not the least circumstance was omitted that might witnesse the truth of these respects they beare His Highnesse, and the English nation." The cardinal admires Your Lordship very much, as all the world must needs doe."

The following letter is in Thurloe, from Lord Fauconberg to Henry Cromwell, dated 7th September, 1658, N. S. informing him of the death of Cromwell. "Deare My Lord; This bearer, Mr. Underwood, brings Your Lordshipp the sad newes of our general losse in your incomparable father's death, by which these poore nations are deprived of the greatest personage and instrument of happinesse, not only our owne, but indeed any age else ever produced. The preceding night, and not before, in presence of four or five of the councell, he declared my Lord Richard his successor; the next morning grew speechlesse, and departed betwixt three and four in the evening. A hard dispensation itt was, but so itt has seemed good to the Allwise God; and what remaines to poore creatures, but to lay our hands upon our mouthes to the declaration of his pleasure? Some three houres after his decease (a time spent only in framing the draught, not in any doubtfull dispute) was Your Lordshipp's brother, his now Highnesse, declared Protector of these nations, with full consent of counsell, soldier, and city. The next day he was proclaimed in the usuall places. All the time His late Highnesse was drawing on to his end, the consternation and astonishment of people is unexpressible: their harts seemed as sunke within them. And if this abroad, in the family Your Lordship may imagine what it was in Her Highness, and other neer relations. My poor wife, I knowe not what in the earth to doe with her; when seemingly quieted she bursts

out again into passion, that tears hir very hart in pieces; nor can I blame her, considering what she has lost. It fares little better with others. God, I trust, will sanctifye this bitter cup to us all. His mercy is extraordinary, as to the quiet face of things among us, which I hope the Lord will continue. Your Lordshipp's most affectionately faithfull and very humble servant,

" Fauconberg."

In additional proof of the continuance of this affectionate intercourse between these families, is brought forward the following letters from Lady Fauconberg remaining in the Cromwell family. The first is addressed " To my dear bro. Henry Cromwell, att Speny." It has no date of time or place; but from the address to him at Spinney Abbey, in Cambridgeshire, the place of his residence after the Restoration, it must have been subsequently to his quitting Ireland. " Dear brother; I have sent this bearer on porpos to se you and my sister, fearing I shall not se you befor I go from hence. My poor mother (she must mean the late Protectress) is so affecting a spectacle as I scars know how to writ, she continuing much the same as she was when you wer hear: the Lord knows best what is fit for us to sufer, and therfor I desir we may willingly submit to his will; but the condishon she is in is very sad; the Lord help her and us to bear it. I am now able to say no mor, my hart being so oprest; but that I am your dear wiff's and yours most afec. sister, " M. Fauconberg."

" My stay hear, unles somthing extrordynary hapen, will be till Munday next."

The next letter is dated the 29th January, the year not mentioned, addressed to her (Lady Fauconberg's) nephew, Henry Cromwell, at Spinney Abbey, who was her late brother the forenamed Henry Cromwell's eldest son. It is an affectionate letter upon his wife's recovery from a lying-in, and death of the child; adding " that my Lord as well as self return thanks" (for a present) " and charges me to assure you both of his humble service"—

" Most affectionate aunt and servant, " M. Fauconberg."

And the third letter is dated August the 10th, and upon the back is written " 1689." — It is addressed to the same nephew Henry Cromwell :—" Dear Nephew; I receaved y^rs^ which this comes in answer to : my Lord was one thursday at Hampton-court, when he spoke to the King (must be King William) againe as for your concern and your cosens ; but all the answer he could gitt was that he wanted money, and att present did not think of raising any more men, which for your sakes I am concerned for." Then follows some public news from Ireland.

Many other letters, to be found in Thurloe, many of them heretofore in the Cromwell family's possession, and lent, but probably not returned, show the same affectionate attention of the two families to each other.

These letters may perhaps appear tedious and uninteresting; but they cannot but have the effect of proving the unfoundedness of His Lordship's (Lord Clarendon's) assertion of Lord Fauconberg's and Cromwell's mutual aversion ; his Lordship is upon all occasions too well disposed to credit every improbable, unsupported tale to the injury of Cromwell's good name.

So soon after writing the above letter of 10th August 1689, as February 1693-4, KingWilliam no doubt through the same interest of Lord and Lady Fauconberg, gave the above Henry Cromwell a captain's commission in the Earl of Denbigh's regiment of dragoons. And Queen Anne, in the first year of her reign, gave him a captain's commission in Lord Mohun's regiment of foot. And in the seventh year of her reign, gave him a major's commission in Colonel Kilner Brasier's regiment of foot. He died in Spain in 1711, in the British army under the command of Lord Galway.

Mr. Noble attributes these appointments to the exertions of the Duke of Ormond, in acknowledgement, as Mr. Noble says he always declared, of the great service and benefit his family received from Henry Cromwell while he was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He might have added, in acknowledgement also of the kind and generous treatment both the duke and his duchess experienced from Henry Cromwell's father (the Protector) heretofore related, when they were both wholly in his power, and were secretly serving the royal party. The duke might support the Fauconberg efforts in his favour.

By the same interest (it is presumed), he, Lady Fauconberg's nephew, the same Henry Cromwell, was in the year 1690 appointed one of the gentlemen of King William's privy chamber.

Whitelock in his mention of his (Cromwell's) daughter Claypoole's death, says nothing to induce a supposition of the reality of the alleged perplexing conferences with her father, or of her allusion, in her bodily sufferings, to the blood she is asserted by His Lordship to have accused him of having shed. He speaks highly of her, and says her death did much grieve her father. His Lordship acknowledges he (Cromwell) had not the least appearance upon his approaching death, of remorse for any of his actions; and concludes with only saying, that either what she said, or her death affected him wonderfully.

Ludlow, referring to her's and Cromwell's death, says, that it had been reported that her ill success in her application to her father for the sparing Dr. Hewett's life, had so afflicted her, that it had been one cause of her death: he is silent as to these her supposed accusations of him during her last illness. But he describes him as manifesting no remorse of conscience for betraying (as he calls it) the public cause, and sacrificing it to his own ambition; and that some of his last words were rather becoming a mediator than a sinner; recommending to God the condition of the nation that he had so infamously cheated; and expressing a great care of the people, whom he had so manifestly despised. He adds, he seemed above all concerned for the reproaches he said men would cast upon his name, in trampling upon his ashes when dead; and that in this temper of mind he died about two in the afternoon.

Mrs. Hutchinson only says, that before he could accomplish his design (which she supposes he intended) of imprisoning the colonel her husband, death imprisoned himself, and confined all his vast ambition, and all his cruel designs, into the narrow compass of a grave.

Mr. Noble says, that it is allowed by our historians, that in the repeated conferences she (Lady Claypoole) had with Cromwell just before her death, she painted the guilt of his ambition in the most dreadful colours: he gives Lord Clarendon as his authority. He

adds, that she was particular in mentioning the death of her pious pastor, Dr. Hewitt; the near approach of her dissolution giving her, she supposed, liberty to say what formerly she thought, yet durst not then express. Dr. Bates says, in her hysterical fits she much disquieted him, by upbraiding him, sometimes with one of his crimes, and sometimes with another, according to the furious distractions of her disease, which, he says, was an inward imposthume in her loins.

Who the historians are, besides Lord Clarendon and Dr. Bates, that have said all this, does not appear. His Lordship could know nothing but from report; and the subsequent writers have probably implicitly followed him, and perhaps also Dr. Bates; but his testimony to Cromwell's prejudice is not to be relied on, when he is seen turning round at the Restoration, and recommending himself to the ruling powers by disclosing and probably misrepresenting the professional secrets of Cromwell's family, and abusing and vilifying the memory of his late patron.

The probable falsehood of these accounts and assertions will best appear from the following circumstances.

In Thurloe's State Papers is a letter, appearing to be supplied by the forenamed Mr. William Cromwell, dated so near her death as 12th June, 1658, from her (Lady Claypoole) "to the Lady of Henry Cromwell," in which she begs her pardon for not writing oftener, "but in earnist, I have bin so extreme sickly of late that it has made mee unfitt for any thing. Truly the Lord has bin very gratius to us, in doeing for us abofe whot we could expect; and now has shewed himself more extraordinary in delivering my father out of the hands of his enymise, which wee have all reson to be sensible of in a very particular manner; for, sertingly, not ondly his family would have bin ruined, but in all probabillyti the hol nation would have bin invold in blod. The Lord grant it maye never be forgot by us, but that it may cause us to depend upon him from hom wee have reseved all good, and that it may cose us to se the muttablenes of thise things, and to yuse them accordingly. I am suer wee have nede to bag that sperrit from God."

General Fleetwood, in a letter to Henry Cromwell, dated July

1658, says,— " Deare brother ; I have received yours, whearin you desire to understand the condicion of my Lady Elizabeth, who was in a very hopefull condicion till within this 3 or 4 dayes, shee hath bine exceeding ill, and very much weakned, and brought low, but hoped she is agayn upon the mending hand. Shee hath bin troubled with great paynes in her bowells, and vapours in the heade. The truth is, its beleeved the physitians do not understand throughly hir case. She is now advised to tak Tunbridge waters. It hath bin a very sore and sharpe tryall ; yet being a father's hand, I hope we shall have all of us advantage by it, for sure it is a voyce to all of the relations. I neade not tell you the great sence both Their Hignesses have of this dispensation. There is nothing wanting of care or skill : but the blessing of the Lord must make all effectuall. She hath many prayers going for hir, a return of which will make the mercy double. Both Their Highnesses and family are at Hampton-court. His Highness takes the waters, and they agree pritty well."

In a letter to Henry Cromwell, dated 3d August following, he writes, — that it had pleased the Lord, when all hopes were even at an end, and the doctors did believe Her Ladyship's condition was desperate and near expiring, beyond all expectation to give hir a composure of spirits by sleepe ; and that since Friday last, she had bin dayly upon the recovery, and so continued in a very hopefull way: that His Highness had bin for this 4 or 5 days very indisposed and ill ; but that night had had a very good refreshment by sleep, and was much revived, his paynes and distemper abated and much amended, &c.

The next letter is from Secretary Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, dated 17th same August, informing of the interment in Westminster Abbey, of the Lady Claypoole (she died 6th same August). He adds, " Your Lordship is a very sensible judge how great an affliction this was to both Their Highnesses, and how sadd a familye she left behind her, which saddnesse was truly very much encreased by the sicknesse of His Highnesse, who at the same tyme lay very ill of the gout and other distempers, contracted by the long sicknesse of my Lady Elizabeth, which made great im-

pressions upon hym; and since that, whither it were the retireinge of the gout out of his foot into his body, or from some other cause, I am not able to say, he hath been very dangerously sicke; the violence whereof lasted 4 or 5 dayes; but, blessed be God, he is now reasonable well recovered, and this day he went abroad for an houre, and findes himselfe much refreshed by it; soe that this recovery of His Highness doth much allay the sorrow for My Lady Elizabeth's death," &c. A letter from Dr. Clarges to Henry Cromwell, of the 10th same August, says, "His Highness, by the blessing of God, is much amended, and will, with his whole traine, be this evening at Whitehall."

None of the above letters afford the slightest ground for the belief of the truth of these assertions of the Lady Claypoole's accusations of her father. Although her letter of the 12th June, 1658, is dated only four days after the execution of Sir Henry Slingsby and Dr. Hewitt, which, according to a letter from Dr. Clarges, (also in Thurloe's State Papers,) was on the 8th of the same month of June, she expresses no concern for their deaths; but on the contrary, much thankfulness for the deliverance of her father from what she considers a most destructive plot. Dr. Clarges only relates the fact of the execution, adding, that the court was to meet again on Thursday, for the trial of the other conspirators.

The circumstances of Cromwell's last illness and death, in addition to those already mentioned in the preceding letters, will be best collected from the following letters in Thurloe's State Papers.

In a letter to Henry Cromwell, dated 24th August, 1658, Thurloe says, "His Highness continuing ill, hath given a stopp to all buissines: he was soe well upon Friday, that wee hoped that the worst of his sicknesse was over; but it pleased God, that upon Saterday morninge he fell into a fitt of an ague, and by its course ever since, it appeares to be a tertian. The fitts were longe and somewhat sharpe; but yet the last was not soe badd as the former. This being the intervall day, he came from Hampton-court hither, all the doctors judgeinge this to be much the better

place, besides the advantage which the change of aire usually gives for the recovery out of agues; and although it be an ill tyme of the yeare to have an ague in, yet itt beinge a tertian, and His Highness being pretty well in the intervalls, the doctors do not conceive there is any danger as to his life. However, Your Excellency will easily ymagine how much trouble we are all under here; and though it shall please the Lord to recover him againe, yet, certeinely, considering the tyme that this visitation is in, and other circumstances relating thereunto, it cannot but greatly affect us all towards God, and make us deepely sensible how much our dependence is upon him, in whose hands is the life and breath of this his old servant; and if he should take him away from amongst us, how terrible a blow it would be to all the good people of the land; and that therefore we should be carefull how wee walke towards God, least wee provoke him to depart from us, and bringe upon us this great evil," &c. A Postscript — "His Highness is just now enteringe into his fitt. I beseech the Lord to be favourable to him."

In a letter from Dr. Clarges, of the same date, to Henry Cromwell, he says, that the calling of a parliament had been lately delayed by reason of His Highness's sickness; but that his recovery, which was in a good measure advanced, would draw on consideration about it.

In a letter dated 27th of the same August, Whitehall, two in the morning, Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, describes his (Cromwell's) fit upon the Tuesday night as somewhat more favourable than the former; and that the good interval after it, gave great hopes that his ague was very much upon the decrease, especially the fit which he then was in beginning very favourably, the cold part of it slipping over without any observation; but that the hot fit had been very long and terrible, insomuch, that the doctors feared he would not get through it: that he was then fallen into a breathing sweat, which, it was hoped, he would come well out of. He adds, that he durst not to inform him (Henry Cromwell) that the last fit had rendered His Highness's condition very dangerous, and doubts their fears were more than their hopes.

On the 30th of the same month, he writes that lest the last-mentioned letter should miscarry he had sent an express that he (Henry Cromwell) might fully understand how it was with His Highness: that on the 13th day, since his ague took him, having been sick a fortnight before, of a general distemper of body: that it continued a good while to be a tertian ague and the burning fits very violent: that upon Saturday it fell to a double tertian, having two fits in twenty-four hours, one upon the heels of another, which had extremely weakened him, and endangered his life: and that since Saturday morning he had scarce been perfectly out of his fits: that the doctors were yet hopeful that he might struggle through it, though their hopes were mingled with much fear. But truly, adds he (Thurloe), wee have cause to put our hope in the Lord, and to expect mercy from him in this case, hee haveinge stirr'd up the saints to pray for hym in all places, &c. "And that which is some ground of hope is, that the Lord, as in some former occasions, hath given to himself (Cromwell) a perticuler assurance, that he shall yet live to serve hym, and to carry on the worke which he hath put into his hands." He proceeds: — That "he fears our own divisions may be great, if His Highness should not settle and fix his successor before he dies; which truly I believe he hath not yet done. He did by himselfe declare one in a paper before he was installed by the parliament, and sealed it up in the forme of a letter, directing it to me, but kept both the name of the person and the paper to himselfe. After he fell sicke at Hampton-court, he sent Mr. John Barrington to London for it, telling hym it lay on his study table at Whitehall; but it was not to be found there, nor elsewhere, though it hath beene very narrowly looked for. And in this condition matters stand, His Highness having been too ill to be troubled with a buissiness of this importance. This day he hath had some discourse about it, but his illness disenabled hym to conclude it fully. And if it should please the Lord not to give hym tyme to settle his succession before his death, the judgment would be the soarer, and our condition the more dangerous; but trust he

will have compassion on us, and not leave us as a prey to our enemies, or to one another."

Lord Fauconberg in a letter to Henry Cromwell, dated the same 30th August, says, — " It is with unspeakable grief I now give Your Lordship the sad account of His Highness's condition, which all the physicians have for some days judged dangerous, and now, more than ever. Though his loss must needs carry weight ynough in itselfe, yet the consideration of the miserable posture hee leaves these nations in, is stupendious. My Lord, I hold it my duty to acquaint you how wee stand at present, and then leave the further proceed of things to God's direction and Your Lordship's wisdom. A successor, there is none named that I can learn; T (Thurloe) has seemed to be resolved to press him, in his intervals, to such a nomination: but whether out of apprehensions to displease him, if recovering, or others hereafter, if it should not succeed, he has not yet done it, nor doe I believe wil." Tuesday, August 31. " His Highness is beyond al possibility of recovery."

Thurloe, in a letter dated 4th September, (Saturday,) 1658, informs Henry Cromwell of Cromwell's death. " He died yesterday (Friday, 3d), about four of the clocke in the afternoone. I am not able to speake or write; this stroake is so soare, soe unexpected, the providence of God in it so stupendious, consideringe the person that is fallen, the tyme and season wherein God tooke hym away, with other circumstances, I can doe nothinge but put my mouthe in the dust and say, It is the Lord; and though his wayes be not alwayes knowne, yet they are alwayes righteous, and we must submitt to his will, and resigne up ourselves to him with all our concernements. His Highness was pleased before his death to declare my Lord Richard, successor. He did it upon Munday (the 30th), and the Lord hath so ordered it, that the council and army have received him with all manner of affection."

In a subsequent letter, of the 7th of the same September, he (Thurloe) refers to the bearer, Mr. Underwood, " a very sober gentleman, who was of the bedchamber to His late Highness, and

Richard Cromwell

eldest son of Oliver Cromwell.

Drawn and Engraved by W. Bond, from a three quarter Portrait, in the Possession of Oliver Cromwell Esq.r

attended him in all his sicknesse, for a full account of all that passed on this sadd occasion, to which purpose His Highness (Richard) hath sent him over to Your Excellency, that you might fully understand the perticulars of God's dealinge with His Highness your father, through his whole visitation."

Thurloe in the forementioned letter of the 4th September, says, he (Cromwell) appointed his son Richard, his successor on the Monday preceding his decease; on which day Lord Fauconberg says in his letter, he had not then done it, nor did he believe he would. Sir Philip Warwick says, that, from the information of one of his physicians, he was never during his last illness in a state of mind to determine any thing of his successor, referring to Thurloe's declaration of his appointment of his son Richard to the Protectorate. Nevertheless, it is undeniable, that on the evening before his death, (Thursday the 2d September,) he was sufficiently himself to compose and utter the following prayer, which remains with the Cromwell family papers, and is probably the one mentioned in a letter of Thurloe's, to be then sent to Henry: it is described, "His Highness's prayer, Sept. 2d, being the night before he departed." — "Lord, although I am a wretched and miserable creature, I am in covenant with thee through grace, and I may, I will come unto thee for my people: Thou hast made me a mean instrument to doe them some good and thee sarves, and many of them have sett too high a vallue upon me though others wishe and would be glad of my death, but, Lord, however thou shalt dispose of me, continue and goe on to doe good for them; give them consistancy of judgment, mutual love, and one harte, goe one to deliver them, and with the worke of reformation and make the nam of Christ glorious in the world; teach those who looke too much upon thy instruments to depend more upon thyselfe. Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poore worme; for they are thy people too, and pardon the folly of this short prayer, for Jesus Christ his sake, and give us a good night if it be thy pleasure."

Neal, in his History of the Puritans, says, from Baxter's Life, — "About twelve hours before he died, he lay very quiet, when

Major Butler being in his chamber, says he heard him make his last prayer to this purpose, — " Lord, I am a poor foolish creature; this people would fain have me live; they think it best for them and that it will redound much to thy glory, and all the stir is about this. Others would fain have me die; Lord, pardon them, and pardon thy foolish people; forgive their sins and do not forsake them, but love and bless and give them rest, and bring them to a consistency, and give me rest for Jesus Christ's sake, to whom, with thee and thy Holy Spirit, be all honour and glory, now and for ever. Amen." Dr. Harris gives the above first-mentioned prayer, with some variations, and concluding with the above word " too" from a collection of several passages concerning His late Highness, in the time of his sickness, by one that was groom of his bed-chamber, published in the year 1659. He (Dr. Harris) adds, this was all in character: and that, two or three more of his expressions when death was in his view, will show us in what temper he left the world. These are quoted from the forementioned collection of passages: — " Lord, thou knowest if I do desire to live, it is to shew forth thy praise and declare thy works:" that again he said, " I would be willing to live to be further serviceable to God and his people, but my work is done; yet God be with his people." He then refers to a passage from Dr. Bates, " But all his distemper was not in his mind alone; for shortly after he was taken with a slow fever, that at length degenerated into a bastard tertian ague. — For a week's time the disease so continued without any dangerous symptoms, (as appearing sometimes one and sometimes another kind of distemper,) that every other day he walked abroad: but that after dinner his five physicians coming to wait upon him, one of them having felt his pulse, said that it intermitted: at which, suddenly startled, he looked pale, fell into a cold sweat, almost fainted away, and orders himself to be carried to bed, where, being refreshed with cordials, he made his will, but only about his private and domestic affairs. That next morning early, when one of his physicians came to visit him, he asked him why he looked so sad? and when he made answer, that so it becomes any one who had the weighty

care of his life and health upon him: ye physicians (said he) think I shall die. Then the company being removed, holding his wife by the hand, to this purpose he spoke to him; I tell you, I shall not die this bout; I am sure of it. And because he observed him to look more attentively upon him at these words, Don't think, said he, that I am mad; I speak the words of truth, upon surer grounds than your Galen or Hippocrates furnish you with. God Almighty himself hath given that answer, not to my prayers alone, but also to the prayers of those who entertain a stricter commerce and greater intimacy with him. Go on, cheerfully banishing all sadness from your looks, and deal with me as you would with a serving man. Ye may have skill in the nature of things, yet nature can do more than all physicians put together; and God is far more above nature."

These several circumstances, however they may be deemed by some to prove Cromwell's enthusiasm, which will be considered hereafter, are surely sufficient to prove the assertion of his physicians, to Sir Philip Warwick, not to be true, — that he was in a constant state of delirium till his death.

It is remarked by Lord Clarendon, that he showed no remorse in his last illness, for the blood he states his daughter to have accused him of having spilled, nor for any other of his supposed wicked actions. Sir Philip Warwick also allows that he died quietly in his bed. Ludlow, with his usual malignity towards Cromwell, says, he showed so little remorse of conscience for betraying the public cause, and sacrificing to the idol of his own ambition, that some of his last words (probably alluding to his before-given prayers) were rather becoming a mediator than a sinner, recommending to God the condition of the nation whom he had so manifestly despised. But that he seemed, above all, concerned for the reproaches, he said, men would cast upon his ashes when dead. And that in this temper of mind he departed this life about two in the afternoon.

Dr. Harris describes him a professor of religion, even to a degree of enthusiasm.—He allows him really religious, which he thinks appears from a religious letter to a Mr. Storie, dated St. Ives

11th January, 1635, which he gives at length, from the original letter in the British Museum. This letter respects the erection of a lecture by a Mr. Storie, in some part of Huntingdonshire, commending him for it, and strongly urging its support. It proves nothing more than outward profession, which is not disputed; the sincerity and reality of that profession can only be ascertained by the uniformity and consistency of his religious and moral conduct, both public and private. He (Dr. Harris) says very truly, that real inward religion appears not to men but by its fruits. He says, he not only practised the external duties of religion, but that he was carried away into enthusiasm: that he fancied himself favoured and distinguished by Heaven: that God, in answer to his prayers, afforded him supernatural illumination and assistance. He then, in proof of this supposed enthusiasm, quotes the before-given conversation of Sir Philip Warwick with Dr. Simcott, and, from Thurloe, the foremen-tioned letter from Cromwell to his cousin Mr. St. John; also, from Thurloe, a passage in a letter to Lord Wharton, dated 2d September, 1648. In Thurloe, this letter begins—"My Lord; You know how untoward I am att this businesse of writinge; yet a word"—it proceeds as in Dr. Harris—"I beseech the Lord make us sensible of this great mercye heere (the victory, the Doctor supposes, over the Scots under Duke Hamilton; it must be so; it was towards the end of the preceding August) which surelye was much more then ..... the House expresseth. I trust ..... the goodnesse of our God, time and opportunitye to speak of itt with you face to face. When we think of our God, what are wee! oh! his mercye to the whole societye of saincts, despised, jeered saincts. Let them mocke onn. Would we were all saincts; the best of us are (God knows) poore weake saincts, yet saincts; if not sheepe, yet lambes, and must bee fed. We have daily bread, and shall have itt in spite of all enemies. There's enough in our Father's house, and he dispenseth itt as our eyes .... behind, then wee can .... we for him. I think thorough these outward mercyes (as we call them), faith, patience, love, hope, all are exercised and perfected, yea Christ formed, and growes to a

perfect man within us. I knowe not how well to distinguish; the difference is only in the subject, to a worldly man they are outward; to a sainct, christian; but I dispute not. My Lord, I rejoice in your particular mercye. I hope that is soe to you; if soe, it shall not hurt you, nor make you plott or shift for the younge baron to make him great. You will say hee is God's to dispose off and guide for, and there you will leave him." Thurloe continues, " My love to the deare little ladye, better then the child. The lord blesse you both. My love to all friendes, high and low; if you will, my Lord and Lady Moulgrave and Will. Hill. Your faithfull friend and humblest servant,

" O. Cromwell."

In further proof of this supposed enthusiasm, he (Dr. Harris) gives, from Thurloe, a letter to the governor of the castle of Edinburgh, dated 9th September 1650. Whitelock introduces this letter — " That Cromwell sent to the governor of the castle (Dundas), that the ministers with him might return to their churches, and be at liberty to preach there, and commanded that none of the army should molest them :" that the ministers sent answer, that they found nothing expressed (in Cromwell's letter) whereby to build any security for their persons, and for their return, they resolved to reserve themselves for better times, and to wait upon him, who had hidden his face for a while from the sons of Jacob : that the General (Cromwell) replied in the following letter :—" Our kindness offered to the ministers with you, was done with ingenuity, thinking to have met with the like; but I am satisfied to tell those with you, that if their Master's service, (as they call it) were chiefly in their eye, imagination of suffering would not have caused such a return, much less the practices of our party, as they are pleased to say, upon the ministers of Christ in England, have been an argument of personal persecution. The ministers of England are supported, and have liberty to preach the Gospel, though not to rail, nor, under pretence thereof, to overtop the civil power, or debase it as they please. No man hath been troubled in England or Ireland for

preaching the Gospel, nor has any minister been molested in Scotland since the coming of the army hither. The speaking truth becomes the ministers of Christ. When ministers pretend to a glorious reformation, and lay the foundation thereof, in getting to themselves worldly power, and can make worldly mixtures to accomplish the same, such as their late agreement with their King, and hopes by him to carry on their designs, they may know that the Sion promised and hoped for, will not be built with such untempered mortar. As for the unjust invasion they mention, time was, when an army of Scotland came into England, not called by the supreme authority." (So far is from Whitelock, and Thurloe, omitted by Dr. Harris.) "We have said in our papers, with what hearts, and upon what account we came, and the Lord hath heard us, though you would not, upon as solemn an appeal as any experience can parallel." (An immaterial passage is also here omitted.) "When they trust purely to the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, which is powerful to bring down strong-holds, and every imagination that exalts itself, which alone is able to square and fit the stones for the New Jerusalem; then, and not before, and by that means and no other, shall Jerusalem, which is to be the praise of the whole earth, the city of the Lord, be built, the Sion of the Holy One of Israel. I have nothing to say to you more, but that I am, Sir, your humble servant,

"O. Cromwell."

The Scots ministers sent an answer to this letter by the governor (which is in Thurloe), the substance whereof Dr. Harris gives shortly, — that they had not so learned Christ as to hang the equity of their cause upon events; and Cromwell another letter in answer to them, wherein he says, — "We look upon ministers as helpers of, not lords over the faith of God's people. I appeal to their consciences, whether any, denying their doctrines, and dissenting, shall not incur the censure of sectary. And what is this but to deny Christians their liberty, and assume the infallible chair? Where do you find in Scripture, that preaching

is included in your function? Though an approbation from men hath order in it, and may do well, yet he that hath not a better than that, he hath none at all. I hope He that ascended up on high may give his gifts to whom he pleaseth, and if those gifts be the seal of mission, be not envious, though Eldad and Medad prophesy; you know who bids us covet earnestly, the best gifts, but chiefly that we may prophecy; which the Apostle explains there, to be a speaking to instruction and edification, and comfort, which the instructed, edified, and comforted can best tell the energy and effect of. If such evidence be, I say again, take heed you envy not, for your own sakes, lest you be guilty of a greater fault than Moses reproved in Joshua; for envying for his sake. Indeed you err through mistake of the Scriptures. Approbation is an act of conveniency in respect of order, not of necessity, to give faculty to preach the Gospel. Your pretended fear lest error should step in, is like the man that would keep all the wine out of the country, lest men should be drunk; it will be found an unjust and unwise jealousy to deny a man the liberty he hath by nature, upon a supposition he may abuse it; when he doth abuse it, judge.

Dr. Harris makes use of the following passage in the same letter, in support of his assertion of Cromwell's enthusiasm. He (Cromwell) says he, reassumed his pen on the same subject, and writes as follows: — "In answer to the witnesse of God upon our solemn appeal, you say you have not so learned Christ to hang the equity of your cause upon events. We could wish blindnesse hath not been upon your eyes to all those marvellous dispensations, which God hath wrought lately in England. But did not you solemnly appeal and pray? Did not we do so too? and ought not you and we to think with feare and tremblinge of the hand of the great God in this strange and mighty appearance of his? but can slightly call it an event. Were not both yours and our expectations renewed from time to time, whilst we waited upon God, to see which way he would manifest himself upon our appeals? And shall we, after all these our prayers, fastings, tears, expectations, and solemn appeals, call these base events? The

Lord pitye you. Surely we fear, because it hath been a merciful and gracious deliverance to us. I beseech you, in the bowels of Christ, search after the mind of the Lord in it towards you, and we shall help you by our prayers, that you may find it out; for yet (if we know our hearts at all) our bowels do in Christ Jesus earn after the godly in Scotland."

In further proof, Dr. Harris gives the following passage from Bishop Burnet: — That when Cromwell was in the greatest streights and perplexities, just before the battle of Dunbar, (3d September, 1650,) he called his officers to a day of seeking the Lord. He loved to talk much of that matter all his life long afterwards. He said he felt such an enlargement of heart in prayer, and such quiet upon it, that he bade all about him take heart; for God had certainly heard them, and would appear for them. After prayer they walked in the Earl of Roxburgh's gardens that lay under the hill; and, by prospective glasses they discerned a great motion in the Scottish camp: upon which Cromwell said, God is delivering them into our hands; they are coming down to us." This event, adds Dr. Harris, was conformable to his expectations.

Also the before-mentioned passage from Whitelock, (who, he says, well knew the man,) describing Cromwell and Ireton supping with Whitelock, and relating to him wonderful observations of God's providence in the affairs of the war.

The above passages he (Dr. Harris) thinks abundantly sufficient to establish the enthusiasm of Cromwell.

Nevertheless, in addition to the above proofs, the Doctor adds, from Calamy's Life of Howe,— Cromwell's real opinion concerning returns of prayer, will clearly show his enthusiasm. What follows, he says, he believes may be depended on: " I (presume he means Calamy) had heard from several, and it had been confirmed to me by Mr. Jeremy White, who lived at Whitehall at the very same time with Mr. Howe, that the notion of a particular faith in prayer prevailed much in Cromwell's court; and that it was a common opinion among them, that such as were in a special manner favoured of God, when they offered up prayers and sup-

plications to him for his mercies, either for themselves or others, often had such impressions made on their minds and spirits by a Divine hand, as signified to them, not only in the general, that their prayers would be heard, and graciously answered, but that the particular mercies that were sought for, would be certainly bestowed; nay, and sometimes also intimated to them in what way and manner they would be afforded; and pointed out to them future events before-hand, which, in reality, is the same as inspiration. Having heard of mischief done by the prevalence of this notion, I took the opportunity that offered, when there was nothing to hinder the utmost freedom, to enquire of Mr. Howe what he had known about this matter, and what were his apprehensions concerning it. He told me the prevalence of the notion that I mentioned at Whitehall, at the time when he lived there, was too notorious to be called in question, and that not a little pains were taken to cultivate and support it, and that he once heard a sermon there, from a person of note, the avowed design of which was to maintain and defend it. He said he was so fully convinced of the ill-tendency of such a principle, that after the hearing this sermon, he thought himself bound in conscience, when it came next to his turn to preach before Cromwell, to set himself industriously to oppose it, and to beat down that spiritual pride and confidence which such fancied impulses and impressions were apt to produce and cherish. He told me he observed, that while he was in the pulpit, Cromwell heard him with great attention, but would sometimes knit his brows, and discover great uneasiness. When the sermon was over, he told me, a person of distinction came to him, and asked him if he knew what he had done? and signified it to him as his apprehension, that Cromwell would be so incensed upon that discourse, that he would find it very difficult ever to make his peace with him, or secure his favour for the future. Mr. Howe replied, that he had but discharged his conscience, and could leave the event with God. He told me, he afterwards observed Cromwell was cooler in his carriage to him than before; and sometimes he

thought he would have spoken to him of the matter, but he never did, and rather chose to forbear."

The Doctor (Harris) is also of opinion, that the fore-mentioned discourse in his last sickness, to his wife, also plainly manifests enthusiasm. He concludes, that he would rest the evidence of Cromwell's enthusiasm here, (though, he says, many more proofs could be brought of it,) not doubting but it will appear strong and convincing, and account, in some degree, for those actions and expressions to be met with in the succeeding part of his (Dr. Harris's) work; account, he says, in some degree; for that whoever thinks him wholly under the power of this principle, will be greatly mistaken; for that Cromwell ranks in this respect with Mahomet and Aurengzebe, who were great masters of themselves, though by nature strongly tinctured with enthusiasm.

Bishop Burnet says, that his (Cromwell's) beloved notion was, that once a child of God, was always a child of God: that having led a very strict life for above eight years together before the war, he comforted himself much with his reflections on that time, and on the certainty of perseverance. Mr. Neal says, from Baxter's Life, that he (Cromwell) once asked Dr. Goodwin, who attended at his bed-side, and is said to have expressed an unbecoming assurance to Almighty God, in prayer, of his recovery; whether a man could fall from grace? which the Doctor answering in the negative, the Protector replied, "Then I am safe; for I am sure I was once in a state of grace."

After giving the forementioned passages in proof of Cromwell's supposed enthusiasm, he, Dr. Harris, in order to enable the reader better to determine between his hypocrisy and enthusiasm, gives the following anecdotes, which seem, he says, to indicate him a hypocrite. The following is from Waller's Life:—"His rude cant, and spiritual simplicity were," says the doctor, "downright affectation; than which, nothing can be more evident, from Mr. Waller's observation, and his confession to him. Mr. Waller often took notice, that in the midst of their discourse a servant has come in to tell them such and such attended; upon which Cromwell would

rise and stop them, talking at the door, where he would overhear them say, The Lord will reveal, the Lord will help, and several such expressions; which, when he returned to Mr. Waller, he excused, saying, Cousin Waller, I must talk to these men after their own way; and would then go on where they left off." This created in Mr. Waller an opinion that he secretly despised those whom he seemed to court. Also the following anecdote, appearing to be taken from the Monthly Review for August, 1757. The author, says the Doctor, of the political history of the age, thinks "the enthusiasm of Cromwell entirely assumed and politic; quoting the following anecdote from Oliver St. John, in proof of it; viz. "That being one day at table with his friends, and looking for the cork of a bottle of champaign which he had opened, on being informed that some person attended for admittance to see him, tell him, says Cromwell, we are in search of the Holy Spirit."

The Doctor adds — "These are the passages which seem to destroy the enthusiasm of Oliver; seem, I say, seem to destroy it; for, allowing their truth, in my opinion, they do not in reality do it. For what do they prove but that Cromwell sometimes talked inconsistently with his principles; or being at times less under their power, he indulged himself in jesting and raillery, to which he was naturally prone? If, says the Doctor, two or three casual expressions are to determine a man's character, in opposition to his whole speech and behaviour, woe be those who think themselves virtuous and good. Whoever will consider the times in which Oliver lived; the part he bore in the transactions of them; his real principles, with respect to returns of prayer, and his opinion, expressed in his last moments, will not be long at a loss to determine about his real enthusiasm.

Bishop Burnet gives the following instance of this supposed hypocrisy of Cromwell. — That Sir Harbottle Grimston told him a few weeks before his death, that when the House of Commons were quarrelling (the particular time the Bishop could not tell), at a meeting of the officers, it was proposed to purge the army better, that they might know who to depend on: that Crom-

well said he was sure of the army; but that there was another body that had more need of purging, naming the House of Commons, and he thought the army only could do that: that two officers that were present, brought an account of this to Grimston, who carried them with him to the lobby of the House of Commons, they being resolved to justify it to the House: that there was another debate then on foot, but Grimston diverted it, and said he had a matter of privilege of the highest sort to lay before them; it was about the being and freedom of the House: so he charged Cromwell with the design of putting a force on the House; he had his witnesses at the door, and desired they might be examined; they were brought to the bar, and justified all that they had said to him, and gave a full relation of all that had passed at their meetings: that when they withdrew, Cromwell fell down on his knees, and made a solemn prayer to God, attesting his innocence, and zeal for the service of the House; he submitted himself to the providence of God, who it seems thought fit to exercise him with calumny and slander, but he committed his cause to Him; this he did with great vehemence, and with many tears: that after this strange and bold preamble, he made so long a speech, justifying both himself and the rest of the officers, except a few that seemed inclined to return back to Egypt, that he wearied out the House, and wrought so much on his party, that what the witnesses had said was so little believed, that, had it been moved, Grimston thought that both he and they would have been sent to the Tower. But whether their guilt made them modest, or that they had no mind to have the matter much talked of, they let it fall; and there was no strength on the other side to carry it farther: that, to complete the scene, as soon as ever Cromwell got out of the House, he resolved to trust himself no more among them, but went to the army, and in a few days he brought them up, and forced a great many from the House.

The Bishop adds, that he had much discourse with one who knew Cromwell well, and all that set of men; and asked him how they would excuse all the prevarications, and other ill things

of which they were visibly guilty, in the conduct of their affairs: that he told him (the Bishop) they believed there were great occasions in which some men were called to great services, in the doing of which they were excused from the common rules of morality; such were the practices of Ehud and Jael, Samson and David; and by this they fancied they had a privilege from observing the standing rules. It is very obvious, says the Bishop, how far this principle may be carried, and how all justice and mercy may be laid aside on this pretence, by every bold enthusiast. The Bishop concludes, — He (Cromwell) never could shake off the roughness of his education and temper: that he spoke always long and very ungracefully: that the enthusiast and the dissembler mixed so equally in a great part of his deportment, that it was not easy to tell which was the prevailing character: that he was a true enthusiast, but with the principle formerly mentioned, from which he might be easily led into all the practices, both of falsehood and cruelty; which was, that he thought moral laws were only binding on ordinary occasions, but that upon extraordinary ones, these might be superseded: that when his own designs did not lead him out of the way, he was a lover of justice and virtue, and even of learning, though much decried at that time.

Lord Clarendon, relating the appointment of Cromwell to go to Ireland, as General, and the circumstances he supposes to have led to it, and describing his reception of it, and behaviour thereon in the House, says, that Cromwell, how little surprised soever with the design of this appointment, appeared the next day in the House full of confusion and irresolution, which the natural temper and composure of his understanding could hardly avoid when he least desired it; and that, therefore, when it was now to his purpose, he could act it to the life; and that, after much hesitation, and many expressions of his own unworthiness and inability to support so great a charge, &c. he submitted to their good will and pleasure. His Lordship adds, that with incredible expedition he raised money, provided shipping, and drew forces together for this enterprise.

Another extraordinary instance of Cromwell's supposed hypocrisy is given by his Lordship, — That Cromwell, though the greatest dissembler living, always made his hypocrisy of singular use and benefit to himself; and never did any thing, how ungracious or imprudent soever it seemed to be, but what was necessary to the design: that even his roughness and unpolishedness, which in the beginning of the parliament he affected, contrary to the smoothness and complacency which his cousin and bosom friend, Mr. Hampden, practised towards all men, was necessary; and his first public declaration in the beginning of the war, to his troop when it was first mustered, that he would not deceive or cozen them by the perplexed and involved expressions in his commission, to fight for King and Parliament, and therefore told them, that if the King chanced to be in the body of the enemy that he was to charge, he would as soon discharge his pistol upon him as any other private person; and that if their conscience would not permit them to do the like, he advised them not to list themselves in his troop, or under his command. This, His Lordship adds, was generally looked upon as imprudent and malicious, and might, by the professions the parliament then made, have proved dangerous to him; yet that it served his turn, and severed from others and united among themselves all the furious and incensed men against the government, whether ecclesiastical or civil, to look upon him as a man for their turn, upon whom they might depend.

Another instance of Cromwell's supposed hypocrisy and insincerity, is to be found in Mrs. Hutchinson's before-mentioned Life of Colonel Hutchinson. She states, that upon the death of Colonel Thornhaugh, his regiment, in the reduction of the garrison forces, had one Major Saunders (a Derbyshire man, who was a very godly honest country gentleman, but had not many things requisite to a great soldier) assigned them for their major, and that with him he brought in about a troop of Derbyshire horse; but that the Nottinghamshire horse were not satisfied in serving under a less man than their late colonel; and that remembering their successes under Colonel Hutchinson, they applied to Crom-

well to send to Lord Fairfax to request him not to dispose of the command of the regiment till they should know whether the colonel would accept of it: that Cromwell, with all the assentation imaginable, seemed to rejoice they had made so worthy a choice, and promised them to take care the regiment should not be disposed of till they received Colonel Hutchinson's answer; and that thereupon the captains severally wrote to him, to request him to permit them to procure a commission for him to conduct them, which she (Mrs. Hutchinson) says, the Lieutenant-general (Cromwell) had already promised to send for, if he pleased to accept it: that the colonel did accept it; but that Cromwell, as soon as the Nottinghamshire men had imparted to him their desires, sent for Saunders, and cajoling him, told him that none was so fit as himself to command the regiment; but that the regiment thought not all of them so, but were designing to procure themselves another colonel, which he advised him to prevent by sending speedily to the general, to whom Cromwell also wrote to further the request; and that before the messenger returned from Colonel Hutchinson, he procured the commission for Saunders, which, she says, was highly resented by the troops of the regiment. Mrs. Hutchinson assigns two reasons for this proceeding; that he had found that Colonel Hutchinson understood him, and was too generous either to fear or flatter him; and that he carried, though under a false face of friendship, a deep resentment of the colonel's plain dealing with him at Nottingham: and that the other reason was, that he had a design, by insinuating himself into Saunders, to flatter him into the sale of a town of his called Ireton, which he wished to purchase for Major-general Ireton, his son-in-law; and that when he could not obtain it, he, in process of time, took the regiment away from him.

Respecting his supposed enthusiasm, it will be proper, first to consider the meaning of the term enthusiasm.

It has been described to be — A vain belief of private revelation; a vain confidence of divine favour, or communication; heat of imagination; violence of passion; confidence of opinion; elevation of fancy; exaltation of ideas. Mr. Locke has been

quoted, as saying, that enthusiasm is founded neither on reason nor divine revelation, but rises from the conceits of a warmed or overweening brain.

This may be a correct definition of the term ; but its individual application is not so easy or admissible. Enthusiasm, in its common use and acceptation, seems to be a phrase upon the tongue of every one who wishes to describe a warmer and more energetic character than his own, either in civil or religious life ; but it is generally confined to religious characters professing a greater degree of zeal and strictness of religious faith and practice, than those that use this phrase think necessary, or choose, perhaps for worldly reasons, to adopt. It is a phrase expressive of the contempt and dislike of those that use it, of those to whom it is applied—of the falsehood or absurdity of their religious opinions, and of their supposed immoderate and unnecessary strictness, and of their consequent unsociableness in their commerce with the world. Whether in or out of the church, this description of persons, in the sixteenth century called Puritans, have been in later days generally denominated Methodists.

For the purpose of determining upon this supposed enthusiasm of Cromwell, it becomes necessary to ascertain the state of religion in the sixteenth century.

The religion of this country, as has been observed, had not been well settled in Queen Elizabeth's reign ; a very large portion of the nation, both catholics and protestants, had been then left greatly dissatisfied, and had suffered in that reign severe persecutions on account of their conscientious inability to conform to the ruling religion. Afterwards the protestant part of the nation became greatly apprehensive of the introduction of the Roman Catholic religion, upon their discovering the determination (both of King James and of his son, afterwards King Charles the First,) upon the latter's marriage of a Princess of that religion, and by his, accordingly, subsequent marriage : and these apprehensions were not a little heightened by the high principles and violent proceedings of Archbishop Laud, who was become a great favourite, and the ruling ecclesiastical minister of both reigns ;

and was thought to be favourably disposed towards that religion.

Thus impressed, it should not excite surprise that the conduct and language of the nation, both in public and in private, should strongly partake of a religious nature, and that consequently, Scripture phrases should have been so much used, not only by the particularly religious of those times, but in the speeches of the members of both houses of parliament; and even in those of both these Kings, James and Charles. So much in use do they appear to have been from the time of the Reformation, that a reservation was made in the statute of the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth of King Henry the Eighth, in favour of the chancellors in parliament, judges, recorders, and all others who had been accustomed on public occasions, to make speeches, and commonly took a place of Scripture for their text, to continue that practice.

Religion had a large share of the animosities and heart-burning disputes of those reigns of King James, and his son King Charles the First, very much resulting from the intemperate and indiscreet zeal of the Archbishop in matters of rites and ceremonies, and other things of no real consequence or value to the church, or tendency to the increase of its stability. These he pressed on all, both clergy and laity, with the most unrelenting severity, not making the least allowance for conscientious nonconformity, or difference of opinion, respecting what he determined in his arrogant and impetuous, and fatally mistaken zeal, to impose.

This misguiding favourite and counsellor originated the war with Scotland in pursuit of the same objects there, which soon spread itself over England, and proved fatal to its religious establishment.

The destruction of the national establishment, and the consequent termination of all ecclesiastical restrictions, left the nation at liberty to adopt and profess different articles of religious faith, and modes and forms of worship, according to their several opinions and fancies; which necessarily divided it into divers sects or bodies of religious professors. Each of these sects or bodies bore a name allusive to the natures and forms of their respective religious tenets and church-governments.

Mr. Neal, in his History of the Puritans, gives the following account of these different sects or parties: he says, that the friends of the parliament, who were agreed in the cause of civil liberty, were far from being of one mind in points of church-discipline; the major part were for episcopacy, and desired no more than to secure the constitution, and reform a few exorbitances of the bishops; some were Erastians, and would be content with any form of government the magistrate should appoint; that the real presbyterians, who were for an entire change of the hierarchy, upon the foot of divine right, were as yet (1642) but few, and could carry nothing in the House.

The same writer, in a subsequent part of this history, says, the state of the controversy about ecclesiastical discipline was then (1644) changed; for that whereas before the entrance of the Scots, the parliament insisted only upon a reformation of the hierarchy: now they were obliged to attempt the total extirpation of it, and to establish another scheme for both kingdoms in its room; but that it was a considerable time before this could be perfected.

He then proceeds to distinguish the several parties of which the assembly of divines, then about to meet upon the business of religion, was composed.—That the episcopal clergy had entirely deserted it before the bringing in of the covenant; so that the establishment had not a single advocate in that assembly: all who remained were for taking down the main pillars of the hierarchy, before they had agreed what sort of building to erect in its room.—That the majority at first intended only the reducing episcopacy to the standard of the first or second age, but, for the sake of the Scots' alliance, they were prevailed with to lay aside the name and function of bishops, and to attempt the establishing a presbyterial form upon the ruins of all others; which they at length advanced into *jus divinum*, or divine institution, derived expressly from Christ and his apostles: but that this engaged them in so many controversies, as prevented their laying the top-stones to their building, so that it fell to pieces before it was perfected.—That the chief patrons of presbytery in the House of Commons were Mr. Denzil Holles, Sir William Walker, Sir Philip Stapleton,

Sir John Clotworthy, Sir Benjamin Rudyard, Serjeant Maynard, Colonel Massey, Colonel Harley, Mr. John Glyn, and a few others. — That the Erastians (so called from Erastus, a German divine of the sixteenth century) formed another branch of the assembly of divines: and that the pastoral office, according to him, was only persuasive, like a professor of the sciences over his students, without any power of the keys annexed. — That the chief patrons of this scheme in the assembly were Dr. Lightfoot, Mr. Colman, Mr. Selden, Mr. Whitelock; and, in the House of Commons, besides Mr. Selden and Mr. Whitelock, Mr. Oliver St. John, Sir Thomas Widdrington, Mr. John Crew, Sir John Hipsley, and others of the greatest names. — That the independents, or congregational brethren, composed a third party, and made a bold stand against the proceedings of the high presbyterians: that their numbers were small at first, but increased prodigiously in a few years, and grew to a considerable figure under the protectorship of Oliver Cromwell: that the scheme they embraced was, that every particular congregation of Christians had an entire and complete power of jurisdiction over its members, to be exercised by the elders thereof within itself: that this they were sure must have been the form of government in the primitive church, before the numbers of Christians in any city were multiplied so far as to divide into many congregations, which it was dubious, whether it was the fact in the apostles' time: that their mode of public worship was the same with other protestants, reading the Scriptures in their assemblies and expounding them on proper occasions, offering up public and solemn prayers for kings and all in authority; and that though they did not approve of a prescribed form, they admitted that public prayer in their assemblies ought to be framed by the meditations and study of their ministers, as well as their sermons: that the word of God was constantly preached; the two sacraments, of baptism of infants, and of the Lord's supper, were frequently administered, to which was added singing of psalms and a collection for the poor every sabbath-day: that they professed their agreement in doctrine with the articles of the church

of England and other reformed churches: that their officers and public rulers in their churches were pastors, teachers, ruling-elders, (not lay but ecclesiastical persons, separated to that service,) and deacons: that they practised no church censures but admonition, and excommunication upon obstinate and impenitent offenders, which latter they apprehended should not be pronounced but for crimes of the last importance, and which might reasonably be supposed to be committed contrary to the light and conviction of the person's conscience. And in their apologetical narration, given in this history, (in which are contained the preceding account of their tenets,) and presented to the House of Commons, and published at this time, of the meeting of the assembly of divines, they call God and man to witness, that out of regard to the public peace, they had forbore to publish their peculiar opinions either from the pulpit or press, or to improve the present disposition of the people to the increase of their party; nor should they have published that apology to the world, had not their silence been interpreted as an acknowledgment of those reproaches and calumnies that had been cast upon them by their adversaries; but should have waited for a free and open debate of their sentiments in the then assembly of divines, though they were sensible they should have the disadvantage with regard to numbers, learning, and the stream of public interest: that, however, they were determined in all debates to yield to the utmost latitude of their consciences, professing it to be as high a point of religion to acknowledge their mistakes, when they should be convinced of them, as to hold fast the truth; and when matters should be brought to the nearest agreement, to promote such a temper as might tend to union as well as truth: they therefore besought the Houses not to look upon them as disturbers of the public peace, but to consider them as persons that differed but little from their brethren.

The same writer (Neal) adds, that there was nothing in the principles of the presbyterians, independents, or anabaptists, (as far as he could learn,) inconsistent with monarchy, or that had a natural tendency to put the kingdom into a flame: and that

Mr. Baxter, the nonconformist minister, and who was no friend to the independents, and knew them well, admits that most of them were zealous, and very many learned, discreet, and pious, capable of being very serviceable to the church, and searchers into Scripture and antiquity; though he blames them on other occasions for making too light of ordination, for their too great strictness in the qualification of church-members, for their popular form of church-government, and their too much exploding of synods and councils. But adds, that he (Baxter) saw a commendable care of serious holiness and discipline in most of the independent churches, and found that some episcopal men, of whom Archbishop Usher was one, agreed with them, that every bishop was independent, and that synods and councils were not so much for government as concord. Neal proceeds, — that the anabaptists, joining with the independents in the point of discipline and toleration, made them the more considerable, and encouraged their opposition to the presbyterians, who were for establishing their own discipline without regard to such as differed from them.

If the preceding account from Neal, of the independents, be correct, and there is no reason to believe it is not, Mr. Hume's history of them is surely much otherwise. His idea of a secret distinction having long prevailed in the House of Commons between the presbyterian and independent parties, and beginning to discover itself in proportion to the increase of their hopes of success against the King, must be the work of his own imagination. The existence of these distinctions was well known, and that the two parties held different sentiments respecting church-government; nor had the independents probably ever been confounded with the presbyterian party, but must, from their respective commencements, have been separate and distinct. The presbyterians must have been the prevalent party at the time of their procuring the establishment of the Directory, which was, even according to Mr. Hume, directly opposite to the liberal sentiments of the independents. Mr. Hume becomes perfectly unintelligible in his endeavour to explain the genius of the independents, and to talk

of their enthusiastic spirit, as the mean of their distinction and preferment, and of their holy fervours, and habits of hypocrisy and saintship: and in describing their becoming dangerous and destructive by their fanaticism, and going a note higher than the presbyterians, thereby becoming less likely to be restrained within the bounds of temper and moderation. He tells us, that the catholics, pretending to an infallible guide, had justified, upon that principle, their doctrine and practice of persecution: that the presbyterians, imagining that such clear and certain tenets as themselves adopted could be rejected, only from a criminal and pertinacious obstinacy, had hitherto gratified, to the full, their bigotted zeal in a like doctrine and practice: that the independents, from the extremity of the same zeal, were led into the milder principles of toleration; their mind, set afloat in the wide sea of inspiration, could confine itself within no certain limits. After all these heavy charges against the independents, he finally tells us, that they were the first of the Christian sects which, during its prosperity, always adopted the principle of toleration; and that it was remarkable so reasonable a doctrine owed its origin, not to reasoning, but to the height of extravagance and fanaticism. Were it true, it would indeed be extraordinary; but this doctrine could only originate in large and liberal minds, and could not have been the production of fanaticism and enthusiasm. He makes this most extraordinary observation,—that the variations in which an enthusiast indulged himself, he was apt, by a natural train of thinking, to permit in others. The contrary of this proposition seems to be true,— that an enthusiast must be so assured of his own infallibility, that he must conclude all others to be in error and not to be indulged, and therefore must surely be likely to be intolerant: enthusiasm and bigotry will be found to differ little from each other. Mr. Hume describes Sir Harry Vane, Oliver Cromwell, Nathaniel Fiennes, and Oliver St. John, as the leaders of the independents. The truth seems to be, that Mr. Hume, being an unbeliever in Divine Revelation, it suited him to consider as fanaticism and enthusiasm, every the slightest expression of religious feeling. It is most unreasonable to deny

to religious characters their fervours in the pursuit of their great object, and to indulge the worldly in all their ardours and extravagances, in the comparatively trifling objects of their pursuits. By the men of the world, the arduous, persevering Christian of the parliament party was, in those times, deemed an enthusiast and an hypocrite, and his best actions represented as influenced by the most sinister and mischievous motives: all was resolved into hypocrisy or enthusiasm. Hence, that cry against the independents, who happened to become finally the ruling party: their principles are represented as inimical to peace and to kingly government; but nothing appears in the above statement to warrant that opinion: the fear of the King's vengeance, should he overcome them, and the difficulty of finding security against it, there is every reason to believe, was the great obstacle with both presbyterians and independents, to the successful conclusion of their several treaties with him. The fasts so much in use in the parliaments of this reign, in those times of national discord and dreadful apprehension, Lord Clarendon thinks proper to characterise as hypocritical instruments for the service of worldly and political purposes; he should have remembered that fasts in troublesome times were not new things: that in those times, particularly, they had been frequently ordered, or consented to, by the King, who had at that very time monthly fasts for the purpose of imploring success to his arms, and for the restoration of peace to the country; and that upon all solemn national occasions he had fasts: he had one preparatory to entering upon the treaty of the Isle of Wight, His Lordship would not venture to say they were hypocritically meant on his part. The King himself was a religious character, and the thinking part of the country were also seriously religious. Mr. Hume says, the war itself was theological, or religious; which had been, he thinks, improperly blended with civil questions; but though this is not strictly true, the war being, certainly, both civil and religious, yet religious grievances were always deemed, and determined to be, the object of first consideration and redress.

Mr. Hume takes upon himself to describe these monthly fasts

on the part of the King, to have been instituted by him for the purpose of combating the parliament with their own weapons, and to afford the opportunity of instructing the people in the duties of loyalty and submission to the higher powers. If the parliament fasts must be deemed political and not religious, the King's fasts then must, upon this statement of Mr. Hume, surely be so; but it is not to be believed that either were other than they appeared to be, solemn religious observances.

Lord Clarendon speaks contemptuously of the expression, "seeking God," which, he says, was a new phrase brought from Scotland with their covenant. It might have been a new phrase in England; but it is perfectly expressive of the thing meant, namely, a devout and humble application by prayer to the Almighty, by a nation or individuals, to avert impending public or private calamities, or to remove them if incurred, or for direction and assistance in concerns of importance too great for human accomplishment. In religious language, perhaps, it may be generally best, to avoid what may be called technical phraseology, particular words frequently used, expressive (for brevity sake) of any particular religious act or observance, are liable to be catched at by the world, and used for the purpose of turning into ridicule every thing serious. In the succeeding licentious reign of King Charles the Second, all semblance of religion was studiously put out of sight; it was become quite unfashionable; and the ridicule of its professors, and of all the religious language and acts of the preceding times, was considered a kind of test of loyalty to the then sovereign and government. This phrase of "seeking God," then used as expressive of the act of prayer, public or private, became, after the Restoration, with other religious phrases or expressions, subjects of ridicule. Lightly, or contemptuously, however, the men of the world, when in health or prosperity, may treat this application to, and reliance upon, Divine Providence, the religious part of the Christian world are in the constant and habitual practice of it, and thence, there can be no doubt, derive the greatest comfort and assurance. Independently of prayer being a commanded duty, it is surely a reasonable service, inasmuch

as it is an acknowledgment of our dependence upon the Supreme Being, to whom, feeble and insufficient as we are, we must be constantly looking for the support of our existence and for the continuance of all our comforts and enjoyments. Prayer is universal in public practice, although perhaps partial and occasional in individuals, according to their momentary dispositions and feelings: and the very use of it implies an expectation or hope of receiving a favourable answer; and every attentive observer of the circumstances of his own life must have good reason to believe that his prayers have been frequently answered, and he preserved in a manner, for which he cannot account, otherwise than by the conviction of an interposition more than human. All look up to some superior being: the Heathen to deities of his own creation; whom they think capable of relieving in their various necessities, beyond the succour of mortal power. The most thoughtless and profligate are found ready to pray sincerely and fervently enough when in bodily danger, or in the immediate view of a future state. Our holy religion teaches us to expect this assistance through, and by the means of the Holy Spirit; for which assistance, and for whose influence we all ask in the most expressive terms in our attendance upon the public worship of our established church, and in the prayers of our Liturgy. Strange, then, to tell how all these acts of devotion, and all the religious professors of the above times, were afterwards, in this succeeding reign of King Charles the Second, held up to ridicule and contempt as the vilest of canting, enthusiastical hypocrites, and knaves, and as masking their political ambitious designs under the show and pretence of religion. And in this light it is to be lamented that the more than common strict religious professor in succeeding times, hath been too often viewed by the less religious part of the community; nothing appearing to afford them more pleasure than the real or imagined detection of any of these professors in any sin or folly; seeming to presume that the crimes or failings of these persons extenuate, and supply them with an excuse for their own perpetual and repeated unrepented errors; whereas they should remember that the best of the

human race are imperfect, and ever liable to occasional failure. In this unfavourable light do Lord Clarendon and all other the writers for the royal cause represent the parliament and its adherents, allowing them no good motive for any of their proceedings, but attributing them solely, to concealed ambition and sinister views; and thus stigmatised, they have been handed down to the present day.

Cromwell was certainly a religious professor, and nothing has hitherto appeared to prove him other than also a really religious character. But this will not answer these writers' purpose; he must be imperfect and faulty in every thing; even his religion, if its sincerity be admitted, must be excessive; he must then be deemed righteous over-much, by those who call themselves Christians, but who deny every principal fact and doctrine of the Scriptures, believed to be most unequivocally therein stated and declared by those of Cromwell's faith and profession, and who, with him, hold them to be the fundamentals of religion and the guides of their faith and practice: — also probably, by the lukewarm believers of these facts and doctrines, either wholly or partially, he, Cromwell, will be deemed an enthusiast. His faith in prayer has been much condemned, as tending to, and producing spiritual pride and confidence. He might carry it to excess; but who shall say where this reliance, this confidence shall stop? Cromwell appears much, and justly, offended by Mr. Howe's rude public attack upon his well-known opinion upon this subject, which he resented very properly in becoming more cool in his carriage towards him, and not condescending to notice his sermon. Deeming, as he, Mr. Howe, did, the correction of this opinion of importance, he should rather have availed himself of an opportunity of conversing and reasoning with Cromwell in private, than have thus brought him forward to the attention and animadversion of probably a numerous and observing audience. The continuance of him in his office of chaplain was one, amongst many other instances, of the kindness and forbearance of his temper. A less ardent and feelingly religious mind than Cromwell's, would have been sensibly impressed and confirmed in his reliance upon the

efficacy of prayer by his forementioned extraordinary and most unlooked for deliverance in the battle of Dunbar, on the third of September, 1650, related by Bishop Burnet. He is described, as having felt himself in the greatest streights and perplexities. Whitelock's account is, that he was greatly outnumbered by the Scots' army commanded by Lesley, one of the ablest of their generals, advantageously posted upon the hills; which, had it kept its post, must have obliged his (Cromwell's) army, greatly reduced and weakened by sickness, to surrender in a very few days. Of so experienced a general as Lesley, quitting so advantageous a position, and descending the hill to attack Cromwell, there could be no prospect, and his army's ascent to attack the Scots' army, would have been sure defeat: seeing no resource in human means, he is described as applying himself to prayer, or seeking the Lord, as prayer was at that time generally called, and he is represented as having thought he felt in his mind, strong assurance of a favourable issue: that, immediately afterwards, he observed the Scots' army most unexpectedly and most unadvisedly coming down the hill, which he considered as the deliverance of them into his hands, and which happened accordingly by their total defeat. The above is related by the bishop, but is not remembered to have been given by any other writer.

Who, that ever prays, will take upon himself to deny this extraordinary and unlooked-for, and utterly improbable event, to be an immediate answer to that prayer of Cromwell's? It is, then, not surprising that he should be thus deeply impressed with the efficacy of prayer, and feel strongly assured of favourable answers, having been in the constant use of it preparatory to all the important actions of his life, and probably never fighting a battle without previous prayer of himself and his army for the success of it; and it has been observed that he never was defeated. He may have yielded too far to these assurances and favourable answers; and others may have availed themselves of this tendency, to impose upon him by pretences of like assurances; but it is not wonderful, favoured so extraordinarily as he had been in

all his undertakings, that he should feel an unusual assurance of more than human support.

The above may be considered to be the whole amount of this charge of enthusiasm. There is no crime in a heated imagination; it may lead men into error, and if the effects of their error be mischievous, or inconvenient to others, those effects become punishable; the thing is innocent in itself: but what to some may appear an heated imagination may be found to be no more than the degree of warmth and energy properly belonging to the subject.

In answer to the objections to Cromwell's party's admission of lay-preachers, he declares, in his foregiven letters to the Scots' ministers, his approbation of a regular ministry, as having, he says, order in it, but not to the exclusion of lay-preachers, capable of the undertaking.

The above-given letters and circumstances would not probably be considered by the religious of the then, or of the present times, as enthusiastic or extravagant; their correspondence with each other would probably be generally found to be expressed in some such terms. The frame and temper of his (Cromwell's) mind in his last moments, were truly Christian; his prayer, notwithstanding Ludlow's ill-tempered observation, was truly affectionate and benevolent; supplicating, not only for himself, but for the nation, and even for his enemies.

Dr. Harris says, this was all in character, meaning his character of enthusiasm. With some persons, every thing is enthusiasm that has in it the least degree of zeal or warmth. Mr. Fox, upon another occasion, says of enthusiasm, in his James II., — "We are accused of enthusiasm! are we then fanatics? are we enthusiasts, because we do not rob — abstain from murder? If by enthusiasm be meant zeal and warmth, I freely acknowledge it; I glory in it. Enthusiasm, when it arises out of a just cause, is that which makes men act in it with energy; it is that, without which, nothing was ever done great, since the creation of the world. Enthusiasm of this sort, I hope, therefore, I shall always possess."

He, Cromwell, died in the full possession of his faculties, and perfectly calm and composed, which no doubt, arose from an unconsciousness of those crimes with which his enemies have so heavily loaded him.

Respecting his alleged beloved notion of final perseverance, that once a child of God always so; and his supposed question, whether a man could fall from grace, and the supposed answers of Dr. Goodwin and himself; such a conversation might or might not pass, but is conceived to mean no more than Cromwell's perhaps, belief of the doctrine of predestination and election, which many wise and good persons of the then and present times, both in and out of the church, have believed and do still believe to be contained in the articles of our established church. Mr. Neal, as before said, describes the independents as agreeing in doctrine with the articles of the church; and Cromwell, might believe this doctrine, with the rest of the doctrines of those articles. In the Scriptures may be found some passages that may seem to countenance, but surely their general spirit is perfectly contradictory of it, enjoining, as they do, the preaching them to the whole world and calling all to repentance. This opinion of predestination and election seems to be wholly speculative; it should have no influence upon our conduct, and probably rarely, if ever, has. Cromwell's question to Goodwin certainly does not determine his belief of the doctrine of final perseverance; nor does his answer to Goodwin imply his acquiescence in Goodwin's explanation; it can only be considered as a confidence in his safety, supposing Goodwin's explanation to be true, but not an admission of its truth; on the contrary, remaining doubt.

In proof of the supposed enthusiasm of Cromwell not being wholly and exclusively his own, the religious conduct and conversation of Whitelock may be successfully brought forward. Although the confidential friend and counsellor of Cromwell, he is no where charged with enthusiasm or hypocrisy. He did not concur in the trial of the King, and wholly disapproved it; and was for the restoration of the royal family. He was, as Cromwell was, in favour of religious toleration. He was allowedly of great

talents and learning. Mr. Hume says, he was a man of great abilities and merit.

Whitelock being informed that he had been named by the council of state to go ambassador to Sweden in 1653, and whilst it was in suspense, he not having heard directly from the council, he, in his journal of this embassy, says, that the Lord's day, after public exercises of religious worship, he retired himself to his private meditations upon the holy Word of Truth, the greatest and highest comfort to a soul; he considered the vanity of earthly honours and preferments in this world, the uncertainty, toil, and danger in them; he consulted his own heart, and found not the least inclination to accept of the high employment and honour.

He says, that Cromwell's secretary, by his direction, prepared the draft of a letter to him, which Cromwell disapproving, undertook to write himself, which he did in his own hand, as followeth:—" My Lord; The Council of State having thoughts of putting Your Lordship to the trouble of being extraordinary ambassador to the Queen of Swizland, did think fit not to impose that service upon you without first knowing your own freedom thereunto; wherefore they were pleased to command our service to make this address to Your Lordship; and hereby we can assure you of a very large confidence in your honour and abilities for this employment; to which we, begging your answer, do rest,

" My Lord, Your humble Servant,

2d September, 1653. " O. Cromwell,

" Gil. Pickering."

Whitelock, in a subsequent passage, says, a principal care of Whitelock, as to those of his retinue, was to get able and fit chaplains, such as were of a pious life and conversation, and of good abilities and learning, for example and instruction of his company.

That, September 25, after public exercises of devotion on this (the Lord's) day, he retired himself from the continual discourses of his Swedish business, unto his private meditations upon the Holy Scriptures.

That, October 25, besides his private and particular seeking to

God for his counsel and blessing in this undertaking, he had the joint prayers of his friends; with him divers of them met in the evening at his brother Wilson's house, several members of Mr. Cokayne's church, and, among them, Mr. Taylor expounded a place of Scripture very pertinently, and several of them prayed very affectionately for him (Whitelock), and the good success of his business; and divers expounded places of Scripture suitable to the occasion. That then, he (Whitelock) addressed his friends as follows in the narrative,—an address full of devout sentiments and expressions: he says therein, he has taken much comfort from Genesis, xxviii. 15., God's promise to Jacob in his journey to Padan-Aram.

That, by his appointment, all the company met in the chapel at Whitehall to seek God for his protection and blessing on them in their intended journey. The doors were open: Mr. Cokayne, Mr. Peters, and Mr. Ingelo, prayed, and expounded several texts of Scripture, giving good exhortations to all the company with great fervency and pertinence on the occasion, so that many affirmed they never were at any meeting of this nature which appeared more spiritual and comfortable to their souls than this was: that Whitelock himself concluded, by speaking to the company to this effect;—he informed them of great hardships to be expected in their voyage and journey, but adopts the language of Gideon and Judas Maccabæus to the fearful; acquaints them that he shall endeavour strictly to observe the decree of Joshua, "As for me and my house, we will serve the Lord;" and that, through God's grace he should resolve to keep a strict discipline and order in the government of his house, not permitting any debauchery, prophaneness, licentiousness, swearing, cursing, quarrelling, or the like, so far as God should enable him to hinder it; therefore, as Joshua said to his people, "if it seem evil unto you to serve the Lord, choose you this day whom you will serve."

That when on board the ships, he ordered prayers to be said night and morning.

That Cromwell sent one of his gentlemen with a present to

Whitelock before his departure, of a sword and a pair of spurs, richly inlayed with gold of a noble work and fashion.

In Whitelock's first interview with the Queen (Christina), on the 26th December, 1653, the Queen says,—"I have been told that many officers of your army do themselves pray and preach to their soldiers: is that true?" Whitelock. "Yes, Madam, it is very true: when their enemies are swearing, or debauching, or pillaging, the officers and soldiers of the parliament army used to be encouraging and exhorting one another out of the word of God, and praying together to the Lord of Hosts for his blessing to be with them; who hath shewed his approbation of this military preaching by the success he has given them." — Queen. "That's well; do you use to do so too?" Whitelock. "Yes, upon some occasions, in my own family, and think it as proper for me, being the master of it, to admonish and speak to my people when there is cause, as to be beholden to another to do it for me, which sometimes brings the chaplain into more credit than his Lord." — Queen. "Doth your General, and other great officers, do so?" Whitelock. "Yes, Madam, very often, and very well; nevertheless they maintain chaplains and ministers in their houses and regiments; and such as are godly and worthy ministers, have as good provision in England as in any place of Christendom; yet it is the opinion of many good men with us, that a long cassake with a silk girdle, and a great beard, do not make a learned or good preacher, without gifts of the Spirit of God, and labouring in his vineyard; and whosoever studies the Holy Scriptures, and is enabled to do good to the souls of others, and endeavours the same, is no where forbidden by that word; nor is it blameable. The officers and soldiers of the parliament held it not unlawful, when they carried their lives in their hands, and were going to adventure them in the high places of the field, to encourage one another out of His word who commands over all; and this had more weight and impression with it than any other word could have, and was never denied to be made use of, but by the popish prelates, who by no means would admit lay people (as they call them) to gather from thence that instruction and comfort which

can no where else be found." — Queen. " Methinks you preach very well, and have now made a good sermon; I assure you, I like it very well; but, I pray you tell me, where did your general and you, his officers, learn this way of praying and preaching yourselves?" Whitelock. " We learnt it from a near friend of Your Majesty, whose memory all the Protestant interest hath cause to honour." —Queen. " My friend! who was that?" Whitelock. " It was your father, the great king Gustavus Adolphus, who, upon his first landing in Germany, did himself, in person, upon the shore, on his knees give thanks to God for his safe landing; and before his soldiers, himself prayed to God for his blessing upon that undertaking; and he would frequently exhort his people out of God's word; and God testified his good liking thereof by the wonderful successes he was pleased to vouchsafe to that gallant King." To this the Queen made no further reply.

In answer to a question by the Queen, whether dancing was prohibited in England, he takes the opportunity of expressing his disapprobation of balls and other amusements on the Lord's-day, and recommends to her, as an act of piety and most becoming a Christian Queen, to restrain and punish the sin of prophanation of the Lord's-day, as likewise swearing and debauchery, too much used and countenanced in those parts; and pardon me, Madam, if I say I think God requires this at your hands.

This, and much other to the like effect, says Whitelock, he spake with plainness, yet fitting respect and apologies to the Queen, hoping that God did put it into his heart to speak thus freely to her, in a matter wherein the honour of God was so much concerned: and it took, adds he, so good effect, that after that, the Queen had no more balls in her court on the Lord's-day.

At Whitelock's first interview with the Chancellor (Oxenstièrne), he (the chancellor) describes himself in his retirement, as under a cloud, his chief study to be the Bible, wherein is all wisdom and the greatest delight to be found, and much more in the practice of that divine wisdom; and counsels Whitelock, as a younger man, to make the practice and study of the word of God his chief con-

tentment and delight, as it would be to every such that savours the truths of God, which do infinitely excel all worldly things.

29th January. The Lord's-day; a day usually with them (the Swedes) a day of travaile; and it being the time of a fair, the shops were open all the day, as they had been the preceding Sunday, so little regard have they of this day, or of the observance of it, but perform the ordinary works of their callings, buying and selling, carting and travelling upon this, as upon any other day; and, which is yet worse, acting commonly and openly their debaucheries, and appointing their drinking meetings on the Lord's-day. Visits were made to Whitelock on this day, and to let him know of the Queen's return to this place; but he staid in his own house, not going abroad himself, nor suffering his people to roam abroad this day; but all of them joined together in the worship of God; and, according to his custom, he had two good sermons in his house this day, and good spiritual prayers offered up to God, in the worship of him; and divers English and Scots in this town were now, as usually, present to be partakers of these duties.

April 2. 1654. Although the Lord's-day, yet the English and Scots who were in the town, and not of Whitelock's family, went abroad to take the air, and did not resort, as they used to do, to Whitelock's house, to the exercises of Divine worship, which were duly performed in his private family; and after those *sacra peracta*, Whitelock retired himself to his private studies and meditations upon the Word of Truth.

This day likewise, the Queen went abroad to take the air, and passed through the town in her coach, attended by many gentlemen and others, in her train, to the ill-example of her people and after the bad custom of this place.

Same month. Whitelock presented the Queen with a Bible: in this interview he tells the Queen, that she will find more contentment and comfort in the study of this book, than of all other books whatsoever; and therefore humbly recommends the often reading of it to Her Majesty.

May 31. Previous to Whitelock's embarkation from Stockholm,

he went to prayer with his company, recommending themselves to the protection and blessing of God; and then he went with all his people to the water-side.

June 7. Immediately previous to his disembarking for Lubec, he called his company into his cabin, where they gave thanks to God for their safe arrival at this place, and humbly prayed for the continuance of his blessing and presence with them the rest of their journey yet to come: and, on the 1st of July, he arrived safe with all his company, 100 in number.

July 5. By Whitelock's appointment, all his company who were with him in Sweden, came this day to his house at Chelsey, where divers others of his good friends met them, to the intent they might all join together in returning humble and hearty thanks to God for his great mercy and goodness to them in their preservation and wonderful deliverance in their voyage, in blessing them with health and with success in their business, and bringing all of them in safety and comfort to their native country and most dear relations: he then relates the religious services performed in a large room prepared for the purpose; and his address to them at the conclusion, which was very solemn and impressive, reciting their many preservations and deliverances in the course of their journies and voyages to and from Sweden, with quotations of many apposite texts of Scripture.

If Cromwell is to be deemed an enthusiast, surely Whitelock must share the charge with him: he seems to have been equally impressed by the necessity of seeking God (as he also calls prayer) by himself and his friends, for his counsel and blessing in his intended embassy; he justifies, as Cromwell does, the officers' preaching, and considers the army's successes as favourable answers: he obliges his household, whilst in Sweden, to a strict observance of the Sabbath, notwithstanding the Queen's and her subjects' ill observance of it; he appears to have been as strictly a religious professor as Cromwell; but he has never, it is believed, been called an enthusiast or an impostor.

Perhaps the following circumstance may determine, in the estimation of these denouncers of enthusiasm and hypocrisy, Lockhart

to be one or other of these characters. Lockhart was ambassador from Cromwell to the court of France: he married his niece; and Bishop Burnet says of him, that he was in high favour with Cromwell, as he well deserved to be; that he was both a wise and a gallant man; calm and virtuous, and one that carried the generosity of friendship very far: that he was, after the Restoration, sent ambassador to the court of France by the King. In Thurloe's State Papers is a letter from Lockhart to Thurloe, dated Paris, 7th February (1656-7): he says, that the Cardinal (Mazarin) prevailed on him (Lockhart) to see the King's ball this night *incognito*: "I have been twice invited before, and was so pressed in it, that I was forced to own my scruple of being there upon the Lord's-day, upon which it hath been always danced hitherto: I have not the vanity to imagine that this night is in consideration of me, and yet I know the King did interest himself in my seeing it, so as to offer to cause to make me a place behind the theatre, where nobody should see me. As I thought the exposing myself to be too great libertine, by seeing it upon the Lord's-day would offend God, and be against your service, so I hope the appearing not to be over-nice and scrupulous, will not be construed to be for your disservice."

A writer, speaking of the Protectress, describes her amusements, when unbending her mind from the superintendence of her family, as partaking in a great measure of the religious enthusiasm of the age; instancing Cromwell's entertainment of Jongestall the Dutch ambassador, at dinner, upon the conclusion of the peace between the two nations; communicated in a letter dated 28th April (1654,) from the ambassador to William Frederick, earl of Nassau, to be found in Thurloe's State Papers. He says, — "Yesterday, at noon, we were invited to dinner to His Highness the Lord Protector, where we were nobly entertained: Mr. Strickland and the master of the ceremonies came to fetch us in two coaches of His Highness, about half an hour past one, and brought us to Whitehall, where twelve trumpeters were ready, sounding against our coming: my Lady Nieuport and my wife were brought to His Highness presently, the one by Mr. Strickland,

and the other by the master of the ceremonies, who received us with great demonstration of amity: after we staid a little, we were conducted into another room, where we found a table ready covered: His Highness sat on one side of it alone; my Lord Beverning, Nieuport, and myself, at the upper end; and the Lord-president Laurence, and others, next to us: there was in the same room another table covered for other lords of the council and others: at the table of my Lady Protectrice dined my Lady Nieuport, my wife, my Lady Lambert, my Lord Protector's daughter and mine: the music played all the while we were at dinner; the Lord Protector had us into another room, where the Lady Protectrice and others came to us, where we had also music and voices and a psalm sung, which His Highness gave us, and told us, that it was yet the best paper that had been exchanged between us; and from thence we were had into a gallery next the river, where we walked with His Highness about half an hour, and then took our leaves, and were conducted back again to our houses after the same manner as we were brought," &c.

But the religious part of this entertainment was not confined to Cromwell and his family. Whitelock says, that on the 7th of June (1649), an entertainment was given on the day of thanksgiving for the suppression of the levellers, by the city to the House of Commons, the General (Fairfax) and other officers of the army, council of state, &c. at Grocer's-hall, after the hearing of two sermons, that the music was only drums and trumpets, the feast sumptuous, no toasts drank, and besides the overplus of the victuals left at dinner, a sum of 400*l.* was given to the poor of London: he (Whitelock) in his journal of the Swedish embassy, referring to this entertainment, says, that the Swedish ambassador was present: that before dinner, Mr. Peters prayed and expounded a place of Scripture, and a psalm was sung; the ambassador very attentive: that he observed to Whitelock, with much surprise, the civility and good order of so great a company; who (Whitelock) told him that it was their constant demeanour, which the ambassador highly commended. But by these fastidious writers, all must be resolved into enthusiasm and hypocrisy.

The grand charge against Cromwell is his supposed hypocrisy, in which all the writers hostile to his memory seem, without examination, implicitly to have followed Lord Clarendon, and one another. His Lordship's object seems to have been, to charge him with all the real and imaginary misdeeds of the times whereof he wrote; the truth in favour of Cromwell, nevertheless, sometimes involuntarily escaping him; unintentionally praising him where he means to dishonour him. This, his insincerity, taken for granted, exposes him to all the obloquy with which his memory is loaded. No obstacle then remains to the representation of him, as the grand secret spring and mover of all the anti-royalist transactions of those times. Lord Clarendon's history is made up in what relates to Cromwell, of these his supposed machinations. However distinct from the scene of action, he is made answerable; all the actors are represented to be mere instruments in his hands, to carry on his secret arts and designs; nor are his most solemn declarations of ignorance of those various proceedings to be relied on; his whole language is to be considered as that of gross falsehood and deception, under the cloak and mask of religion and moral honesty. Having thus destroyed his credit, without fear of contradiction from his family or friends, who durst say nothing in his defence after the Restoration, not only his enemies of the different parties, but also many who had received great favours from him, and had acted with him to the last, were the forwardest in relating every trifling circumstance they could pick up, or had invented, to blacken and insult his memory, in the hope, no doubt, of obliterating the remembrance of past transgressions and recommending themselves to the new powers. Hence, amongst others, the stories and anecdotes to be found in Bishop Burnet's History of his Own Times, Mr. Waller, and other writers subsequent to the Restoration.

Those who remember Mr. Waller's share in the conspiracy of 1643, with Tomkins and Challoner, and others, to surprise the city militia, and some members of parliament, and to let in the King's forces and disturb the parliament; and of which White-

lock says, he (Waller) being a very ingenious man, was the principal actor and contriver, and for which Tomkins and Challoner suffered death; and of which Waller was also convicted, and escaped the same punishment by paying a large fine, and going into exile. Also those who attend to his high panegyric in his verses addressed to Cromwell, and upon his death, wherein he describes him as giving in private life, a just pattern how fathers, husbands, pious sons should live; and then observes how he turns round in his high-flown complimentary verses to King Charles the Second, upon his restoration, where he talks of offenders beginning to strive for grace, and expiation of their sin, comparing the King to our Saviour; those persons will surely not readily believe his (Waller's) forementioned story of Cromwell's acknowledged hypocrisy. Were it true, it would have been in Waller a most dishonourable and inexcusable betrayal of an inadvertent confidence in an unguarded moment; but it is utterly improbable: the religious language he is there represented as using, was his constant mode of expression on religious subjects, and in no other part of his history, except in this instance, and in the next, related from Oliver St. John's Life, does he appear to have treated ludicrously or lightly those subjects; the whole tenour of his life was strictly religious and circumspect, and render these stories highly improbable and unworthy of credit. Had Cromwell been so great a dissembler as it became the fashion to consider him, he would not surely have thus committed himself, even with his nearest friend and greatest confidant. We have none of these stories from Whitelock; he gives instances of his unbending himself with his friends, but they are wholly cheerful and innocent. It was not likely that Cromwell should be in habits of intimacy and confidence with Waller, whose former treacherous conduct he could not but remember. Dr. Johnson, in his Life of Waller, says, that he solicited and obtained Cromwell's permission to return; and adds, that Cromwell received, him as his kinsman, to a familiar conversation. This supposed reception is only founded upon Waller's own account, from the writer of his Life, to introduce the forementioned story. Cromwell could not

have been the man of wisdom and penetration he is allowed to be, had he trusted such a character as Waller with so important a secret. Dr. Johnson observes, that it is not possible to read without some contempt and indignation, poems of the same author, ascribing the highest degree of power and piety to Charles the First, then transferring the same power and piety to Oliver Cromwell; now inviting him to take the crown, and then congratulating Charles the Second on his recovered right. Lord Clarendon's character of Waller is given by the doctor, from his history. His Lordship says, the excellency and power of his wit, and pleasantness of his conversation, was of sufficient magnitude to cover a world of very great faults; that is, so to cover them, that they were not taken notice of to his reproach, viz. a narrowness in his nature to the lowest degree; an abjectness and want of courage to support him in any virtuous undertaking; an insinuation and servile flattery to the height the vainest and most imperious nature could be contented with: that it preserved and won his life from those who most resolved to take it, and in an occasion in which he ought to have been ambitious to have lost it; and then preserved him again from the reproach and contempt that was due to him for so preserving it, and for vindicating it at such a price; that it had power to reconcile him to those whom he had most offended and provoked, and continued to his age with that rare felicity, that his company was acceptable where his spirit was odious; and he was at least pitied where he was most detested. This was not the man likely to be trusted by Cromwell, who knew men as well as most.

The anecdote said to be from Oliver St. John, rests on no foundation to be relied on; it is not consistent with Cromwell's whole deportment. Dr. Bates, who does not spare him in his betrayal of the confidence of the Cromwell family, does not hint at any expressions like the above, even in his account of Cromwell's entertainments of his officers and soldiers.

Dr. Johnson, giving in his Life of Waller, a sharp reply to a question of King James the Second, observes, — "Such is the story which I once heard of some other man. Pointed axioms

and acute replies fly loose about the world, and are assigned successively to those whom it may be the fashion to celebrate." This observation applies forcibly to the many stories applied to Cromwell.

The instance of this hypocrisy, given by Bishop Burnet from Sir Harbottle Grimston's relation, does not amount to any thing like a proof of it. Sir Harbottle knew of it, no otherwise than from the account of the two officers, of whom he seemed to have had no previous knowledge. No time is ascertained; Sir Harbottle was, no doubt, delighted with this opportunity of attacking Cromwell; he takes them immediately to the House of Commons, at the bar whereof they told their story, in the presence of Cromwell. He solemnly denies the charge, and the House believed him: and Sir Harbottle adds, that had it been moved, he thought, that both he and the officers would have been sent to the Tower; and probably they deserved it, for this attempt to ruin Cromwell by false accusation, to which they were probably instigated by some of his enemies. He very prudently withdrew himself from the House to the army, resolving not longer to trust himself amongst them. This charge was similar to the forementioned charge of Major Huntingdon, which has been shown to have been a like fabrication to ruin Cromwell.

The confusion and irresolution of Cromwell, described by Lord Clarendon, upon his appointment to the chief command in Ireland, and inability to command his temper and countenance, ill describe an hypocritical character. Nor is his supposed declaration to his troop (which is not remembered to be mentioned by any other writer) of the conditions of permission to enlist under his command, a very well chosen instance of this hypocrisy.

Mrs. Hutchinson's account of Cromwell's conduct towards Colonel Hutchinson, in the appointment of Major Saunders to the command of the late Colonel Thornhaugh's regiment, if told correctly, has certainly the appearance of insincerity. But great allowance must be made for Mrs. Hutchinson's affectionate partiality for her husband, who appears, from her narrative, to have been a most amiable and excellent man. She describes Cromwell

as having assented to the appointment, and, as having promised to send to the General for a commission, and then procuring it for Major Saunders. It is impossible now, to come at the knowledge of the real circumstances of this transaction. Although Cromwell might have, and probably had, a very favourable opinion of the Colonel, as a person of integrity and ability, and great personal worth, he might not, upon consideration, think him qualified to take the command of a regiment, nor might he think it consistent with strict discipline to permit the subaltern officers and privates to take upon themselves to dictate to their commanders. He (Cromwell) has been universally allowed to excel in deep knowledge of men, appointing those only of ability to fill the stations to which he appointed them. The situation of men in power must be very trying: the insincerity of courtiers is a favourite subject of declamation with disappointed expectants; they are apt to construe into promise a civil speech or a smile, from a dislike, in a feeling, kind disposition, to distress by an absolute denial. This may have been Cromwell's situation, he might have been taken by surprise to think and speak favourably of the Colonel's appointment; but finally, upon further consideration, determine Major Saunders to be the most proper person for the situation. It was very important that Cromwell should have a man at the head of a regiment upon whom, in arduous situations, he could rely. Saunders was a tried man, and had, according to Mrs. Hutchinson's own account, brought into the regiment a troop of Derbyshire horse: he might think this, and his then command of Major in the regiment, a good ground of superior claim to the Colonel's. Mrs. Hutchinson speaks favourably of his private character, but not so of his abilities as a soldier. Cromwell thought otherwise of him, and therefore gave him the command of the regiment; for which Mrs. Hutchinson and the Colonel appear never to have forgiven him, and expresses herself disrespectfully of his family, though not of him, other than upon this occasion.

Little need be said upon Bishop Burnet's account of the principle upon which Cromwell is alleged to have acted, by some

who pretended to know Cromwell well: that great occasions would excuse from the common rules of morality; from which, the Bishop says, he might be easily led into all the practices, both of falsehood and cruelty. This principle is certainly a most mischievous one, and is an opening to all crime: but Cromwell's actions have not yet appeared to have been influenced by it, or to need this iniquitous apology. Who were the Bishop's informers he does not say. Cromwell has not thought it necessary thus to defend his actions, they needed no such defence. Where the Bishop speaks from his own knowledge there can be no doubt of his veracity; but he seems to lend too ready an ear to others' information, particularly as relating to Cromwell. He appears to receive and relate every story told him without examination; not considering the person and the circumstances by and under which they are related. He does not seem to recollect that these stories are told immediately after the Restoration, by persons, in many instances, implicated in the occurrences they relate, and in the hope to recommend themselves to the then powers by defaming Cromwell's memory, by stories and anecdotes, whether true or false, of no consequence, having no fear of contradiction or confutation. Of this description is the following passage: — the Bishop says, that, during Cromwell's absence in Scotland, the treaty of the Isle of Wight was set on foot by the parliament, who, seeing the army at such a distance, took that occasion of treating with the King: that Sir Henry Vane and others, who were for a change of government, had no mind to treat any more; but that both city and country were so desirous of a personal treaty, that it could not be resisted: that Vane, Pierpoint, and some others, went to the treaty on purpose to delay matters till the army could be brought to London: that all that wished well to the treaty prayed the King, at their first coming, to dispatch the business with all possible haste, and to grant the first day all that he could bring himself to grant on the last: that Holles and Grimston told him (Burnet) that they had both on their knees begged this of the King: they said they knew Vane would study to draw out the

treaty to a great length, and that he who declared for an unbounded liberty of conscience, would try to gain on the King's party by the offer of a toleration for the Common Prayer, and the episcopal clergy: that his design in that was to gain time till Cromwell should settle Scotland and the North: but, that they (Holles and Grimston) said, if the King would come frankly in, without the formality of papers backward and forward, and send them back next day with the concessions that were absolutely necessary, they did not doubt but he should in a very few days be brought up with honour, freedom, and safety to the parliament, and that matters should be brought to a present settlement: that Titus, who was then much trusted by the King, and employed in a negociation with the presbyterian party, told him (the Bishop) that he had spoke often and earnestly to him in the same strain; but that the King could not come to a resolution; still fancying that in the struggle between the House of Commons and the army, both saw they needed him so much, to give them the superior strength, that he imagined by balancing them, he would bring both sides into a greater dependence on himself, and force them to better terms: that, in this, Vane flattered the episcopal party to the King's ruin as well as their own: but that they still hated the Presbyterians as the first authors of the war, and seemed unwilling to think well of them, or to be beholden to them: that thus the treaty went on with a fatal slowness, and by the time it was come to some maturity, Cromwell came up with his army and overturned all.

All the Bishop says respecting the parliament's motive for setting on foot the Isle of Wight treaty, namely, Cromwell's and the army's absence in Scotland, and Sir Henry Vane's and Mr. Pierpoint's object in attending the treaty, is conjectural; he brings no proof. It is not meant to dispute the veracity of Mr. Holles's or Sir Harbottle Grimston's relation of their endeavours to prevail on the King to accede to the terms of the treaty; but their recollection of their then deemed former delinquencies, and their wonderful escape from their consequences, and anxious desire to prove to the then powers the sincerity of their conversion, would

be very likely to give a favourable colouring to their narrative. Nevertheless, it was not very creditable to them, or to the other commissioners of the presbyterian party who might join them, to request His Majesty to accede to the articles of the treaty, many of them highly unreasonable, under an implied, to say the least, undertaking for the softening or rather riddance of those that might be disagreeable to him, when restored to power; to which, greatly to the King's honour, he would not consent. Lord Clarendon says, that such of the commissioners who were known to wish well to the King, found means to advertise him that they were of His Majesty's judgment with reference to the government, which they hoped might yet be preserved: that all the reasonable hope of preserving the crown was in dividing the parliament from the army, which could be only done by his giving satisfaction in what was demanded with reference to the church, which would unite the parliament in itself, some few persons excepted, and the city to the parliament, where the presbyterians were most powerful; and this being done, the parliament would immediately have power to reform their army; and to disband those who would not be reformed: that then the King would be removed to London to perfect that by his own presence in parliament, which should be prepared by this treaty; and that then the wording those bills and the formality of passing them, would give opportunity for many alterations, which being now attempted would destroy all, and reconcile the parliament to the army; which would destroy the King. But, that then, what the King should urge as matter of conscience in himself, would find respect, reverence, and concurrence.

The above passages leave no room for doubt of the duplicity of Mr. Holles, and of the other commissioners of the presbyterian party: they certainly deceived their employers in the temptation they held out to the King, of his evasion of the treaty upon his return to power; and it is not certain that they did not intend to deceive the King by the same temptation, to prevail upon him to assent to it; the articles whereof were most severe and unjust, the fabrication of the presbyterian party, and with which, these

commissioners must know, from the experience of the failure of former treaties, that the King would not, nor could comply. Pursuing the same object, they endeavour to intimidate the King to a compliance by the insinuation of Vane's supposed procrastination of the treaty till Cromwell's return. His Lordship describes the presbyterians as the most powerful party in the parliament, and their object to be, upon the King's return, to (what they call) reform the army; or, in other words, to dissolve it, and thereby to get into their power obnoxious individuals; dreading, above all things, the union of the parliament and the army.

Mrs. Hutchinson, in confirmation of this statement, gives the account before-given of Colonel Hutchinson's (upon his return to health) attendance in the House, and finding the presbyterian party's prevalence there, and their resolution to close with the common enemy, that they might thereby compass the destruction of their independent brethren; and for that purpose, their strengthening their faction, by restoring to their seats the late suspended members. Mr. Holles, during his secession, having been in France, and having there pieced up with the Queen an ungodly accommodation; notwithstanding his declaration at the beginning, openly in the House, of his abhorrence of the word "accommodation."

It is not true, as above stated, and as has been before observed, that Cromwell came up with his army and spoiled all; the design of the exclusion of the members was wholly Ludlow's, who relates the circumstances with considerable exultation and self-applause. Cromwell was not consulted upon it, being absent and not returning to town from his northern expedition, till after the exclusion, as already related. The treaty was not precipitated; it was defeated only by the unreasonableness of its terms, and terminated unsuccessfully before Cromwell's return.

Whitelock, in his Swedish embassy, giving a conversation between the Queen and him, describes her as, with some earnestness, saying, "You are hypocrites and dissemblers." To which Whitelock answers, "For myself, I can have little of design

(especially in your country) to dissemble. I always hated hypocrisy, as a thing unworthy a Christian or a gentleman; and my general hath not been charged with that odious crime."— Queen. "I do not mean either your general or yourself; but I think that in England there are many who make profession of more holiness than is in them, hoping for advantage by it." Whitelock. "I doubt there may be some such in England, especially in this time, when (through the goodness of God) religion is become the chief interest of the nation; and there are of these likewise in other countries; but when they come to be found out with us (as such cannot be long undiscovered,) they lose their aim and credit, and their dissembling is scorned and punished."

Here may be observed Whitelock's declaration, that Cromwell had not been then charged with the odious (as Whitelock justly calls it) crime of hypocrisy; nor, had he and his family continued in power, would it ever have been heard of.

If Lord Clarendon is to be credited, Cromwell must be the most inhuman of characters. His Lordship describes him the sole instigator and cause, immediately or mediately, of the sufferings of all the royalists under the sentences of the several high and other courts of justice, from the commencement of the Republic, succeeding the King's death.

This is a harsh and unfounded assertion. Cromwell must not be responsible for the results of any of the trials of the royalists, until the commencement of his protectorate. The executions in Cromwell's protectorate were few in number, compared with the number convicted of conspiracies against his life, either by the high courts of justice, or in other courts, very many of whom were afterwards pardoned and released, as has been before and are hereafter related, and the instances given.

Neal, in his History of the Puritans, observes upon this charge of cruelty,—that it has been brought against him (Cromwell), for having put some men to death for conspiring against his person and government, deserves no confutation, unless they would have had him sit still, till some conspiracy had succeeded:—that cruelty was not in his nature; he was not for unnecessary effusion of

blood. He quotes, in proof, the before-given passage from Lord Clarendon; that when a general massacre of the royalists was proposed by the officers in council, he (Cromwell) warmly opposed and prevented it. And Bishop Burnet says, he was afraid of the cavalier party's assassination and other plottings; and that he took a method to prevent assassinations, that proved very effectual; saying often and openly, that in a war it was necessary to return upon any side all the violent things that any of the one side did to the other: that this was done for preventing greater mischief, and for bringing men to fair war: that assassinations were such detestable things, that he would never begin them; but that, if any of the King's party should endeavour to assassinate him, and fail in it, he would make an assassinating war of it, and destroy the whole family: that he pretended he had instruments to execute it, whensoever he should give order for it. The terror of this, says the Bishop, was a better security to him than his guards. The Bishop adds, that he had this and other information from the Earls of Carlisle and Orrery, the one having been the captain of his guards, (then Colonel Howard,) and the other, then Lord Broghill, had been the president of his council in Scotland.

Cromwell's great mind could never stoop to put this threat into execution, notwithstanding the provocations to it he met with, in the various attempts that were made upon his life; nor has he ever been charged with any thing of the kind. Not so King Charles the First, as has been before shown, nor King Charles the Second; for in Thurloe is to be found a proclamation by King Charles the Second, in 1654, giving free liberty to destroy his (Cromwell's) life by pistol, sword, or poison, or otherwise, promising a reward of five hundred pounds *per annum*, and knighthood.

Thurloe's State Papers abound with instances of these plots of assassination. Amongst many others, in 1653–4, a person of the name of Corker informs Thurloe, that Colonel Deane had told him, Corker, that he was informed that Cromwell would dine in the city on the next Wednesday, when he, Deane, would assassinate him. The same Corker informs Secretary Morland

that Dr. Hewett was more a Tully than a Catiline, and had been more prevalent with his tongue than his brains: that he had great influence over ordinary capacities, both in the city and country, and had pursued it to the utmost of his power. A letter dated Paris, 14th May, 1655, from the Duke of York to Charles the Second, decyphered by the King's own hand, informing that a proposition had been made to him: four Roman catholics had bound themselves in a solemn oath to kill Cromwell and then to raise all the catholics in the city and in the army to rise for the King's restoration; but that they demanded a sum of money. The Duke appears to approve the assassination. A letter dated Paris, 10th June, 1654, from Monsieur Riviere, to Colonel Disbrowe, informing of a proposal by a Thomas Henshaw and others to King Charles II., to murder Cromwell, which had been accepted, and they went to England for that purpose. Thurloe, in a letter to Henry Cromwell in Ireland, dated 9th December 1656, says, the levellers are very busy and are in perfect conjunction with the King of Spain; that the part they had first undertaken was to assassinate my Lord Protector, and have laid the way of doing it. He adds "this I know with as much certainty as that Your Lordship is in Ireland: I trust the Lord will disappoint them as he hath done; but we see hereby the spirit of these men." Lord Broghill, in his memoirs, says, that he observed Cromwell, some time before his death, to grow melancholy and pensive, and to be afraid of every body: that at one particular time, when he was with Cromwell in his coach, going from Westminster to Whitehall, the crowd of people was so great, that the coach could not go forward, and the place was so narrow, that all the halberdiers were either before the coach or behind it, none of them having room to stand by the side: that while they were in this posture, His Lordship observed the door of a cobler's stall to open and shut a little; and at every opening of it, he saw something bright, like a drawn sword or a pistol: that thereupon His Lordship drew out his sword with the scabbard on it, and struck upon the stall, asking who was there: that this was no sooner

done, but a tall man burst out with a sword by his side; and that Cromwell was so much frightened, that he called his guard to seize him; but the man got away in the crowd. His Lordship adds, that he thought him to be an officer in the army of Ireland, whom he remembered Cromwell had disgusted, and supposes he laid there in wait, to kill him: that Cromwell forbore to come any more that way; but in a little time after, sickened and died. Mrs. Hutchinson, referring to these assassination plots, says that the cavaliers were every day forming designs, and plotting for the murder of Cromwell, and other insurrections, which being contrived in drink, and managed by false and cowardly fellows, were still revealed to Cromwell who had most excellent intelligence of all things that passed. And that, to speak the truth, Cromwell's personal courage and magnanimity upheld him against all enemies and malcontents. She adds, that some of the Lambertonians (General Lambert's party) had at that time, a plot to come with a petition to Cromwell, and while he was reading it, certain of them had undertaken to cast him out of a window at Whitehall, that looked upon the Thames, where others should be ready to catch him up in a blanket, if he escaped breaking his neck, and carry him away in a boat prepared for the purpose, to kill or keep him alive, as they saw occasion, and then set up Lambert: that this was so carried on, that it was near the execution, before the Protector knew any thing of it: that Colonel Hutchinson, accidentally becoming acquainted of this plot, apprised him of it through General Fleetwood; not from his good-will towards Cromwell, but to prevent Lambert from succeeding him, whom he suspected would be the worst tyrant of the two.

Many more instances might be brought forward of these plots of assassination; but nothing could provoke Cromwell to retaliation. A few of the most dangerous of these conspirators were tried and executed, but mercy shown to many. Amongst other instances of mercy:—The Dutch ambassador in England in a letter to the States-general, dated 23d July, 1655, in Thurloe, says, that divers lords and gentlemen who had been secured in sundry places, were

dismissed to their houses and habitations, and proclamation, that those that had headed the King's party, or assisted them, were to withdraw from London and Westminster, and all places twenty miles round, and to repair to their birth-places.—In January, 1657, Whitelock says, that Lord Willoughby, upon his petition to the Protector, had leave to go into the country to dispatch some necessary business respecting his estate upon his promise to return to prison, when required.—Also, Sir Roger Martyn released from prison upon his parol not to disturb the government.

In a letter of intelligence in Thurloe, dated Paris, 29th May, 1655, the writer says,—"Sir; Yours of the 24th instant I received, by which I see the Protector is merciful to the late risers, contrary to the expectations of most here; but now they find it otherwise, and some highly commend him for it."

In a letter, also in Thurloe, from Major-general Whalley to Cromwell, dated Warwick, 31st March, 1656, Whalley says,—"After the assizes at Warwick be over, which is the last of Judge Hale's circuit, I shall acquaint Your Highness's, by Mr. Secretary, what we have done, and what is desired, in reference to public good: and indeed my Lord, I cannot but inform you, that Judge Hale hath so demeaned himself in the counties under my charge, both in reference to Your Highness's interest, as also for his justice to all; and in a special manner taking care of poor men in their causes, without which some had suffered; as that I desire when he shall wait upon Your Highness, you would be pleased to take notice of it, and if it seem good to you, to give him more than ordinary thanks." And, in a subsequent letter from the same Major-general Whalley to Thurloe, dated Nottingham, the 9th of the following April, he says, "I have hitherto forborne to write to you, that I might give you the better account of our transactions in these five counties, after the circuit. And in the first place, I must let you know, I am persuaded there never was any Judge in this circuit got more applause, more the affections of honest men, than Judge Hale; who, as he is unquestionably an able, so upon good grounds I judge him a godly, man. I hope His Highness, as I have humbly desired in a letter to

him, will give him more than ordinary thanks upon his waiting of him." — "The Judge hath not been free to execute any for horse-stealing, but hath reprieved them, and two for robbery; hath continued divers other notorious wicked fellows in the gaol, in order to be sent out of the nation, if His Highness and the council think well of it." These letters prove that he, Cromwell, permitted justice to take its course. Had he not been both just and merciful, he would not have confided the administration of justice and mercy to so exalted a character as Judge Hale; nor would the Judge have accepted the office under any restraints in these respects.

Dr. Harris allows he was humane and benevolent, instancing some of the evidences thereof before given and hereafter referred to. Mr. Maidston, in his forementioned letter to Governor Winthrop, describes him as naturally compassionate towards objects in distress, though God had made him a heart, wherein was left little room for any fear, but what was due to himself; yet did he exceed in tenderness towards sufferers.

The instances of his humane and honourable treatment of the royalists are many. Mr. Maidston, in his above letter, referring to the execution of the Reverend Christopher Love for high treason against the commonwealth, in 1651, says, that many of his brethren were endangered, being detained prisoners till General Cromwell came home, and procured their release.—His procuring the Act of Oblivion in 1651;—his kindness in endeavouring to free the Countess of Arundel's estate from sequestration;—his attention to the Marchioness of Ormond's application for his assistance in the recovery and management of her estate in Ireland, for the subsistence of herself and family;—his lenity towards the Marquis of Ormond, in directing Lord Broghill to inform him of his knowledge of his being in London, thereby enabling him to escape;—his direction of the discharge of Mrs. Lucy Barlow and her young son from their imprisonment in the Tower of London, whom she had declared to be King Charles the Second's son, and herself to be his wife;—his letter to his son Henry, recommending lenity towards those opposing his government in Ireland;—his

conduct in Scotland. Whitelock says, that, upon his arrival with his army in Scotland, he published a proclamation through his army, stating that several soldiers had strayed from their colours, and enforced victuals from the Scots without paying for them, and frightened some of the people from their habitations; and commanding all officers and soldiers of his army that none should, without leave, go half a mile from their quarters, upon pain of death, nor offer any violence or injury to the person or goods of any in Scotland, not in arms: that upon his entry into Glasgow, many Scots appeared to see him march, but no violence was offered to any of them; the general having given a strict command for that purpose, and that none of the soldiers entered till he and his soldiers were first in their quarters; and that on the Lord's-day a Scots' minister railed foully against the general and his army; and that though many soldiers heard it, no violence was offered; and that the general was returned to the siege of Edinburgh castle: and he (Whitelock) adds, that he published a proclamation for free and safe trading by the Scots at Edinburgh, who were not in arms, and liberty to sell their commodities, and to be free from violence of the soldiery, and to be protected in their habitations. This lenity and forbearance towards the Scots was at the head of a victorious and, as above appears, an insulted general and army. Bishop Burnet describes the state of Scotland during Cromwell's time.—He says, the country was kept in great order during Cromwell's government: that some castles in the Highlands had garrisons put in them, that were so careful in their discipline, and so exact to their rules, that in no time the Highlands were kept in better order: good justice was done, and vice suppressed and punished; so that it was always reckoned a time of great peace and prosperity. Whitelock says, that letters from Scotland informed of the Scots being full of compliance with the government, established there by the Protector; which, adds he, was more conformity than ever they yielded before. The anecdote given by the Bishop, describing Cromwell, by the means of Sir Richard Willis's treachery, as having all the party in a net, in which, says

he, he let them dance at pleasure, and occasionally clapt them up for a short time, but did not hurt them. His (Cromwell's) moderation is further seen in his very indulgent terms of the various capitulations of the several places taken by him, and his severity in the punishment of any of his soldiers guilty of plundering, or of other breaches of those capitulations; and his very liberal proposal and procurement of the release of the Duke of Gloucester, the King's son. The magnanimity of his mind, in the confidence he reposed in those he deemed honourable men, and as such, worthy of his confidence, is very strikingly evidenced in his gaining Lord Broghill, who appears to have been ever afterwards the firm friend of himself and his family. It is related in His Lordship's memoirs, that, under pretence of going to the Spa Waters in Germany, he intended to cross the seas, and apply himself to His Majesty (Charles the Second) for a commission to raise what forces he could, to restore His Majesty in Ireland, and to recover his own estate then given for lost; for which purpose he had applied for a licence to go to the Spa, communicating his real design only to some friends, whom he imagined to be loyal and secret: that he had already made up a considerable sum of money, and was arrived in London in order to the prosecution of his voyage, when a gentleman belonging to Cromwell, (who had then been made general in Sir Thomas Fairfax's place,) came to his lodging to inform him that the General, his master, intended to wait upon him, if he knew the hour when he would be at leisure to receive him: that His Lordship was much surprised at this message, because he never had any acquaintance with Cromwell, nor had ever exchanged one word with him: that, therefore, he told the gentleman he presumed he was mistaken, and that he was not the person to whom the general had sent him with that message. The gentleman answered, he was sent to the Lord Broghill; and therefore if he was that Lord, he was sent to him: that His Lordship finding there was no mistake in the gentleman, owned that he was the Lord Broghill; but desired the gentleman to present his humble service to the general, and to inform him that he would not give him the trouble to come to him, but that he

would wait upon the general if he knew where he was, and when he might; and to that end would immediately make himself ready for it. The gentleman said, he would acquaint His Excellency with it, and so took his leave: that, in the mean time, His Lordship was mightily concerned, what Cromwell's business with him should be; and while he was thus musing, Cromwell came to him; and after mutual salutations, told him, he had a great kindness and respect for His Lordship; and that, therefore, he was come to acquaint him with something that did very nearly concern him, and to give him his advice in the matter: that he then proceeded to inform him, that the council of state was acquainted with his designs, in coming to town in order to his passing beyond sea; and that, instead of going to the Spa for his gout, he was going to the King for a commission to raise men, and oppose their government in Ireland; and that, under this pretence, the Earl of Warwick had got him a licence from the state to pass the seas: that as Cromwell was proceeding, His Lordship interrupted him, and told him, he presumed His Excellency was mistaken in the matter; for that he was not capable of doing any thing that way, and therefore desired him to believe no such thing. But Cromwell told him he had good proof for what he said, and could show copies of his letters to that purpose, and therefore desired him not to deceive himself, for that the council had ordered him to be clapped up in the Tower upon his arrival in town, which had been executed accordingly, had not he himself interposed in his behalf, and procured some time to confer with him to see whether he might not be drawn off from his design.—That upon this and other circumstances, His Lordship, finding that he was discovered, begged Cromwell's pardon, and thanked him for his kindness, and desired him to advise him what to do: that Cromwell told him, that neither he or the council were strangers to his actions in the Irish war; and that, therefore, the subduing of the Irish rebels being now left to his care, he had obtained leave from the council to make an offer to Lord Broghill, that if he would serve in the wars against the Irish, he should have a general officer's command, and should have no oaths nor engagements

laid upon him, nor should be obliged to fight against any but the Irish: that His Lordship did not a little wonder at this large offer, and would have excused himself, desiring some time to consider of it; but Cromwell told him, he must resolve presently, for that there was no time to deliberate; because the council, from whom he came, were resolved to send His Lordship to the Tower, as soon as ever Cromwell should return to them, in case this offer was not readily accepted.—That His Lordship seeing no subterfuges could any longer be made use of, and finding his liberty and life in danger, whereby he might be rendered utterly incapable of serving His Majesty, and not knowing but by accepting this offer, he might afterwards be serviceable to the royal party, he resolved to accept of it, upon the conditions which Cromwell mentioned; promising, upon his word and honour, he would faithfully assist Cromwell in subduing the Irish rebellion. Whereupon Cromwell assured him he should have those conditions performed to a tittle; and desired him to haste down to Bristol, where men should be sent to him, and ships wait for his transportation, and that he himself would follow him with another army; all which was accordingly done.

The preface to these Memoirs of Lord Broghill, referring to this transaction, observes, that nothing could more strongly evidence Cromwell's deep penetration into mankind, nor show plainer the wisdom and niceness with which he made choice of his friends than this his behaviour to Lord Broghill.

Ludlow says, that Cromwell gave directions to the judges who were ready to go their several circuits, to take especial care to extend all favour and kindness to the cavalier party, and gives some instances of his personal kindness to them; adding, however, with his usual bitterness towards Cromwell, his motive to be, endeavouring to fix himself in his throne by all ways imaginable.

To show Cromwell's contempt of the assassination plots against him, Whitelock gives the following anecdote: — That in the month of May, 1657, the Sieur Phillipi Passinni being sent by the Queen of Sweden to the Protector, with letters credential, and to

inform His Highness of some secret affairs, he, by the Queen's instructions, addressed himself first to Whitelock, with letters to him from the Queen, desiring him to bring his secretary (this gentleman) to the presence of His Highness, and to promote his business: that Whitelock acquainted the Protector therewith, and read to him the Queen's letters to Whitelock, which were in French: the Protector desired him to read them again, in English, which he did, and the Protector said he would consider of the business. That upon advice with his council about it, some of them, to show their extraordinary care of his person, suggested to him, that this messenger being an Italian (who were skilful in the art of poisoning, and ready to be hired for such a purpose) might bring poison with his letters, to the danger of His Highness; and therefore endeavoured to dissuade him from receiving him, or permitting him to come into his presence: that the Protector, smiling, acquainted Whitelock with this cautious counsel who convinced him of the folly of it, and the high distaste that would be taken by the Queen, in case her secretary should be denied audience: that the Protector replied, that the messenger desired to deliver his errand in private to him (the Protector), and none to be present but one more, whom the Protector should appoint, and that person, His Highness said, he intended should be Whitelock, who said, that if he should be present when the gentleman delivered his letter, he would receive it of the gentleman, and hazard the danger of being poisoned by it, at which the Protector laughed, and appointed a day for the gentleman's audience. That at that time Whitelock only was present with the Protector, and the gentleman offering to deliver the letter to His Highness, Whitelock took it first from the gentleman, and then he delivered his secret message to His Highness, which Whitelock interpreted from the French; and it was a particular account of the causes, why she ordered her servant, the Italian marquis, to be put to death in France. That he (this gentleman) also propounded to His Highness several matters, in order to alliances with foreign princes, which were of great consequence, and probable advantage to England; with which the Protector seemed

well pleased: that Whitelock procured a civil treatment of the gentleman whilst he was here, and a respectful answer to his business, and dismission of him; wherein Her Majesty had satisfaction as well as her secretary.

Dr. Harris allows, that bigotry made no part of Cromwell's character, and that he had a mind superior to it; that he had a fixed opinion concerning liberty of conscience in matters of religion. The doctor justly observes, that no bigot ever had sense sufficient to see the plain and just right that every man has, to think and act for himself in matters purely of a religious nature; or to be convinced, that unless men freely and voluntarily choose their religion, they can have no merit in the eyes of God or reasonable men; and consequently that they ought never to be debarred from acting according to their own choice. The bigot, proceeds the doctor, is always in the right, every man of a different belief is in the wrong; heaven is his own portion, but hell and damnation attend those who think and act opposite to him: that Cromwell was not of this cast; he always professed it to be his belief, that men had a right to think and act for themselves in matters of religion, and that as long as they behaved peaceably, they were free to dissent from the magistrate and the priest. The doctor quotes a passage from Ludlow, that "the liberty that was to be extended to tender consciences, was an engine by which Cromwell did most of his work;" and a saying of Baxter, from a passage in his life, "that liberty of conscience he (Cromwell) pretended to be most zealous for." These are in Ludlow's and Baxter's usual ill-natured style, when speaking of Cromwell. The doctor then gives passages to prove that he was of the opinions he professed, respecting this liberty of conscience, from a sonnet by Milton; his speeches upon the dissolution of the Long Parliament, and to the parliament of 1657, respecting the provision made for liberty of conscience in the humble petition and advice. These extracts, the doctor observes, fully evince Cromwell's judgment concerning liberty of conscience, and make appear how zealous he indeed was, to restrain

men from injuring each other on the account of it: in a word, says he, they show the man, the Christian, the politician.

The Doctor proceeds, — that Cromwell's practice was conformable to these his principles: that though he declared himself an independent, (the Doctor supposes, as that sect avowedly appeared for civil and religious liberty in its greatest latitude,) yet that he confined not his respect or his favours to them: that he had great latitude of judgment, and conceived, that as it was very possible for wise and good men to differ in their opinions about many points of religion, yet that, being equally wise and honest, they ought equally to be regarded. Accordingly, says he, we find Manton praying at his inauguration, Baxter preaching at his court, and Calamy consulted by him on a point of importance: that these were all presbyterians, little affected to him, but inclined to the royal interest: that the episcopalians were treated with equal favour and regard, though the party, as such, gave him a good deal of trouble.—He instances his sending for Doctor Browning, Bishop of Exeter, and treating him with great respect; his saving Doctor Barnard's life at the taking of Drogheda, and making him his almoner; his forementioned kindness to Archbishop Usher and his memory. His (Cromwell's) behaviour was also equally humane to such as professed opinions uncountenanced by the many in Britain; in the instance of John Biddle, who was a Unitarian, and the father of the English Unitarians, in his banishment into Scilly, (on account of his religious opinions,) he allowed him a pension of an hundred crowns a year. Neal says, he was committed to the Gatehouse by thé parliament; but that Cromwell, upon its dissolution, gave him his liberty; and that afterwards he was committed for a like offence by the council to Newgate, but that Cromwell thought it best to send him out of the way, and accordingly transported him to Scilly, and allowed him this one hundred crowns. A letter upon this subject to secretary Thurloe, is in his State Papers: it is dated 24th July, 1658. He (Biddle) says, His Highness was pleased, when I was under restraint in the isle of Scilly, by his letters of privy seal, to allow me ten shillings per week towards my maintenance; but

since I have been restored to my liberty, as I do with many thanks acknowledge His Highness's bounty towards me, so I should be very loath that the intention thereof should be perverted, and therefore I beseech Your Honour to certify His Highness, that my hope is that I shall be now otherwise sufficiently provided for. That he admitted Jeremiah White and Peter Sterry into the number of his chaplains, though few speculated more freely on the ends and designs of providence, or more out of the then road; and John Goodwin, though hated by the fashionable ecclesiastics, continued constantly in his favour: nor, adds the Doctor, were even the Romanists, that behaved well, destitute of his protection and favour.—He gives the following passage in a letter from Sir Kenelm Digby, a man of quality, a philosopher, and a catholic, to Thurloe, (to be found in Thurloe,) dated Paris, March 18, 1656:—"My obligations to His Highness are so great, that it would be a crime in me to behave myself so negligently as to give cause for any shadow of the least suspicion, or to do any thing that might require an excuse or apology. I make it my business every where, to have all the world take notice how highly I esteem myself obliged to His Highness, and how passionate I am for his service, and for his honour and interest, even to the exposing of my life for them. I should think my heart were not an honest one, if the blood about it were not warmed with any, the least imputation upon my respects and my duty to His Highness, to whom I owe so much." The Doctor adds, "Mr. Prynne informs us (in a work quoted in the margin), that Sir Kenelm was lodged by Cromwell at Whitehall; that he suspended the penal laws against Romish priests, and protected several of them under his hand and seal: and adds, as certain, that he wrote to the governor of Virginia in favour of Lord Baltimore, proprietor of Maryland, who was of the catholic persuasion. This letter is to be found in Thurloe.

Mrs. Hutchinson says that the papists wanted not patrons in Cromwell's time.

Dr. Harris adds, that it was well known that Cromwell, (though a believer in the prophecies of the Old Testament,

equally to say the least, with our modern controversists) was willing to harbour the Jews in England, that he appointed an assembly of men of several professions to consider of the expediency of it, and that it was not owing to him or his council that it proved lost labour. He adds, " All these considerations will, if I mistake not, abundantly make appear the truth of the text, that bigotry made no part of Cromwell's character.

Mr. Neal gives a more particular account of this favourable disposition towards the Jews. He says, that such was the Protector's latitude, that he was for indulging the Jews, who petitioned for liberty of their religion and for carrying on a trade in London: that Manasseh Ben Israel, one of their chief Rabbis, with some others, came from Amsterdam to Whitehall for this purpose, whom the Protector treated with respect, and summoned an assembly of divines, lawyers, and merchants, to consult upon the affair; that the divines were to consider it as a case of conscience, the lawyers to report how far it was consistent with the laws of England, and the merchants, whether it was for the advantage of trade and commerce: but that the assembly not agreeing in their opinions, the affair was dropped.

Whitelock says, that the Protector ordered two hundred pounds to be paid out of the treasury to Manasseh Ben Israel, the Jewish Rabbi.

Dr. Harris says, his (Cromwell's) edict against the episcopal clergy was very cruel: that he was by nature, as before observed, generous and humane, kind and compassionate; but that when he was provoked, he showed his resentment, and made his enemies feel the weight of it: that, with respect to religion, he was no bigot; and that yet, exasperated by the conduct of the cavaliers, who had so foolishly risen against him under Wagstaff, Penruddock, and Grave in the west, he treated the clergy of that party very rigorously; for that in a declaration dated, 4th October, (Neal says, published November 24th,) 1655, are found the following prohibitions, which are given by the doctor verbatim; the substance of which is, to prohibit all persons, whose estates had been sequestered for delinquency, or who had been in arms

against the parliament, from keeping in their houses and families as chaplains, or schoolmasters for the education of their children, any sequestered or ejected minister, fellow of any college, or schoolmaster, or permitting any of their children to be taught by such, upon pain of being proceeded against in such sort, as thereby directed in such cases: also prohibiting all persons who had been sequestered or ejected out of any benefice, college, or school for delinquency or scandal, from keeping any school, public or private: also prohibiting all persons who, for delinquency or scandal, had been sequestered or ejected, from preaching in any public place, or at any private meeting of any other persons than those of his own family, or administering baptism or the Lord's supper, or marrying any persons, or using the book of Common Prayer or the forms of prayer therein contained, under certain penalties. Nevertheless, it is added, that "His Highness doth declare, that towards such of the said persons as have since their ejection or sequestration given, or shall hereafter give a real testimony of their godliness and good affection to the present government, so much tenderness shall be used as may consist with the safety and good of the nation."

The Doctor (Harris) is unmercifully severe upon this declaration; he says it would be useless to spend words in exposing the cruelty of it; persecution is written upon the face of it, nor is it capable of a vindication. He then quotes a passage from the Life of Archbishop Usher, relating an application of some of the most considerable episcopal clergy through the Archbishop, requesting him to use his interest with the Protector to take off this restraint, which at last he promised (though with some difficulty) that they should not be molested, provided they meddled not with any matters relating to his government, but that when the Lord Primate went to him a second time to get this promise ratified and put into writing, Cromwell told him that he had better considered it, having advised with his council about it, and that they thought it not safe for him to grant liberty of conscience to those sort of men, who were restless and implacable enemies to him and his government; and so took his leave

of him though with good words and outward civility; and the Archbishop is represented as greatly dissatisfied, and as accusing Cromwell as having broken his word. The Doctor thinks the Archbishop had reason to be out of humour; for that whatever might have been the practices of many of the episcopal clergy, certainly there were amongst them wise, pious, learned, and peaceable men who merited a very different treatment from this which was given them by Cromwell. He nevertheless allows, he says, in justice to the Protector, that notwithstanding this declaration, he winked at, or permitted, some worthy episcopalians to officiate in the public places of worship; nor do we, says he, find that they suffered any inconveniences on account of it.

The Doctor might have spared much of his censure, had he considered this act, or order, as not meant to be executed in the strictness of its terms, not intending to disturb those who did not disturb the government; and towards these, the Doctor allows he, Cromwell, performed his promise.

Mr. Neal, in his forementioned History of the Puritans, appears to consider this measure in its true light. He describes it as a severe and terrible order upon the episcopalians, and unjustifiable in itself, but that the title of the act, which was an ordinance for securing the peace of the commonwealth, as well as the last clause, shows it was made for the safety of the government, against a number of men that were undermining it; and was published chiefly *in terrorem;* for that no person was prosecuted upon it; nor did the parliament that met the next year confirm it, which made it absolutely void. He says, that Doctor Gauden presented a petitionary remonstrance to the Protector against this order; he also mentions the Archbishop's above application, and he adds, from the Archbishop's Life, probably written by another hand, that the Protector promised either to recal his declaration, or to prevent its being put in execution, provided the clergy were inoffensive in their language and sermons, and stood clear in meddling with matters of state: that Cromwell accordingly laid the matter before his council, who were of opinion that it was

not safe for him to recal his declaration, and give open liberty to men, who were declared enemies to his government, but that he should suspend the execution of it as far as their behaviour should deserve; so that, says Neal, there was no great reason of complaint; for that, notwithstanding this ordinance, the sober episcopal clergy preached publicly in the churches at London and in the country, as Doctor Hall, afterwards Bishop of Chester, Doctor Ball, Doctor Wild, Doctor Hardy, Doctor Griffith, Doctor Pearson Bishop of Chester, and others. Remarkable, says Neal, are the words of Bishop Kennet to this purpose; — "It is certain, says His Lordship, that the Protector was for liberty, and the utmost latitude to all parties, so far as consisted with the peace and safety of his person and government, and therefore he was never jealous of any cause or sect, on the account of heresy or falsehood, but on his wiser accounts of political peace and quiet; and even the prejudice he had against the episcopal party was more for their being royalists, than for being of the good old church: that Dr. Gunning, afterwards Bishop of Ely, kept a conventicle in London, in as open a manner as the dissenters did after the toleration; and so did several other episcopal divines."

For the same reason, adds Neal, His Highness girt the laws close upon the papists, not upon account of their religion, but because they were enemies to his government; for that, in the month of May (1655), a proclamation was published for the better executing the laws against jesuits and papists, and for the conviction of popish recusants; the reason of which the Protector gives in his declaration of October 31st, published with advice of his council, in these words: "Because it was not only commonly observed, but there remains with us somewhat of proof, that jesuits have been found among discontented parties of this nation, who are observed to quarrel, and fall out with every form of administration in church and state." That the Protector, continues Neal, gave notice of the like kind to the republicans, fifth-monarchy men, levellers, and to the presbyterians, that they should stand upon the same foot with the royalists, in case of any future delinquencies.

Bishop Burnet, in reference to Cromwell's lenity to the episcopalians, and moderation in government, has the following passage: — "He studied to seek out able and honest men, and to employ them, and having heard that his (the Bishop's) father had a very great reputation in Scotland for piety and integrity, though he knew him to be a royalist, he sent to him, desiring him to accept of a judge's place, and to do justice in his own country; hoping only, that he would not act against his government, but that he would not press him to subscribe or swear to it: that his (the Bishop's) father refused it in a pleasant way, desiring no other favour of him but leave to live privately without the imposition of oaths and subscriptions; and, adds the Bishop, he ever lived in great quiet, of which he gives the following instance. — Overton, one of Cromwell's major-generals, who was a high republican, being for some time at Aberdeen, where the Bishop's father and family then lived, his father and he (Overton) were often together: that, in particular, they were shut up alone for about two hours the night after the order came from Cromwell, to take away Overton's commissions, and to put him in arrest: that Colonel Howard, afterwards earl of Carlisle, being sent down to enquire into all the plots that those men had been in, heard of this long privacy, but that when, with that, he heard what his (the Bishop's) father's character was, he made no farther enquiry into it but, said, Cromwell was very uneasy when any good man was questioned for any thing.

The Bishop relates, that Dr. Wilkins, afterwards bishop of Chester, who married Cromwell's sister, told him, that when Cromwell was designing to make himself king, he had often said to him (Dr. Wilkins), that no temporal government could have a sure support without a national church that adhered to it; and that he thought that England was capable of no constitution but episcopacy; to which, the Doctor told him (the bishop), he did not doubt but Cromwell would have turned, as soon as the design of his kingship should have been settled.

It appears from Whitelock, that he very reluctantly consented to the prevention of the celebration by some congregations, of a

Christmas-day, being advised, and being sensible, it was contrary to the liberty of conscience, so much owned, says Whitelock, and pleaded for by him and his friends; but that he, finding it to be contrary to ordinances of parliament, that those days should be solemnized, felt himself obliged to consent to the suppression of these meetings, though much against his inclination.

Neal observes, that the Protector and his council were in large sentiments upon these religious rights: that Mr. Baxter says, that the Protector and his friends gave out, that they could not understand what the magistrates had to do in matters of religion; that they thought that all men should be left to the liberty of their own consciences, and that the magistrate could not interpose without ensnaring himself in the guilt of persecution: and, adds Neal, were not these noble and generous sentiments, though the parliament could not be brought into them, and upon which the Protector reproaches them in his speech at their dissolution?

That, continues Neal, agreeable to these principles, Dr. George Bates, (the fore-mentioned Dr. Bates,) an eminent royalist and, as before observed, become a great enemy to Cromwell's memory upon the Restoration, writes, "that the Protector indulged the use of the Common Prayer in families, and in private conventicles; and that though the condition of the church of England was but melancholy, yet it cannot be denied, but they had a great deal more favour and indulgence than under the parliament; which would never have been interrupted, had they not insulted the Protector, and forfeited their liberty by their seditious practices and plottings against his person and government."

Cromwell's settled disapprobation of religious persecution adds no inconsiderable proof of the extraordinary greatness and comprehensiveness of his mind and understanding. He appears to have early and forcibly seen and adopted the great principle of the right of private judgment in matters of religion, contrary to, it is conceived may be said, the universal, opposite principle and practice of those times: none of the religious sects and parties of those days had an idea of toleration; their contest was for power, which should be uppermost and rule the rest, without an appre-

hension of the justice of allowing their opponents their right of judging for themselves in a matter so highly important to their present and future interests; each sect had its uniformity act, and its consequent persecuting principle, which they enforced with the most rigid severity. This principle Cromwell opposed with all his power; and there is not an instance in his whole history, of his voluntary disturbance of merely religious opinions.

Hence, from this principle of disapprobation of religious persecution, would naturally arise his determination to interpose in behalf of the oppressed Vaudois. Neal observes, that the Protector's zeal for the reformed religion made him the refuge of persecuted protestants in all parts of the world.

Dr. Newton, in his Dissertation on the Prophecies, referring to this persecution of the Vaudois by their sovereign, the duke of Savoy, calls them Waldenses and Albigenses; and says, that their first and proper name seems to have been Vallenses, because living in the valleys of Piedmont; that they were also called Albigenses, from Alby, a city in the southern parts of France, where great numbers were situated; that they were afterwards denominated Valdenses or Waldenses, from Peter Valdo or Waldo, a rich citizen of Lyons, and considerable leader of the sect; that from Lyons, they were also called Leonists, and Cathari from the professed purity of their lives and doctrines, as others since had the name of Puritans; that they fled for refuge into foreign nations, some into Germany, and some into Britain; that in Germany, they multiplied so fast, notwithstanding the violence and rage of the croisaders and Inquisition, that it was computed, that at the beginning of the seventeenth century, there were 80,000 of them in Bohemia, Austria, and the neighbouring territories; that among a variety of other names they were called Lollards, from one Walter Lollard, who preached in Germany about 1315, against the authority of the Pope and superstitions of the church of Rome, and was buried alive at Cologne in 1322; that in England they were also called Lollards, though, says the Doctor, there was a man more worthy to have given a name to the sect, namely, John Wickliffe.

Bishop Burnet, referring to this interposition of Cromwell, observes, that he had two signal occasions given him to show his zeal in protecting the Protestants abroad: that the duke of Savoy raised a new persecution of the Vaudois; so Cromwell sent to Mazarin, desiring him to put a stop to that, adding that he knew well, that they had that duke in their power, and could restrain him as they pleased; and that if they did not, he must presently break with them: that Mazarin objected to this as unreasonable; he promised to do good offices, but that he could not be obliged to answer for the effects they might have: that this did not satisfy Cromwell; so they obliged the duke of Savoy to put a stop to that unjust fury: and that Cromwell raised a great sum for the Vaudois, and sent over Morland to settle all their concerns, and to supply all their losses: that there was also a tumult in Nismes, in which some disorder had been committed by the Huguenots, and they apprehending severe proceedings upon it, sent one over, with great expedition, to Cromwell, who sent him back to Paris in an hour's time, with a very effectual letter to his ambassador, requiring him either to prevail that the matter might be passed over, or to come away immediately: that Mazarin complained of this way of proceeding as too imperious, but that the necessity of his affairs made him yield. These things, adds the Bishop, raised Cromwell's character abroad, and made him be much depended on.

Dr. Harris, in his account of this interposition of Cromwell on behalf of the Vaudois, refers to Mr. (afterwards Sir Samuel) Morland's History of the Evangelical Churches of the Vallies of Piedmont. Mr. Morland was Secretary of State under Thurloe. This history is in the Cromwell family: it is, in the title-page, described to be an exact geographical description of the place, and a faithful account of the doctrine, life, and persecutions of the ancient inhabitants, together with a most naked and punctual relation of the late bloudy massacre (1655), and a narrative of all the following transactions to the year of our Lord 1658; collected and compiled with much pains and industry by Samuel Morland, Esq., during his abode in Geneva, in quality of His

Highness's Commissioner extraordinary for the affairs of the said Vallies; and particularly for the distribution of the collected monies among the remnant of those poor distressed people. It is dedicated to Cromwell.

In this history it appears that in the year 1654 the Duke of Savoy confirmed to his protestant subjects, the Piedmontese, by divers articles proposed by them, and assented to by him, all their religious and civil privileges. Notwithstanding, and in gross violation of these articles, these same subjects, without being charged with any crime, were, by an order, dated 25th January following (1655), directed to quit their estates and property within three days from its publication, and to be, with their families, transported to other places at the pleasure of the Duke, upon pain of death and confiscation of houses and goods, in case they did not make it appear within twenty days, that they were become catholics.

Morland proceeds: that these oppressed people having unsuccessfully represented to the duke and his ministers the cruelty and injustice of this measure, so contrary also to the duke's late concessions, quitted their houses and goods, and retired with their wives and children, the young and old, whole and sick, halt, lame, and blind, dragging all those that were infirm, either by sickness or age, through the rain, snow, ice, and a thousand difficulties: that in April of the year 1655, a great army arrived, who pillaged and devastated the country, which the people in many places resisted for a time with success, defeating the duke's troops. Then follows an authenticated account of some part of those extraordinary cruelties that were exercised upon this oppressed people, the particulars whereof are too shocking to relate. —That the Swiss Protestant Cantons, alarmed at these proceedings, applied to the Duke of Savoy in their favour, to which the duke replied in a complimental, but cold answer, little better than a plain denial to their request and mediation: — that upon information of this dreadful massacre, they, the Cantons, ordered a day of public humiliation, and for the making a collection for their relief, and for communicating the doleful news to their Protestant

neighbours: — that the Protector being informed of these proceedings, recommended a free and liberal contribution towards their relief and support, and also awakened all his Protestant neighbours professing the same faith and religion with himself to join him in this work. He also sent a person (Mr. Morland) expressly in quality of his envoy, to the King of France and to the Duke of Savoy, to mediate on their behalf, whose mission was, for the present, successful.

The amount of the contribution so recommended by Cromwell, amounted, as stated by Morland, to 38,097*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.*, towards which Cromwell appears to have contributed 2000*l.*; the cities of London and Westminster, 9384*l.* 6*s.* 11*d.*; and the several parishes in England and Wales different sums.

Dr. Harris, in a note, says, that Cromwell's adversaries, who stuck at nothing to blacken him, had the boldness to affirm, in the following passage in a publication entitled, "A Letter from a true and lawful Member of Parliament," "that most of the money which was collected for this purpose was returned, and applied to the levying of a body of Swiss, to be brought over to controul the army, and reduce the people to an implicit obedience to his government." This, observes the doctor, is a ridiculous tale, and abundantly confuted by Morland's accounts, in which the distribution of the charity appears to have been honestly and exactly made. In confirmation of this his (the doctor's) assertion, follows in Morland, the account of the payments made out of the above sum in the relief of the above sufferers; the first article in which is Cromwell's gift of 2000*l.*: the amount of which payments is 21,763*l.* 17*s.*; leaving a balance in the hands of the treasurers, Sir Thomas Viner and Sir Christopher Pack, of 16,333*l.* 10*s.* 3*d.* This account is entitled "An abbreviate of that account which was delivered in to the Right Honourable the Commissioners appointed by His Highness and the Council, for the management of the affairs of the poor Protestants in the Vallies of Piemont, in the month of November, 1657, by Sir Thomas Viner and Sir Christopher Pack, Knights, treasurers for

receiving and issuing forth the monies collected in England, Wales, and Ireland for their relief."

Then follows, also in Morland — "As for the moneys that yet remain in the hands of the treasurers, the good people of this nation are desired to believe, and be assured, that it hath hitherto been His Highness's exceeding great care that no part of the collected moneys might be distributed or delivered out but by the advice and through the hands of persons of known honour and approved fidelity; so likewise it shall be his constant endeavour that what yet remains, or shall hereafter be collected and laid up in the hands of the treasurers, (who are as ready now as ever to receive what shall be further collected,) shall be improved for the best advantage of those for whom it was, or shall be, solely intended. For which end and purpose, His Highness, after mature consideration, both with his commissioners at home, and his public ministers abroad, hath already caused some part thereof to be put out to interest in sure hands, (but so that it may be called in upon urgent occasion,) and for the future will take such resolutions as the necessities of those poor people, and the circumstances of their condition shall require, which (the Lord knows) is now as sad as ever in many respects, and without the same miraculous hand of Providence that hath hitherto preserved them, must in a short time inevitably perish."

In the Cromwell family are the original written accounts of this sum (part of the above collection) remitted from England. "Not only the manner of its remission, with all the circumstances belonging, but also the actual distribution amongst those poor people, with all the original acquittances," &c.

Neal says, that about 30,000*l.* were remitted to their (the Piedmontese) deputies, in that (1655) and the following year, at several payments; but that the confusions which followed upon the Protector's death, prevented the clearing the whole account, till the Convention Parliament at the Restoration, who ordered the remaining 7000*l.* to be paid.

The above passages will, it is presumed, be admitted to be a complete refutation of the forementioned charge of Cromwell's

misapplication of the produce of this contribution. But it probably had its effect at the time, with those for whom it was intended, to blacken Cromwell's memory.

Bishop Burnet relates, that a person of the name of Stoupe, a foreigner, who was much trusted by Cromwell, in foreign affairs, informed him of a great design Cromwell had intended to begin his kingship with, if he had assumed it; that he resolved to set up a council for the Protestant religion, in opposition to the congregation *de propaganda fide* at Rome: that he intended it should consist of seven counsellors and four secretaries for different provinces: these were the first,—France, Switzerland, and the Vallies; the Palatinate and the other Calvinists were the second; Germany, the North, and Turkey were the third; and the East and West Indies were the fourth. The secretaries were to have 500*l.* salary a-piece, and to keep a correspondence every where, to know the state of religion all over the world, that so all good designs might be by their means protected and assisted: that Stoupe was to have the first province; to have a fund of 10,000*l.* a year at their disposal, for ordinary emergencies, but to be farther supplied as occasions should require: that Chelsea College was to be made up for them, which was then an old decayed building, that had been at first raised to be a college for writers of controversy. The Bishop adds, that he thought it was not fit to let such a project as this be quite lost; it was certainly a noble one, but how far he would have pursued it must be left to conjecture. These, referring to some other passages besides the above, not immediately applicable to the present object, are, says the Bishop, all the memorable things that I have learnt concerning Cromwell, of whom so few have spoken with any temper; some commending, and others condemning him, and both out of measure.

Dr. Harris observes, the following wish of a very modern writer will be deemed highly honourable to the memory of Cromwell. It is, he says, put into the mouth of Bishop Burnet, by the writer of a work, entitled "Moral and Political Dialogues, just after the Revolution. "Oh!" says he, "that I might see the day when

our deliverer (William III.) shall become what a bold Usurper nobly figured to himself in the middle of this century, the soul and conductor of the Protestant cause through all Europe! and that, as Rome has hitherto been the centre of slavish impositions and antichristian politics, the court of England may henceforth be the constant refuge and asylum of fainting liberty and religion."

In Thurloe's State Papers, is a letter from Burrning, the Dutch ambassador to the States-General, dated 3–13th February, 1653, wherein he says, — "My Lords; I am informed by a very good hand, that the Lord Protector doth take a great deal of pains, and hath already spent much time about the affairs of the churches of England, to bring the same, by some toleration and connivance, into a considerable and peaceable condition, to the content of all differing parties; and that the business is already so far advanced, that a meeting is, upon certain conditions, agreed on, not under the name of a synod, but of a loving and christian-like reception, where every one may propound for a mutual toleration. It is also firmly agreed, that to that end the bishops and the anabaptists shall be admitted into it, as well as the independents and presbyterians; but yet with this proviso, that they shall not dispute one another's principia, but labour to agree in union; and it is believed that the effects thereof will be to be seen in a short time."

Dr. Harris says, — he (Cromwell) was courteous and affable, and inclined to buffoonery. In proof of his courteousness and affability, he quotes the before-given passage from Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, in which he says, that in his conversation towards him (Sir Philip) he was ever friendly: that Whitelock, even under a sense of an injury done him by him (Cromwell), (referring to the taking from him the Great Seal,) owns he was good-natured; adding the account already given from Whitelock, of him (Cromwell) and Ireton being stopped in their way from the supping with Whitelock, as a further proof of his affability and condescension. Also the forementioned passage from the same writer, of his affability and cheerful

relaxation, when advising with Lord Broghill, Whitelock, and others of his council, upon great businesses of state. Dr. Harris observes, — "These passages, simply and artlessly told, strongly indicate the cheerfulness and pleasantry of Cromwell, and show how well qualified he was to conciliate the affection and regard of those whom he thought it worth his while to court." The Doctor adds, that this condescension sometimes inclined him to practise some little arts of buffoonery. He gives the following instances: from Waller, — "That he lived mostly at Beaconsfield, where his mother dwelt in her widowhood, and often entertained Oliver Cromwell there during his usurpation, he being related to her. But notwithstanding her relation to the Usurper and Colonel Hampden, she was a royalist in her principles; and when Oliver visited her at Beaconsfield, she would frankly tell him how his pretensions would end. The Usurper used merrily to throw a napkin at her in return, and said, he would not enter into further disputes with his aunt, for so he used to call her, though not quite so nearly related." That Mr. Cowley speaks of his flinging of cushions, and playing at snowballs with his servants. Another instance given, is the forementioned account from Ludlow, of his (Cromwell's) termination of the meeting of those called the Grandees of the House and Army, to consider of a form of Government, by his throwing a cushion at Ludlow, which he returned, by throwing another at Cromwell. Another instance is, Cromwell, with his pen marking Henry Martin in the face, and Martin doing the like to him, at the time of signing the warrant for the King's execution. Also Cromwell's alleged laughing, at the time of Hugh Peters showing, in his sermon, the lawfulness of the execution. And lastly, a passage from the forementioned Dr. Bates, — "That he would often make feasts for the inferior officers, and whilst they were feeding, before they had satisfied their hunger, cause the drums to beat, and let in the private soldiers, to fall on and snatch away the half-eaten dishes. The robust and sturdy soldiers he loved to divert with violent and hazardous exercises, as, by making them sometimes throw a burning coal into one another's boots, or cushion at one

another's heads. When the officers had sufficiently laughed and tired themselves with these preludes, he would wheedle them to open their hearts freely, and by that means he drew some secrets from the unwary, which afterwards they wished might have been wrapped up in everlasting darkness; whilst he, in the mean time, pumping the opinion of all others, concealed his own."

Of Cromwell's courtesy and affability there can be no doubt. The term "buffoonery" is grossly misapplied to the instances given; there is surely nothing of buffoonery in his terminating Mrs. Waller's observations upon his public conduct; it was a serious subject, which he could not think proper for their discussion; but wishing not to offend her by gravely telling her so, he laughingly and good-naturedly put an end to it. The other instances seem to be misapprehended: Cromwell's termination of the meeting, by flinging the cushion at Ludlow, seems, as related, too ludicrous for the occasion; but having learnt, as Ludlow says, the principles and inclination of those present, he might not wish a continuance of the conversation, and might think this the easiest way of getting rid of the business; it was probably a sudden thought, and it was not worth mentioning. It does not, however, come very well from Ludlow, who, instead of gravely checking this supposed levity, pursues and encourages it, following Cromwell down stairs with another cushion, and throwing it at him in his flight: but this relation seems to be given with a view principally, of complimenting himself upon hissupposed prowess, in putting to flight the victorious and hitherto invincible Cromwell. Ludlow is not defective in egotism. The highly improbable stories of his marking Henry Marten in the face, when signing the warrant for the King's execution, and his laughing at some passages in Hugh Peters's sermon, have been already noticed. His object, in his amusements with his inferior officers and soldiers, if truly related, could be only for the keeping up the discipline of his army, by inuring them to vigilance and privation, and athletic exercises: similar various amusements and exercises would probably be found with the greatest commanders of all times, with the same views. The discovery of the secrets of inferior

officers and private soldiers could not be Cromwell's object; they could have nothing to disclose worthy of notice. Dr. Harris gives a passage from, he says, more than one writer, relating a stratagem of Cromwell, to try the courage of his troopers in the beginning of the war: that upon the first muster of his troop, having privately placed twelve resolute men in an ambuscado, (it being near some of the King's garrisons,) upon a signal, on the appointed time, the said ambush, with a trumpet sounding, galloped furiously to the body, out of which some twenty instantly fled out of fear and dismay, and were glad the forfeiture was so cheap and easy; and ashamed of their childish and disgraceful deserting of their station and colours, had not the confidence to request their continuance in his service, or deny or scruple the rendering their horses to them who should fight the Lord's battle in their stead.

Mr. Hume says, that Cromwell, though himself a barbarian, was not insensible to literary merit. He mentions the foregiven instance of his attention to Archbishop Usher, notwithstanding, he says, being a bishop, receiving a pension from him; that Marvel and Milton were in his service; that Waller, who was his relation, was caressed by him; that other eminent writers flourished in his time, as Cowley, Sir John Denham, Hobbes, Harrington, and Harvey the physician. He adds, from Whitelock, that Sir John Davenant in the year 1658, published an opera, notwithstanding the nicety of the times: also the circumstance of his giving one hundred pounds a year to the divinity professor at Oxford, and of his intention of erecting a college at Durham for the benefit of the northern counties. In Thurloe is a letter from Dr. Ralph Cudworth to Thurloe, dated 20th January, 1658, informing him of his intention to publish some discourses in Latin, in defence of Christianity against Judaism, which task, he says, he the rather undertook, not only because it was suitable to his Hebrew profession, but also because he conceived it to be a work proper and suitable to the then present age: that it was his purpose to dedicate these fruits of his studies to His Highness (Richard), to whose noble father he was much obliged, if he might

have leave, or presume so to do, &c. Mr. Neal observes of Dr. Cudworth, that he was universally known in the learned world for his great learning, which he discovered in his intellectual system; he should only observe, he conformed at the Restoration, and a little before, resigned his mastership of Clare-hall into the hands of Dr. Dillingham, who continued it to his death. To which instances may be added from different writers quoted by Dr. Harris, Dr. John Pell, eminent for his skill in the mathematics, in the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Italian, French, Spanish, and High and Low Dutch Languages, and who was appointed envoy from the Protector to the protestant cantons in Switzerland. Mr. (afterwards Sir) William Petty was ordered by Cromwell to take a survey, and make maps of the kingdom of Ireland, for which he had a salary of *365l. per annum*, besides many other advantages, which enabled him to raise a great estate. His (Cromwell's) presentment of the Greek manuscripts to the Bodleian Library; also the permission of the importation duty-free, of the paper intended for Dr. Walton's Polyglot Bible; also his preventing the sale of Archbishop Usher's valuable library to foreigners, by causing it to be purchased and sent to Dublin; and many other instances might be added of his patronage of learning and learned men. Mr. Neal relates, that in order to secure the education of youth, he took care to regulate both Universities, and the public schools, by appointing new visitors; the former ceasing with the dissolution of the Long Parliament. He (Neal) then gives their names, and adds, that by their proper and diligent discharge of their duty, learning revived, and the muses returned to their seats, as appeared by the number of learned men who adorned the reign of King Charles the Second, and owed their education to those times. Notwithstanding all these instances to the contrary, Mr. Hume ventures to assert, that gaiety and wit were in those times proscribed; human learning despised; freedom of enquiry detested; cant and hypocrisy alone encouraged.

Nothing appears in Cromwell's character to justify this epithet of barbarian. He, Mr. Hume, referring to the offer to him of the crown, describes the members of the committee appointed to

confer with him, and to endeavour to overcome his supposed scruples, as discovering judgment, knowledge, elocution; Lord Broghill, in particular, exerting himself on this occasion: then contrasting them with Cromwell's replies. After, continues Mr. Hume, so singular a manner, does nature distribute her talents, that, in a nation abounding with sense and learning, a man, who by superior personal merit alone, had made his way to supreme dignity, and had even obliged the parliament to make him a tender of the crown, was yet incapable of expressing himself on this occasion, but in a manner which a peasant of the most ordinary capacity, would justly be ashamed of. He (Mr. Hume) then says, "we shall produce any passage at random, for his discourse is all of a piece:" he then gives a passage from the account of the conference at Whitehall upon this occasion. The great defect in Oliver's speeches, continues Mr. Hume, consists, not in his want of elocution, but in his want of ideas; that the sagacity of his actions, and the absurdity of his discourse, form the most prodigious contrast that ever was known. He however, in contradiction of his own description of Cromwell's want of ideas, but not of elocution, describes him, a few pages afterwards, as not defective in any talent except that of elocution. These passages are irreconcileable; both cannot be true.

Dr. Harris describes his speeches as generally long-winded, obscure, flat, and ambiguous, referring to his speeches at the dissolution of his first parliament and at the above-mentioned conference at Whitehall: that the reason of these defects seems to be, sometimes the enthusiasm of his temper, which produced a kind of expression favouring of cant; other times his being necessitated to find excuses for refusing what he was desirous of; and most times a willingness to hide his real intentions. To which, continues the Doctor, probably may be added, his having been little used to speak in public assemblies on public occasions, before he seized the supreme power. But, adds he, design, I am persuaded, had the greatest share in producing some of his oddest compositions. Nevertheless, says the Doctor, he had seen and should produce copies of original letters written by him, which

show that he well knew how to express himself: also referring to his foregiven letter to the governor of Edinburgh Castle, and his speech to the Swedish ambassador; a better turned answer than which, he says, is not to be found in England, in Cromwell's age; it shows what he could do, though he seldom equalled it.

It is difficult to reconcile these vague conjectures with the contradictory facts produced by the same writers. It is not necessary, however, to the lustre of his character, to show him to have been the greatest orator of his time. Nevertheless, to prove that he was not quite so deficient in elocution as these writers represent him; to the above letters to the governor of Edinburgh castle, and speech to the Swedish ambassador, may be added his forementioned speech upon the Self-denying Ordinance; his speech, wherein he assigns his reasons for dissolving the Long Parliament, delivered 4th July, 1653; — of the 4th September, 1654, upon the meeting of his first parliament, which is given at length in Whitelock, and which he calls a large and subtle one; and of the 12th same September, of advice and caution to the same parliament; upon his dissolution of that parliament on the 22d January following, — it is very long, but does not appear ambiguous, and is much to the purpose.

The following letter is given as a specimen of Cromwell's nice sense of honour, and of his gentlemanly attention to the feelings of others; and of his abhorrence of falsehood. It is copied from a copy taken by one of the Cromwell family from the original letter then at Farley-castle, in Somersetshire, late the seat of the Hungerfords. The address is, " For my honored friend Anthonie Hungerford, Esq. — Sir; I understand by my cozen Dunce, of soe much trouble of yours, and soe much unhandsomnesse (at least seeminge so) on my part, as doth not a little afflict me, untill I give you this account of my innocencye. She was pleased to tell my wife of your often resorts to my house to visit me, and of your disappointments. Truly S^r^, had I but once known of your beinge there, and have concealed myselfe, it had been an action soe belowe a gentleman, or an honest man, soe full of ingratitude for y^e^ civillityes I have receaved from you, as w^d^ have rendred mee

unworthy of human societye. Believe me, S^r^, I am much ashamed that y^e^ least color of y^e^ appearance of such a thinge should have happened, and could not take satisfaction but by y^s^ plaine dealinge for my justification, w^ch^ I ingeniously offer you, and although Providence did not dispose other matters to our mutual satisfaction, yet your noblenesse in that overture obligeth me (and I hope shall whilst I live) to studye upon all occasions to approve myselfe your families and your most affectionate and humble servant, " O. CROMWELL."

" My wife and I desire our service bee presented
to y^r^ lady and family.

" Cockpitt, Dec. 10th. 1652."

Another instance of his high sense of honour is to be found in Whitelock, who says that a proposal was made to the Protector to betray Dunkirk to him for money, by it's then Spanish governor, which he refused, as a dishonourable action.

His generosity and disinterested public spirit appears in the Journals of the House of Commons of the 24th March, 1647; — Sir John Evelyn reported from the committee of Lords and Commons for the affairs of Ireland, sitting at Derby-House, the offer of Lieutenant-general Cromwell, for the service of Ireland. Which was read, and was in these words following: — " The two Houses of Parliament, having lately bestowed 1680*l.* *per annum* upon me and my heirs out of the Earl of Worcester's estate; the necessity of affairs requiring assistance, I do hereby offer 1000*l.* annually, to be paid out of the rents of the said lands; that is to say. 500*l.* out of the next Michaelmas rent, and so on by the half years, for the space of five years, if the war in Ireland shall so long continue, or that I live so long; to be employed for the service of Ireland, as the Parliament shall please to appoint, provided the said yearly rent of 1680*l.* become not to be suspended by war or other accident. And whereas there is an arrear of pay due unto me whilst I was Lieutenant-general unto the Earl of Manchester, of about 1500*l.*, audited and stated; as also a great arrear due for about two years being Governor of the Isle of

Ely; I do hereby discharge the State from all or any claim to be made by me thereunto, 21° Martii, 1647." Subscribed with his name. — Ordered; That this House doth accept of the free offer of Lieutenant-general Cromwell, testifying his zeal and good affections to the service of Ireland, and the relief of the distressed Protestants there: and that Mr. Speaker do return the hearty thanks of this House to the said Lieutenant-general Cromwell for his so free and liberal offer, to the good example and encouragement of others, liberally to contribute to so good a work. Which were given accordingly.

It is not remembered that this noble act of Cromwell is noticed in any of the histories of those times, though it must have been well known. His enemies were interested in the suppression of it.

Mr. Neal says, from the writer of his Life (Carrington) that it had been computed that he distributed forty thousand pounds a year out of his privy purse, to charitable uses.

He had not (as has been said) been unaccustomed to speak in public assemblies: he is found frequently speaking in parliament; and Mr. Hume acknowledges that the speeches of the parliamentary orators, during the period of the civil wars, were of a strain much superior to what any former age had produced in England; and the force and compass of our tongue were then, he says, first put to trial. And yet Sir Philip Warwick acknowledges, as before-mentioned, the attention with which he was heard by the House, upon what he chooses to consider a trifling subject. These instances must surely be admitted to prove, that Cromwell does not deserve the above severe strictures upon his supposed defective elocution.

Civil wars, observes Mr. Hume, especially when founded on principles of liberty, are not commonly unfavourable to the arts of eloquence and composition; or rather, by presenting nobler and more interesting objects, they amply compensate that tranquillity of which they bereave the muses.

Whatever ambiguity may be found in Cromwell's speeches at the conference, and upon his refusal of the crown, is no proof of his general inability of expression upon other public occasions;

for, as Mr. Hume observes, while the Protector argued so much in contradiction, both to his judgment and inclination, it is no wonder that his elocution, always (he is pleased to say) confused and unintelligible, should be involved in tenfold darkness, and discover no glimmering of common sense or reasoning. The passage in this speech, given by Mr. Hume, is certainly not so well expressed as others of his speeches, and has much the appearance of confusion of mind; but it is unfair to consider this as a specimen of Cromwell's general mode of expressing himself. His mind was disturbed: he was, as the same writer observes, convinced of the solidity of the committee's reasons for urging his acceptance of the crown, and his own inclination, as well as judgment, was entirely on the side of the committee. But he was deterred, as is said by Whitelock, by some of his own family, and commonwealth's men, and part of the army; they could not bear the thought of any thing like monarchical government.

Mr. Hume, after his account of the Restoration, thinks it proper to stop a moment and take a general survey of the age, so far as regarded manners, finances, arms, commerce, arts, and sciences. — Of manners, he observes, that the gloomy enthusiasm that prevailed amongst the parliamentary party, is surely the most curious spectacle presented by any history, and the most instructive and entertaining to a philosophical mind: that all recreations were in a manner suspended by the rigid severity of the presbyterians and independents: that horse-races and cock-matches were prohibited as the greatest enormities: that even bear-baiting was esteemed heathenish and unchristian; the sport of it, not the inhumanity, giving offence: that the manners of the two factions were as opposite as those of the most distant nations. "Your friends, the cavaliers," said a parliamentarian to a royalist, "are very dissolute and debauched." "True," replied the royalist; "they have the infirmities of men; but your friends, the roundheads, have the vices of devils,—tyranny, rebellion, and spiritual pride." It was an article, continues Hume, positively insisted on in the preliminaries to the treaty of Uxbridge, that all playhouses should for ever be abolished.

Religious profession, without regard to the sincerity or insincerity of its professors, seems to be, with Mr. Hume, a great crime: he appears to treat very lightly the licentiousness of the reign of Charles the Second, deeming excesses to be less pernicious to men of birth and fortune, than to the vulgar; the contrary must surely be true: the licentiousness of the great is not only equally pernicious to themselves with the inferior orders, destroying their healths, and fortunes, and characters; but the evil consequences of their bad example spread far and wide amongst their inferiors, who are too prone to imitate them, even in vice and folly; whence that wickedness and depravity so obvious in the lower orders of every people, where this bad example prevails.

However lightly Mr. Hume may hold cock-matches and bear-baiting, they are, certainly, as is also bull-baiting and prize-fighting, or pugilism, as it is now gently termed, inhuman and unmanly, degrading amusements; and, notwithstanding Mr. Hume's contemptuous manner of expressing himself, of the rigid severity of their abolition, they are, surely, both heathenish and unchristian, and ought not to be admitted amongst a people calling themselves Christians.

The abolition of theatrical amusements was certainly an article in the treaty of Uxbridge; but the ordinance of the 2d September, 1642, given in Rushworth, only suspends them during the continuance of the sad causes and set times of humiliation therein enumerated, which are described to be the distressed estate of Ireland steeped in her own blood, and the distracted estate of England threatened with a cloud of blood by a civil war, which, says the ordinance, call for all possible means to appease and avert the wrath of God appearing in these judgments; amongst which, fasting and prayer having been often tried to be very effectual, had been lately, and were still enjoined: also, that public sports did not well agree with public calamities, nor public stage-plays with seasons of humiliation; they being exercises of sad and pious solemnity, and the other being spectacles of pleasure, too commonly expressing lascivious mirth and levity. In-

stead of these are recommended the profitable and seasonable considerations of repentance, reconciliation, and peace with God, which probably might produce outward peace and prosperity, and bring again times of joy and gladness to these nations.

The ordinance prohibiting cock-matches is dated 31st March, 1654: it states that public meetings and assemblies of people together in divers parts of the nation, under pretence of matches for cock-fighting, were found to tend many times to the disturbance of the public peace, and were commonly accompanied with gaming, drinking, swearing, quarrelling, and other dissolute practices, to the dishonour of God; and did often produce the ruin of persons and their families: this ordinance prohibits such meetings.

The most fastidious can surely see no gloomy enthusiasm, or fanaticism, or rigid severity in this suspension of theatrical amusements during these awful times; which, it should be observed, were not wholly done away, but only suspended to the return of better times of joy and gladness. Cock-matches are, on the contrary, wholly prohibited; and so they should be, for every reason, as one of the most vile and cruel amusements.

So far as concerns Cromwell, the following instances will be sufficient to prove that he, or those who served him, had no dislike to innocent amusements and recreations. In Thurloe is a letter, dated Lincoln, 12th March, 1655, from Major-general Whalley to Cromwell, in which he says, that he met with the Earl of Exeter at Stamford, in his way to Lincoln, who, he supposes, came on purpose to know of him, whether he (Whalley) would permit the Lady Grantham's cup to be run for at Lincoln. "If I would give way to it, he (the Earl of Exeter) should put in a horse. I assured him, it was not Your Highness's intention, in the suppressing of horse-races, to abridge gentlemen of that sport, but to prevent the great confluences of irreconcileable enemies: that he having therefore timeously advertised me of it, I should presume to give way to it; and what Your Highness, at my last waiting upon you, spoke to me, gave me encouragement thereunto. If it stand not with Your High-

ness's pleasure, I humbly beg it may be made known to me by Mr. Secretary.

Dr. Bates says, (from whom Dr. Harris quotes the passage,) that the nobles and great men, (for with some few of them he says he had an intimacy,) he delighted with raillery and jesting, contended with them in mimical gestures, and entertained them with many collations, music, hunting, and hawking: that when he was in the country, he used once or oftener a year to give the neighbours a buck, to be run down in his park, and money to buy wine to make merry with.

Mr. Noble says, from Heath's Flagellum, that the Protector (Oliver) was a great lover of music, and entertained those that were most skilled in it, as well as the proficients in every other science.

Whitelock, in his fore-mentioned conversation with the Queen of Sweden, in answer to her question, whether dancing was prohibited in England, replies, that there were some who did not approve it; but that it was not prohibited by any law, and many there were that used it: but he condemns the use of it on Sundays, as in Sweden: he speaks of the Queen's fondness for balls, dancing, and music; which, adds Whitelock, being modestly and moderately used, he held indifferent things, and not unlawful in themselves; and therefore accepts the Queen's invitation to be present at a ball given by her: that about twelve o'clock at night the meeting broke up.

He (Whitelock) describes himself present, by invitation from the Queen, at a masque, at which the Queen danced in different characters, and at which he tells the Queen that any of his countrymen might have been present without offence, the whole design being to show the vanity and folly of all professions and worldly things.

That at a wedding at court of one of the Queen's nobles, the Queen, with whom Whitelock appears to have been highly in favour, came to him to take him out to dance with her, who excused himself. — "Madam," says he, "I am fearful that I shall dishonour Your Majesty, as well as shame myself, by dancing

with you." Queen — " I will try whether you can dance." Whitelock — " I assure Your Majesty, I cannot in any measure be worthy to have you by the hand." Queen — " I esteem you worthy, and therefore make choice of you to dance with me." Whitelock — " I shall not so much undervalue Your Majesty's judgment, as not to obey you herein, and I wish I could remember as much of this, as when I was a young man." — That after they had done dancing, and Whitelock had waited upon the Queen to her chair of state, she said to him " *Par Dieu*, these Hollanders are lying fellows." Whitelock — " I wonder how the Hollanders should come into your mind upon such an occasion as this is, who are not usually thought upon in such solemnities, nor much acquainted with them." Queen — " I will tell you all: the Hollanders reported to me, a great while since, that all the noblesse of England are of the King's party; and none but mechanics of the parliament party, and not a gentleman among them; now, I thought to try you and to shame you, if you could not dance; but, I see, that you are a gentleman, and have been bred a gentleman, and that makes me say the Hollanders are lying fellows, to report that there were no gentlemen of the parliament party, when I see, by you chiefly, and many of your company, that you are gentlemen." Whitelock — " Truly, in this they told a great untruth to Your Majesty, as I believe they have done in several other particulars: I do confess that the greatest part of our nobility and gentry were of the King's party, but many of them likewise were of the parliament party; and I, who am sent to wait upon Your Majesty, can, without vanity, derive to myself an ancient pedigree of a gentleman: they would not have given the honour to any but a gentleman to kiss Your Majesty's hand; and you are pleased to do your servant right and his company, by acknowledging that our superiors have commanded gentlemen to wait on you." Queen — " I assure you, that I esteem it the greatest honour done to me, and you are the more welcome to me because you are a gentleman; and, had I not known and found you to be so, your business would not have been so well dispatched as it is: I see you have all the qualities of a gen-

tleman, and I believe that you were excellent in your music and dancing in your younger days." Whitelock — "I was bred up in the qualities of a gentleman, and in my youth was accounted not inferior to others in the practice of them; but, it is so long since I used this of dancing, especially after we learned to march, that had it not been to obey Your Majesty, I should hardly have been drawn to discover my deficiencies." Queen — "You have discovered nothing but what tends to your honour and to my contentment; and I take it as a favour that you were willing to lay aside your gravity, and play the courtier, upon my request, which I see you can do so well when you please."

The Queen, in an interview with Whitelock, said, — "Your General is one of the gallantest men in the world; never were such things done as by the English in your war: your General hath done the greatest things of any man in the world, the Prince of Condé is next to him, but short of him: I have as great a respect and honour for your General as for any man alive, and I pray let him know as much from me."

The Chancellor (Oxenstierne) inquired much of Cromwell's age, health, children, family, temper, &c.; and said that Cromwell was one of the gallantest men that this age had brought forth, and that the things which he had done argued as much courage and wisdom in him, as any actions that the world had seen for many years.

Whitelock continues—In an interview with Cromwell upon the subject and proceedings of his embassy, Cromwell asks him many very pertinent questions: as how he and his company passed over their very long wintry nights: Whitelock says in answer, — "I kept my people together, and in action and recreation, by having music in my house, and encouraging that and the exercise of dancing, which held them by the ears and eyes, and gave them diversion without any offence; and I caused the gentlemen to have disputations in Latin, and declamations upon words, which I gave them." Protector — "These were very good diversions, and made your home a little academy." Whitelock — "I thought these recreations better than gaming for money, or going

forth to places of debauchery." Protector—" It was much better, and I am glad you had so good an issue of your treaty."

Whitelock, in conclusion, says, —" After my return into England, I often waited on the Protector, who seemed to take much contentment in discoursing me about my negociation, and the particular passages between the Queen and me, and between the Chancellor Oxenstierne and the other great lords and senators, and officers of the army, and of the court and me, relating to the Protector's person and to the treaty. He was very inquisitive also to learn of me the polity and government of the kingdom, as well in spiritual, as in civil and military matters, and of their laws and supreme councils and judicatories, and of the administration of public justice in all causes: wherein I endeavoured to give him the best satisfaction I could. The Protector seemed so well pleased with the account I gave him in this business, that he desired me to give him some notes in writing of my observations touching that matter, and of what I had related to him in my discourse on this subject: I laboured much to excuse myself from this task; but he was earnest with me to have it done, and was not to be denied; whereupon I collected the following notes," &c.

Cromwell's moral character, as has been before observed, was never seriously impeached, although surrounded by inveterate and vigilant enemies, eager to take advantage of every false step; and his strictly religious deportment is allowed, even by those who much disliked him on other accounts.

Mr. Hume says, — If we survey the moral character of Cromwell with that indulgence which is due to the blindness and infirmities of the human species, we shall not be inclined to load his memory with such violent reproaches as those which his enemies usually throw upon it: that the private deportment of Cromwell, as a son, a husband, a father, a friend, is exposed to no considerable censure, if it does not rather merit praise: and that, upon the whole, his character does not appear more extraordinary and unusual by the mixture of so much absurdity with so much penetration, than by his tempering such violent ambition and such enraged fanaticism with so much regard to justice and humanity.

It is difficult to common understandings to conceive the meaning of the latter part of this passage; the terms, "absurdity and enraged fanaticism," do not seem intelligible, as applicable to Cromwell; but, it is curious to observe, the caution and reluctance of his praise of his private deportment in his several different characters: he knew that he was in these respects irreproachable, and he should in candour have said so.

Dr. Bates, an apostate enemy, as has been before observed, describes his court as regulated according to severe discipline; no drunkard, nor whoremaster, nor any guilty of bribery, to be found there.

Mr. Neal quotes Dr. Welwood, an adversary, as admitting that he was not addicted to swearing, gluttony, drunkenness, gaming, avarice, or the love of women, but kept close to his marriage-bed: that he promoted virtuous men, and was inflexible in his punishment of ill actions. He likewise quotes Mr. Eachard, also an adversary, as saying, that his court was regulated according to a most strict discipline, where every vice was banished, or severely punished: that he maintained a constant appearance of piety, and was regular in his public and private devotions: that he retired constantly every day to read the Scriptures, and prayer; and that some who watched him narrowly have reported, that after he had read and expounded a chapter, he prostrated himself with his face on the ground, and with tears poured out his soul to God for a quarter of an hour: that he was a strict observer of the Sabbath, and an encourager of goodness and austerity of life. Mr. Neal adds, that Mr. Baxter, also unfriendly to him, admits that he kept as much honesty and godliness as his cause and interest would allow; that he had a zeal for religion, meant honestly in the main, and was pious in the main course of his life, till prosperity corrupted him. This is as much as could be expected from a sour party man. He certainly praises, but most unwillingly: had he had the good fortune to please Mr. Baxter, we should have seen a juster character; but, from an enemy, it is quite sufficiently favourable to Cromwell.

In farther proof of Cromwell's regularity in his private as well as public devotions, the following anecdote is given in the Gen-

tleman's Magazine. The letter communicating it is dated Knaresborough, March 6, but the year is omitted to be mentioned, the article having been cut out from the Magazine. This letter states that the late Sir John Goodricke, who died in the year 1789, used to relate an anecdote of Oliver Cromwell, told him when a boy, by a very old woman who had formerly attended his mother, Lady Goodricke in the capacity of midwife, and who spent most of her latter days at Ribstone-hall: that Sir John used to give it thus in her own words: — "When Cromwell came to lodge at our house in Knaresborough, I was then but a young girl. Having heard much talk about the man, I looked at him with wonder: being ordered to take a pan of coals and air his bed, I could not, during the operation forbear peeping over my shoulder several times to observe this extraordinary person, who was seated at the far side of the room untying his garters. Having aired the bed, I went out, and shutting the door after me, stopped and peeped through the key-hole, when I saw him rise from his seat, advance to the bed and fall on his knees, in which attitude I left him for some time; when returning again, I found him still at prayer; and this was his custom every night, so long as he stayed at our house; from which I concluded he must be a good man; and this opinion I always maintained afterwards, though I heard him very much blamed and exceedingly abused." The writer observes, "Surely no one will say, this was a parade of piety, or a pharisaical intention to be seen of men;" how far ambition might alter those sentiments afterwards, is left to the historian of those turbulent times: that the person's name who related this to Sir John Goodricke, was Ellenor Ellis, whose father owned the house before-mentioned: that she was born, as appears by the parish register, June 30. 1632, and was therefore twelve years old, at the siege of Knaresborough Castle: that she afterwards married a Mr. Fishwick, had several children, and died in the year 1714, aged eighty-two: that the house, which stood near the place where the Crown Inn now stands, in the High Street of Knaresborough, was taken down and rebuilt in the year 1764; but that care was taken to preserve the floor of the room where Cromwell lay. (Signed) "E. H."

In a letter in Thurloe, from the Countess of Ranelagh to the Lord Broghill, her brother, dated 17th September, 1658, she thus expresses herself upon Cromwell's death: — "My dear, dear brother; I must owne not to have received the news of His Highness's death unmovedly; though, when I consider, I find it's no more than a repetition of that lesson that I have often binn taught, of the vanity of man in his best and highest estate. And sure he, that shall think, that that very person, who a few days before shooke all Europe by his fame and forces, should not be able to keepe an ague from shakeing him, nor to keepe himselfe from being shaken into his grave by a few fitts thereoff, even in the midest of victorys and successes, that had raised both great feares and great expectations of him in both his enemys and allyes, can't but see, how wise a council that is, which bid us cease from man whose breath is in his nostrils; for wherein is he to be accompted of. And how mortifying a consideration may it justly be to all the greatnes in this world, to think that he, who kept such a bustle in the world, should not now be able to keep himself from crumbling into dust, nor after he had commanded so many vast armys and fleetes, have power to lift a finger to remove those wormes, that his designeing braines corrupt into. Certainly he may justly be esteemed improvident, that after such a warneing, shal make noe better provision for himselfe, than the greatest stock of such vanishing greatnes comes too, of which we have had express manifestations, both of his coming into and going out of his government. And if the common charity allowed to dead men be exersised towards him, in burying his faults in the grave with himselfe, and keepeing alive the memory of his vertues and great aymes and actions, he will be allowed to have his place amongst the worthyest of men; and that's but a poore place neither; for though fame be not too ayreie for opinnion to live in, it's too little substantial for an immortal soule in the exercise of it's rational faculties to find satisfaction in. I doubt his loss will be a growing affliction upon these nations, and that we shall learne to value him more by missing him, than we did when we enjoyed him; a perverseness of our nature, that teaches us in every condition wherein we are, therewith to be discontent,

by undervaluing what we have, and overvaluing what we have lost. I confes his performances reached not the makeing good of his professions; but I doubt his performances may goe beyond the professions of those, who may come after him. Al this, I say, not as grumbleing at that wise and good hand, that has taken him away, but as laying before you, why I think we should not receive soe smart a blow from that hand, without haveing such a sence thereoff, as may really humble us under it, and cause us soe to sett upon mending our ways by this judgement, that we may prevent the worse that are yet to come, if this produce not that effect upon particular persons, and these nations in general. And now at the foote of this great accompt of loss upon publick score, I must come in with the penny-halfe-penny of my owne particular, who can thorough the goodnes of God, say truely, I did even, when I sought his assistance, consider what has now happened, and many other accidents that might have happened, as very possible to intervene betweene my seeking and obtaineing of it, &c." This passage refers to an application she (Lady Ranelagh) appears, in a subsequent part of her letter, to have made to Cromwell for his assistance in respect to some property in Ireland, who appears to have written a letter in her favour, which she considers as rendered useless by his death.

Mr. Neal, observing upon his (Cromwell's) government, gives a passage from the forementioned Mr. Eachard: "That the Protector having waded through all these difficulties to the supreme government of these nations, appeared on a sudden like a comet or blazing star, raised up by Providence to exalt this nation to a distinguished pitch of glory, and to strike terror into the rest of Europe: that his management, for the little time he survived, was the admiration of all mankind; for though he would never suffer his title to the supreme government to be disputed, yet his greatest enemies have confessed, that in all other cases distributive justice was restored to its ancient splendour: that the judges did their duty according to equity, without covetousness or bribery; the laws had their full and free course without impediment or delay; men's manners were wonderfully reformed, and the Protector's court was under an exact discipline: that trade

flourished, and the arts of peace were cultivated throughout the whole nation, the public money was managed with frugality, and to the best advantage; the army and navy were well paid, and served accordingly: that as the Protector proceeded with great steadiness and resolution against the enemies of his government, he was no less generous and bountiful to those of all parties who submitted to it; for as he would not declare himself of any particular sect, he gave out that it was his only wish that all would gather into one sheep-fold, under one Shepherd, Jesus Christ, and love one another: that he respected the clergy in their places, but confined them to their spiritual function. Nor was he jealous of any that did not meddle in politics, and endeavour to raise disturbances in the state: that even the prejudice he had against the episcopal party (says Bishop Kennet) was more for their being royalists than being of the church of England; but that when one party of the clergy began to lift up their heads above their brethren, or to act out of their sphere, he always found means to take them down: that he had a watchful eye over the royalists and republicans, who were always plotting against his person and government; but that his erecting a House of Lords or Upper House, so quickly after his instalment, roused the malcontents, and had like to have subverted his government in the infancy of it.

Mr. Neal, in continuation, observes, that the fore-named Dr. Welwood compares the Protector to an unusual meteor, which, with its surprising influences, overawed not only three kingdoms, but the most powerful princes and states about us. A great man he was (says he, Dr. Welwood), and posterity might have paid a just homage to his memory, if he had not imbrued his hands in the blood of his prince, and trampled upon the liberties of his country.

That, upon the whole, adds Neal, it is not to be wondered at, that the character of this great man has been transmitted down to posterity with some disadvantage, by the several factions of royalists, presbyterians, and republicans: because each were disappointed and enraged, to see the supreme power wrested from them; but that his management was a convincing proof of his great abilities: that he was at the helm in the most stormy and

tempestuous season that England ever saw; but by his consummate wisdom and valour, he disconcerted the measures and designs of his enemies, and preserved both himself and the commonwealth from shipwreck: and that after his death, his great achievements were celebrated in verse, by the greatest wits of the age, as Dr. Sprat, afterwards Bishop of Rochester, Waller, Dryden, and others, who, in their panegyrics, outdid every thing which till that time had been seen in the English language.

Mr. Hume observes, that amidst the passions and prejudices of that period, Cromwell should prefer the parliamentary to the royal cause, will not appear extraordinary; since, even at present, some men of sense and knowledge are disposed to think that the question, with regard to the justice of the quarrel, may be regarded as doubtful and uncertain: that the murder of the King, the most atrocious of all his actions, was to him, covered under a mighty cloud of republican and fanatical illusions; and it is not impossible but he might believe it, as many others did, the most meritorious action that he could perform: that his subsequent usurpation was the effect of necessity, as well as of ambition, nor was it easy to see how the various factions could, at that time, have been restrained, without a mixture of military and arbitrary authority.

The same writer also observes, — that it must be acknowledged that the Protector, in his civil and domestic administration, displayed as great regard both to justice and clemency, as his usurped authority, derived from no law, and founded only on the sword, could possibly permit: that all the chief offices in the courts of judicature were filled with men of integrity: that amidst the virulence of faction, the decrees of the judges were upright and impartial; and that to every man but himself, and to himself, except where necessity required the contrary, the law was the great rule of his conduct and behaviour: and that though often urged by his officers, as was pretended, to attempt a general massacre of the royalists, he always with horror rejected such sanguinary counsels.

Bishop Burnet, referring to the gentleness of Cromwell in the

instances he had given, says, — this gentleness had, in a great measure, quieted people's minds with relation to him; and his maintaining the honour of the nation in all foreign countries, gratified the vanity which is very natural to Englishmen; of which he was so careful, that though he was not a crowned head, yet his ambassadors had all the respects paid them which our Kings' ambassadors ever had. He said, the dignity of the crown was upon the account of the nation, of which the King was only the representative head; so the nation being still the same, he would have the same regards paid to his ministers. He adds, that all Italy trembled at the name of Cromwell, and seemed under a panic fear as long as he lived: that his fleet scoured the Mediterranean, and the Turks durst not offend him, but delivered up Hide, who kept up the character of an ambassador from the King there, and was brought over and executed for it: that the putting the brother of the King of Portugal's ambassador to death for murder, was the carrying justice very far; since, though in the strictness of the law of nations, it is only the ambassador's own person that is exempted from any authority but his master's that sends him, yet that the practice had gone in favour of all that the ambassador owned to belong to him. Cromwell, continues the Bishop, showed his good understanding in nothing more than in seeking out capable and worthy men for all employments, but most particularly for the courts of law, which gave a general satisfaction.

Thurloe, in one of his dispatches to Whitelock, writes,—" His Highness is much resolved upon a good and solid reformation of the law, and proceedings in the courts of equity and law; the matter of law he hath committed unto Mr. Justice Hale and Mr. John Vaughan; the reformation of the chancery to Lord Widdrington, Mr. Attorney General, and Mr. Chute, being resolved to give the learned of the robe the honour of reforming their own profession; and hopes that God will give them hearts to do it; and that no time may be lost, the next term is adjourned."

The same writer (the Bishop) relates, that the States of Holland were in such dread of him, that they took care to give him no sort

of umbrage, and that, when at any time the King or his brothers came to see their sister, the Princess Royal; within a day or two after, they used to send a deputation to let them know that Cromwell had required of the States that they should give them no harbour: that King Charles, when he was seeking for colour for the war with the Dutch, in the year 1672, urged it for one, that they suffered some of his rebels to live in their provinces; Borel, then their ambassador, answered, that it was a maxim of long standing among them, not to enquire upon what account strangers came to live in their country, but to receive them all, unless they had been concerned in conspiracies against the persons of princes: that the King told him upon that, how they had used both himself and his brother: Borel in great simplicity answered, *Ha! Sire, c'estoit une autre chose; Cromwell estoit un grand homme, & il se faisoit craindre & par terre & par mer.* This says the Bishop, was very rough. That the King's answer was, *Je me feray craindre aussi a mon tour;* but that he was scarce as good as his word.

The following are the only serious charges against Cromwell:—

The share he is alleged to have had in bringing about the Self-denying Ordinance; the removal of the King from Holmby-house; his concurrence in the measure of bringing the King to trial; his determination of the Long Parliament, and, in consequence, the republican form of government; and his assumption of the supreme power.

All these charges have been before considered; but it may be proper, in conclusion, to add a few words upon each of them.

The grand reliance of Cromwell's enemies was, upon their denial of all faith in his veracity. This, Lord Clarendon, and all other the adverse writers, endeavour to establish as a principle; no doubt of great use to them, in their designed misrepresentations of his actions, and the motives of those actions; they accordingly use this instrument very freely. This impeachment of his veracity, necessarily, as intended, increases the difficulty of the part of his defence depending upon his own declarations; nevertheless,

it should be remembered that these declarations are only opposed by mere assertion on the other side.

Upon the subject of the Self-denying Ordinance, and the removal of the King from Holmby, so far as concerns Cromwell, nothing need be added to the account already given of those transactions, and to the observations thereon. To those who disbelieve the sincerity and veracity of Cromwell, and of those who acted with him, or affect so to do, nothing that can be offered will prevail upon them to acknowledge their conviction that Cromwell had not a thought of the suspension of the act in his favour; and that he came to Windsor for the express purpose (as Rushworth relates) of taking leave of the General Fairfax. It being impossible to dive into the secret motives and minds of men, the sincerity of Cromwell, and of those acting with him in this transaction, must necessarily be incapable of absolute proof: it must rest upon the several circumstances before stated, which ought to leave no doubt of Cromwell's innocence in this matter. It is, however, certain that the consequences, the speedy termination of the war, prove the necessity and wisdom of the Ordinance and of its suspension in favour of Cromwell, to whose valour and military abilities must principally, if not wholly, be attributed all the future successes of the parliament army. And in like manner Cromwell's solemnly repeated declarations of his ignorance of the removal by Cornet Joyce, of the King from Holmby, must rest upon the belief of the sincerity of those declarations, and the several before-stated circumstances attending that transaction; which, to unprejudiced minds, will surely be accepted as sufficient evidence that Cromwell was not privy to it, and that it was solely the act of the agitators, for the reasons assigned by them in their foregiven narration.

Cromwell's concurrence in the measure of bringing the King to trial is not, nor can be, denied. But it is perfectly clear, from the forestated facts, that he once wished to save and restore him; and had he dealt ingenuously and sincerely with Cromwell and the other principal officers, he would have been restored (or at least the attempt would have been made) upon more favourable

terms than offered by the parliament, particularly as to religion. Ludlow expressly charges upon Cromwell as a crime, this treating with the King, calling it a driving on a bargain for the people's liberty by Oliver alone.

There remains no reasonable ground of doubt that Cromwell assisted the King in his escape from Hampton-court, and that he arrived upon the coast of Hampshire in a state of perfect liberty to quit the kingdom; and that his going to the Isle of Wight was wholly his own act: that the parliament commissioners had all the time they could wish for the negociation, with the King, of the treaty of Newport; and that it was defeated solely by their own obstinacy in adhering to their unreasonable terms of the King's religious conformity and other conditions, with which they might have well dispensed, and have concluded the treaty long before Cromwell's arrival, had that been likely to be an obstacle to such conclusion; but it was much more probable that Cromwell was sent out of the way to Scotland, that he might not impede the design of the republicans of bringing the King to trial.

The exclusion of the members, previous and preparatory to bringing the King to trial, has been also attributed to Cromwell: he declares he did not know of the design; and it was certainly determined on, and executed before his arrival in London: and Ludlow takes to himself the whole merit, as he deems it, of that transaction; nevertheless, severely condemning Cromwell for his subsequent dismissal of the rest of them, in his dissolution of the Long Parliament.

Nothing more need be said upon the subject than what has been already said, to prove that Cromwell very reluctantly came into the determination, of bringing the King to trial. His arguments with the Scots' commissioners, given by Bishop Burnet from the relation of Colonel Drummond, afterwards Lord Strathallan, so far as it may be relied on, certainly show that he (Cromwell) had then apparently become convinced of the necessity and justice of the determination: whether this alteration of his conduct towards the King originated in fear of the republican party, who were hurrying on the measure, and who were jealous of him

(Cromwell) does not certainly appear; but there is much reason to believe it did. The measure itself did not want defenders, upon various principles: it was certainly a very bold, though not seemingly a politic, surely not a legal one. But it may be contended, on behalf of those concerned in it, that they deemed it to be so, in their consciences and judgments; which, though no proof of the legality or rightness of the action, should moderate the severity of their adversaries' language, when speaking of those persons, and of this action. And considering the confusions and distractions, and various opinions of those times, it should seem that it would have been honourable in the King to have extended his Act of Oblivion to those persons, and all others, without exception; but he was driven on by the parliament, many of whom had equally contributed to the King's death and to much of the subsequent proceedings, with those that sat in judgment upon him, only they had the good fortune to escape punishment by turning round in time.

This measure has been considered by its defenders, as an awful and useful lesson to sovereigns, of the danger of offending their subjects by illegal or violent treatment; but it may surely also be equally useful as a caution to subjects, not, by intemperate language to provoke or irritate their sovereigns in their seeking redress of real or imaginary grievances: both carried beyond a certain point, must produce irreconcileableness, terminating in intestine commotion and war, and in final revolution and confusion.

His (Cromwell's) reasons for his determination of the Long Parliament, and, in consequence, the republican form of government, and the circumstances that led to it are before given. The measure was self-defensive; he had no alternative but to submit to the government of the presbyterian republic, which, both civil and religious, he detested, and who certainly would have availed themselves of the first opportunity to rid themselves of him and the other chiefs of the independent party; or to take upon himself the government of the country, which he had an equal right with them to do, in the absence of monarchy.

The republican government itself was, as has been observed, an usurpation upon the monarchy; the House of Commons, immediately after the King's death, took upon themselves to determine the House of Peers to be useless and dangerous, and upon the abolition of the kingly office, as unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and public interest of the nation; and reduced the government to a commonwealth. All this appears to have been accomplished by a small number of the Commons' House. The whole House, had all the members been present, even with the concurrence of the House of Lords, had no right to change the form of government; they came together as one branch only, of a constitution composed of the three estates of King, Lords, and Commons; and it is conceived they could not alter that form without resorting to the people for fresh specific powers. It is very generally admitted, that they had greatly abused their power, and which they were in the act of continuing and perpetuating at the moment of their dissolution. Cromwell felt himself of sufficient strength to put an end to this tyrannical government; and, to the satisfaction of the nation, who were tired of them, accomplished it with no more force than was necessary to the occasion, and without bloodshed.

The writer of the "Modest Vindication of Oliver Cromwell from the unjust Accusations of Lieutenant-general Ludlow," observing upon this dissolution, says, that no man was higher extolled, no man more basely vilified; no man worse, no man better spoken of, as interest led the judgments of men: that the presbyterians, with Baxter at their head, affirm it was an act of rebellion, perjury, perfidiousness, and impudence, to turn so many of their members out of the House at once. The republican party say, No; that was no crime at all, but it was a villainous, barbarous, perfidious act to dissolve the Rump. Whence, continues this writer, it is naturally concluded, that until both parties can make out their diametrical infallibility in these points, Cromwell's reputation stands irreproachable as to those acts with which they charge him, committed against themselves. And there is a passage in Whitelock's Swedish embassy, mentioning

that at a meeting in 1653, of the King's chief agents, one of them asked, what would be their advantage when they should have taken off Cromwell and Lambert, seeing that the present men in power were but a company of giddy-headed men; that some of the old men, as Bradshaw, St. John, Whitelock, Rolles, Vane, &c., would take the opportunity to bring themselves into power again, and that if one of those got it into their hands, we should never get it out again; they being the men that turned the whole of the nation formerly; and that what Cromwell did, was by force to take it out of their hands, lest he should be turned out himself.

Cromwell's assumption of the supreme power (upon the surrender to him by the parliament that succeeded the Long Parliament, of its power, which was derived from him) was the natural consequence of such surrender. A new form of government became necessary. At the time of the meeting, mentioned by Whitelock, in 1651, of divers members of parliament, and chief officers of the army, soon after the battle of Worcester, it is evident that the form of the government of the country was not considered as finally settled and acquiesced in, although the republican form had been declared: the nation had not been accustomed to that form, and it appears to have been arbitrarily exercised. The meeting was for the express purpose of considering of a settlement of the government of the nation, whether republican, or mixed monarchical, upon which there were different opinions: Cromwell declared himself in favour of some mixture of monarchy. It is unfair to say that his preference of monarchy arose from his design of assumption of the supreme power; he certainly greatly disliked the lately dissolved republic, as a tyranny, both in its form and exercise, and had always felt that it had been his inveterate enemy, jealous of his growing greatness, and watching for every opportunity of crushing him, to whom they owed all their own power and consequence. If his negociations with the King for his restoration were sincere, and there is no reason for doubt of his sincerity, he could not then have had a thought of his own elevation. In answer to Whitelock's proposal to Cromwell to restore the King (Charles

the Second) in the foregiven conversation, wherein he had proposed himself to be King, he acknowledges Whitelock's proposition to be reasonable, but defers its consideration, as a matter of high importance and difficulty, to a future time. Experiencing, as he had, the difficulties attending his treaty with the late King, and the ill success of it, he must surely consider the proposed treaty with his son as a matter of at least as high importance and difficulty. Lord Broghill, to show that Cromwell did not, even after the King's death, appear to be averse to the restoration of the royal family, relates, in his Memoirs, the following passage:— That after the wars of Ireland were finished, that kingdom settled, (Cromwell being made Lord Protector,) a parliament was called; the members of which were taken out of the three kingdoms, whereof Lord Broghill was one: that His Lordship had now and then, opportunities of a secret correspondence with some persons about the King, by whom he had sounded the King's inclinations, which were favourable to a design of making a match between His Majesty and one of Cromwell's daughters, (the Lady Frances, as I remember,) to promote which he had orders to do whatsoever lay in his power: and that, having His Majesty's leave, he took a fit occasion to move it to Cromwell, which he did in the following manner: — He first acquainted Cromwell's wife and daughter with his design, and then caused a rumour of it to be spread abroad in the town; and one day coming out of the city, and going to Cromwell's closet, Cromwell immediately came to him, and walking with him alone, he asked where he had been? My Lord answered, in the city: Cromwell asked him what news there? My Lord answered, very strange news: Cromwell earnestly enquiring what it was, my Lord detained him awhile, only by repeating, it was strange news, and smiling at the same time. Cromwell, by the delay, became more earnest to know it. My Lord at last replied, that perhaps he would be offended to hear it. Cromwell, not well enduring any longer delay, assured him he would not, and therefore conjured him to tell it. Upon that, in a jocular way, my Lord told him all the news in the city was, that he was going to marry his daughter Frances to the King.

Cromwell then, with a merry countenance, asked him —And what do the fools think of it? My Lord then replied, All liked it, and thought it the wisest thing he could do, if he could accomplish it. Upon that, Cromwell made a stand; and looking stedfastly in my Lord's face, asked him — And do you believe so too? His Lordship seeing him a little moved, answered, he did believe it was the best thing he could do to secure himself. Cromwell then walked up and down the room with his hands behind him in a very thoughtful manner; and at last asked my Lord, what reason he had to be of that belief? His Lordship represented to him, how little he could confide in those of his own party, being upon every occasion subject to murmur and repine; how unlikely it was for him to continue long in that grandeur, the very same persons who set him up being willing to pull him down; and, on the other hand, the King, in his great exigencies, would be ready enough to hearken to any proposition rather than live in exile; so that he might make his own terms with him, and be general of all the forces during life; the loyal party would readily join with him in the work; and if his daughter had children by the King (which was likely enough) he would thereby be endeared to King and country, and would have such interest in the crown, that nobody could ever attempt any thing against him; having a King his son-in-law, an heir-apparent to the crown his grandson, and the whole power of the nation in his own hands; by all which his greatness would be for ever established: whereas if he neglected these means, he could not expect to transmit his greatness to his next heir, and, perhaps, would hardly be able to preserve it during his own life: that Cromwell gave great attention to these reasons; but, walking two or three times, and pondering with himself, he told Lord Broghill the King would never forgive him the death of his father. His Lordship desired him to employ somebody to sound the King in this matter, to see how he would take it, and offered himself to mediate it for him; but Cromwell would not consent, but again repeated, —the King cannot, and will not forgive the death of his father; and so he left His Lordship, who durst not tell him he had already

dealt with His Majesty on that affair.—That upon this, my Lord withdrew, and meeting with Cromwell's wife and daughter, they inquired how he had succeeded; of which having given them an account, he added, they must try their interest in him; but none could prevail. Bishop Burnet gives this conversation as from Lord Broghill himself, with some variations, and with this addition,— that Cromwell replied, in the course of the conversation, that the "King (Charles II.) was so damnably debauched he would undo us all." And so turned, says the Bishop, to another discourse, without any emotion, which made Orrery (Broghill) conclude he had often thought of that expedient. This phrase, "damnably," is not Cromwell's language.

He (Cromwell) here assigns his reasons for deeming a treaty with the King impracticable; which, after experience of the King, did not prove to be incorrect.

Cromwell, thus circumstanced, had no other alternative than to assume the supreme power, or to let the nation return to its republican government; and surely, his mixed monarchical form was most consonant to the habits and dispositions of the nation, which suffered no inconvenience from it; on the contrary, was, by his great talents and magnanimity, raised to the highest point of prosperity and renown, both at home and abroad, as universally allowed by his greatest enemies. He is aware that he is accused of creating necessities for the purpose of bringing about his various designs; but in one of his speeches to his parliament before-given, he solemnly declares, not only to that assembly, but to the world, that the man lived not that could come to him and charge him, that he had, in those great revolutions, made necessities.

Rapin, at the conclusion of his history of Cromwell's protectorate, observes, that to form a just and rational idea of his character, his conduct and actions in themselves must be examined, and joined to the juncture of the time, independently of the opinions of his enemies.

Cromwell had no want of panegyrists to celebrate his memory; but they meanly and contemptibly turned round with the times,

and then, most disgracefully to themselves, equally vilified and abused it.

No one, after the Restoration, durst come forward to do justice to his character, of the many who, though his enemies, had experienced his lenity and kindness, nor any one of those who owed to him all their consequence: and he was not present to answer for himself. Every circumstance and anecdote of his life, both public and private, has been, without examination of its truth or falsehood, assiduously brought forward, uncontradicted or unexplained, and implicitly received and distorted in every imaginable way, for the purpose of defaming his memory: whence originated all the obloquy under which it has been handed down, in some degree, even to the present times.

But it is hoped and presumed, that the preceding account of him will have placed his character in its just light; and that he will be found to have been a good, as well as a great man, undeserving of the virulent and uncharitable denunciations of Lord Clarendon, and others implicitly following him in his bitter invectives.

## CHAPTER XV.

*Richard Cromwell's accession. — A parliament called. — Bill debated for the recognition of his title. — Debates upon the acknowledgment of the House of Lords. — Dissolution of the parliament. — Restoration of the Long Parliament. — A Committee of Safety appointed. — A new Great Seal. — Richard Cromwell's abdication. — Henry Cromwell relinquishes the government of Ireland, and a new government appointed. — Provision for Richard Cromwell, and his debts to be paid by the parliament. — Lord Clarendon's, and Ludlow's, and Lord Broghill's accounts of those transactions. — Observations upon these several accounts in justification of Richard Cromwell's conduct. — Some of his private letters. — Henry Cromwell's public and private character — His letters — His situation after the Restoration. — Letters to him from General Monck. — Conclusion.*

In continuation, from the death of Oliver Cromwell to the abdication of Richard Cromwell —

Whitelock proceeds. — Immediately upon his (Oliver Cromwell's) death the council assembled, and being satisfied that the Protector, in his life-time, according to the petition and advice, had declared his son (Richard Cromwell) to be his successor, caused the same to be proclaimed, in a solemn manner, in London and Westminster; and they went the same day to him (Richard Cromwell) to acquaint him with it, and sent a committee of the council into the city to inform them thereof. Then there follows the proclamation.

The council gave the oath to Richard; and with his consent another proclamation was published for all, that were officers in his father's time, to continue in their places.

10th September, 1658. Richard and his council kept a day of humiliation, and ordered the keeping of it another time in London.

Several addresses came to the new Protector, declaring satisfac-

tion in his succession, and resolution to adhere to him; also, an address from the sea-officers, acknowledging Richard, and promising to stand by him; and from General Monck and his officers in Scotland: also, an address from the gentlemen and freeholders of the county of Buckingham, to which Richard made very good and prudent answers.

18th October. Audience given by Richard to the French ambassador; when he carried himself discreetly.

16th November. Addresses from the officers of the army, presented by General Desborough; and the officers of the army attended, and made large professions of their obedience and faithfulness; and he courted them at a high rate.

23d November. The funeral of the late Protector was celebrated with great solemnity.

26th November. Richard knighted General Morgan, a very gallant person.

Several audiences were given by Richard to foreign ministers, sent to him from neighbouring princes and states, to condole the death of his father, and to congratulate his succession to the government.

December. Richard, by advice of his council, determined to call a parliament, to meet on the 27th day of January then next.

January. Whitelock met about the business of the Great Seal, whereof he was then again made a commissioner: that Richard had a particular respect for him; and upon the 22d of this month, by advice of some near to him, without any seeking for it by Whitelock, he was sent for to Whitehall, where he met the two Lords Commissioners of the Seal, Fiennes and L'Isle, and they together being called into the council-chamber, the Great Seal was delivered to His Highness, sitting in council, who presently delivered it to the three, as Keepers of the Great Seal of England.

Journals of the House of Commons, 27th January. The parliament met; and the oath appointed by the humble additional and explanatory petition and advice, to be taken by every member, of either House of parliament, before he sit in parliament,

was administered accordingly; the substance of which was,— to maintain the true reformed protestant Christian religion in the purity thereof, as contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament; and to be true to the Lord Protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, as chief magistrate thereof.

Same day. Mr. Chaloner Chute was chosen Speaker of this parliament: an excellent orator, says Whitelock, and of great parts and generosity; whom many doubted that he would not join with the Protector's party; but he did heartily.

The members of the House of Lords, says Whitelock, took their places, being summoned by the like writ as they had before, according to the petition and advice.

Journals, January 28. A fast was appointed for humiliation and seeking of God for his special assistance and blessing upon the endeavours of the House.

February 1. A bill for the recognition of His Highness' right and title to be Protector and chief magistrate of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereto belonging, was this day read the first time. And a second time on Monday the 7th, and the debate adjourned to the following morning, when again debated and adjourned.

Whitelock says, some were very cross in this business, which caused doubts of the good issue of the parliament.

Journals, April 6th (1659). The House resolved that in all messages unto and conferences with the other House, the like respect and no other, be observed by the members of this House, that is observed by the persons sitting in the other House. And Whitelock relates, that, about the same time, a representation was signed by almost all the officers of the army, and afterwards presented to His Highness, setting forth their want of pay, the insolencies of their enemies, and their designs, together with some in power, to ruin the army and the good old cause, and to bring in the enemies thereof. To prevent which, and to provide against free quarter, they desire him to advise with the parliament and to provide effectual remedy. Now, says Whitelock, there being

nothing done thereupon, the soldiers began to speak high and threatening. This, adds he, was the beginning of Richard's fall, and set on foot by his relations; Desborough, who married his aunt, and Fleetwood, who married his sister, and others of the party: and the parliament disputed about the other House, but took no course to provide money, but exasperated the army, and all those named of the other House. He adds, that on the 17th April, the Protector sent for the officers of the army, and had conference with them.

Thursday, April 7. A report from the committee appointed to inspect the accounts of the public revenue, with the ordinary expense of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, for one year; with a state of the public debts: —

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| The income of England, is stated to be | 1,517,274 | 17 | 1 |
| Scotland, | 143,652 | 11 | 11 |
| Ireland, | 207,790 | 0 | 0 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| The whole issues of England, for a year | 1,547,788 | 4 | 4½ |
| Scotland, | 307,271 | 12 | 8½ |
| Ireland, | 346,480 | 18 | 3 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| The annual income of England, Scotland, and Ireland, is | 1,868,717 | 9 | 0 |
| Issues of do. | 2,201,540 | 15 | 4 |

The whole of the public debt £2,474,290. The balance is £332,823 6 4

The proceedings upon the forementioned bill, and the vote of the House to take into consideration the constitution of the parliament in two Houses, appear by the Journals to have occasioned great and warm debates; and Whitelock observes, much discourse and doubts of many, lest a disagreement should follow; and that some of the court and relations of Richard were not backward to promote a difference, and that Heselrigge, and Sir Henry Nevil, and their flock were a great cause of disturbance in this parliament: that the parliament grew into heats, these two persons

and their party labouring to overthrow the government by a Protector and two Houses of parliament, in order to a free commonwealth; with whom divers of the officers joined: and that Desborough, Fleetwood, Sir Henry Vane, Berry, and others, endeavoured to lessen Richard's power: that he (Richard Cromwell) advised with Lord Broghill, Fiennes, Thurloe, Wolseley, Whitelock, and some others, upon the necessity and fitness of dissolving the parliament; that he (Whitelock) doubted the success of it, and wished a little longer permission of their sitting, especially now they had began to consider of raising money, whereby they would engage the soldiers: but most were for the dissolution from the fear of the army and of the cavaliers who now flocked to London, and secretly fomented the divisions; and accordingly it was dissolved by commission.—That Richard Cromwell and his council sat close to consult what was fit to be done, among whom were many enemies to him and his government: that he was abused and betrayed by his near relations, and those of his council: that he (Whitelock) was wary in his advice, but declared his judgment honestly and for his good, when it was required: but that Lambert and other officers of the army consulted how they might again bring in the old members of the parliament, whom they had before thrust out: that all matters were at a stand, and the army had thoughts of raising money without a parliament, but found they durst not venture upon it, and thought it a safer way to restore the members of the Long Parliament: that the great officers were advised against this measure, most of these members being supposed to be discontented for their having been broken up by the late Protector, and to distaste the proceedings of the army; and that it would probably increase the divisions, and finally bring in the King: but that the officers were determined upon restoring the Long Parliament; and that, accordingly, Fleetwood and the general council of officers published a declaration, inviting the members of that parliament who had continued sitting since the year 1648, (the year of the King's death,) until April 1653, the time of its dissolution, to return to the exercise and discharge of their trust:

and Lambert and others went to the old Speaker (Lenthal) at the Rolls and presented him this declaration, and divers of the members of the Long Parliament came to him and declared their willingness to meet again, and accordingly met in the painted chamber on the following morning, Saturday, May 7th (1659), and proceeded in a body to the House, Lambert guarding them with soldiers. They immediately passed a declaration of their purpose to secure the property and liberty of the people, both as men and as Christians, and that, without a single person, kingship, or House of Peers, and to uphold magistracy and ministry.

The following is from the Journals, Saturday the 7th May (1659). Henry Middleton, Esq. is appointed serjeant-at-arms, and John Phelpes, Esq. clerk of the parliament, for such time as the parliament should think fit, not exceeding one week.

The Speaker then acquaints the parliament; that the Lord Lambert, with divers of the officers of the army, in the name of the Lord Fleetwood, and council of officers of the army had upon the preceding day come to him, many of the members of parliament being then present, and delivered to him a declaration, (the preceding declaration) which was then read; and it was referred to a committee to prepare a declaration, according to the substance of the then present debate, upon this declaration, then read. Then follows the forementioned declaration of the Commons. And letters were sent, signed by the Speaker to the several members of parliament that were absent, desiring their attendance.

The Lord Fleetwood, Sir Arthur Heselrigge, Sir Henry Vane, Lieutenant-general Ludlow, Colonel Sydenham, Major Salwey, and Colonel John Jones, or any four or more of them, were made a committee of safety, and to continue for eight days and no longer. And a meeting was appointed of the parliament on the following morning in the Parliament House, to seek the Lord for his guidance and blessing on the parliament.

Lord's-day, May 8. The House met this morning and spent it in praying and hearing the Word. Dr. Owen, praying and preaching before them.

Monday, May 9. Major Salwey, reported from the committee of safety, that they had received good intelligence that Charles Stewart, designed speedy invasion, and that many of his party were lately come into England, and that it had been endeavoured to seduce the army; and that several had been apprehended. The Lord Lambert, Colonel Disbrow, Colonel Bury, and Mr. Scot, by the desire of the committee, added thereto.

The Lord Fleetwood presented a letter from General Monck, giving an account of the quiet state of the army in Scotland, and their concurrence with the army of England. And desire that this parliament might again sit. Also, letters from the army of Ireland.

These passages, says Whitelock, gave the more hopes to many, that this parliament thus restored, might be blessed of God, for settling the peace and liberty of the nation; and the more, because they were upon the first right and foundation of that Long Parliament, which had done so great things: and therefore divers were the better satisfied to go on with them.

A new Great Seal ordered to be prepared according to the form of the last Great Seal, made by authority of this parliament: and the last Great Seal to be brought to the House to be broken before the parliament. And Whitelock, referring to this new seal says, his and the other commissioner's office thereupon ceased.

Wednesday, May 11. Resolved, as the opinion of this committee (of safety), That for the better constituting and establishing of the land-forces of this commonwealth, five persons whereof the commander-in-chief to be one, be authorised as commissioners, and they or any three, or more of them, to nominate the commission-officers of the said forces and present the same to the parliament or council of state for the time being for their approbation, and when approved by the parliament or council; that the commander-in-chief do issue out commissions accordingly, and to sign the same by direction of the council of state by authority of parliament. Lord Charles Fleetwood, to be lieutenant-general, and commander-in-chief of the land-forces in England and Scotland.

Friday, May 13. Upon the debate of the above report, Lord Charles Fleetwood, and others were nominated commissioners: but that the commission to the lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of the land-forces in England and Scotland, shall be from the parliament.

Friday, May 13. (post-meridiem.) A bill for constituting a council of state, with instructions, was read the first time.

Resolved, That the time for the continuance of the council of state, be till the 1st day of December next ensuing: that the number consist of 31; and that ten of the number be of persons not members of parliament.

The new Great Seal, prepared by Mr. Simonds, was brought into the House, and the former seal destroyed.

Referred to the members of parliament that are of the committee of safety, to take into consideration the present condition of the eldest son of the late Lord-General Cromwell, and to inform themselves what his estate is, and what his debts are; and how they have been contracted, and how far he doth acquiesce in the government of this commonwealth, as it is declared by this parliament; and to offer upon the whole what they conceive expedient in his behalf, to the parliament.

Whitehall and Somerset House to be sold, and the produce to be applied towards satisfaction of the arrears due to the army.

Saturday, May 21. Resolved, That to the end the legislative authority of this commonwealth, may not, by their long sitting, become burdensome or inconvenient, there shall be effectual provision made for a due succession thereof.

Tuesday, May 24. Sir Henry Vane reports from the council of state, a letter subscribed H. Cromwell, dated from Dublin, the 18th May, instant; which was read, and referred back to the council of state, to take into their consideration what is fit to be done as to Ireland; and to represent their opinion to this House.

Wednesday, May 25. Sir Gilbert Pickering acquainted the House, that he and the Lord Chief Justice St. John, had, accord-

ing to the command of the House, repaired to the eldest son of the late Lord General Cromwell, and acquainted him with the sense of this House touching his subscribing a paper sent by him, to the committee formerly appointed to communicate to him a declaration and order of this House; and that he did thereupon, in their presence, sign the said paper with his name, and they presented the said paper to this House, subscribed Richard Cromwell.

The paper was this day read, and also a schedule containing a state of his debts, and an account of his estates.

The parliament declared their acceptance in good part, of the expressions of the paper, and did take upon them his debts, not exceeding the sums contained in this schedule, and referred to a committee to consider of the payment thereof; and that 2000*l.* be forthwith advanced to him for his present occasions; and referred to a committee to consider of a settlement of a comfortable and honourable subsistence on him.

Whitelock, referring to this resignation of Richard's protectorship, observes, that an address to the parliament was sent from the army in Scotland, congratulating them on their happy restoration to the government of the nations; and seeing, say they, that His late Highness (Richard Cromwell), had been pleased to manifest so much self-denial and love to his country, in appearing for the interest thereof against his own, they humbly entreated that some speedy care might be taken for him and his family, together with her Highness Dowager, that there may be such an honourable provision settled upon them, and such other dignities as were suitable to the former great services of that family to these nations. They conclude with promising to the parliament their support. This address, adds Whitelock, was signed by General Monck, and several others.

Tuesday, June 7. Resolved and declared, That the administration of the government of Ireland should be by commissioners nominated and authorised by the parliament, and not by any one person; and that Colonel Henry Cromwell be made acquainted with the resolutions of this House, concerning the government

of Ireland; and that he do forthwith repair to the parliament, to acquaint them with the state of affairs there.

Referred to a committee to examine what was due for mourning for the late Lord-General Cromwell, and how the same might be paid for, without prejudice or charge to the commonwealth. Lieutenant-general Fleetwood acquainted the House, that Colonel Henry Cromwell was come to town, and attended to give this House an account of the management of affairs in Ireland. Referred to the council of state, and the council to do therein as they should think fit; and that Colonel Cromwell have liberty to retire himself into the country, whither he should think fit, upon his own occasions.

Saturday, July 16. Colonel John Jones reported from the committee for considering of a comfortable and honourable subsistence on Richard Cromwell — That his present clear yearly revenue, amounting (according to the forementioned schedule) to 1299*l.* over and above the jointure therein mentioned, be made up to him 10,000*l.* *per annum*, during his life. Lands of inheritance of 5000*l.* *per annum* value, to be settled upon him and his heirs, and thereupon 5000*l.*, part of the sum making up the 10,000*l.*, to be abated; and as the jointures should fall in, the sum making up the 10,000*l.*, to abate in proportion. — The debt undertaken to be paid by parliament to be satisfied by sale of the plate, hangings, &c. of Whitehall and Hampton Court.

Lord Clarendon, introductory of his account of Richard Cromwell's succession to the Protectorate, says, — Contrary to all expectation, both at home and abroad, the earthquake (Oliver Cromwell's death) was attended with no signal alteration: that it was believed that Lambert would be in the head of the army, and that Monck in Scotland, would never submit to be under him: that besides the expectation the King had, from the general affection of the kingdom, he had fair promises from men of interest in it, and of command in the army, who professed to prepare for such a conjuncture as this; and that the disorder arising from Cromwell's death, might dispose Lockhart to depend upon the best

title, seemed a reasonable expectation, but that nothing of this fell out: that never monarch, after he had inherited a crown many descents, died in more silence, nor with less alteration; and there was the same, or a greater calm in the kingdom, than had been before: that foreign princes addressed their condolences to him (Richard Cromwell), and desired to renew their alliances; and nothing was heard in England but the voice of joy, and large encomiums of their new Protector; so that the King's condition never appeared so hopeless, so desperate; for a more favourable conjuncture his friends could never expect than this, which now seemed to blast all their hopes, and confirm their utmost despair.

It is probable, continues His Lordship, that this melancholic prospect might have continued long, if this child of fortune could have sat still and been contented to have enjoyed his own felicity; but his council thought it necessary that he should call a parliament, to confirm what they had already given him, and to dispel all clouds which might arise.

But His Lordship adds, there might be the more reason for it (the calling the parliament), because the last alliance that Oliver had made with the crown of Sweden, and of which he was fonder than all the rest, obliged him, in the spring, to send a strong fleet into the Sound, to assist that king against Denmark, or at least to induce Denmark, by way of mediation, to accept of such conditions as the other would be willing to give him: that this could hardly be done without some assistance of parliament, and that therefore the new Protector sent out his writs to call a parliament, to meet on the 27th January; till which day, for near five months, he remained as great a prince as ever his father had been.

His Lordship, referring to the disputes in the Commons, in settling the act of recognition for confirming Richard Cromwell's authority, and upon their objection to the allowance of the House of Peers to be part of the government, says, — "The stirring these several humours, and the drowsy temper of Richard, raised another spirit in the army: that a new council of officers met by

their own authority, and admitted Lambert, though no member of the army, to consult with them: that they neither liked protector nor parliament, but consulted what government to settle, that might be better than either; yet they would not incense them both together, nor appear to have any disinclination to Richard, who had many of his nearest friends amongst them. His Lordship then mentions the army's address to him, complaining of the great arrears of pay due to the army, and of various other supposed grievances, requesting him to represent those their complaints to the parliament, and to require proper and speedy remedies. He then relates the votes of the parliament in consequence, and the army's employment of Fleetwood and Disbrow to advise him (Richard) forthwith to dissolve the parliament; also his determination to dissolve it the next morning, notwithstanding the advice of many of his friends to the contrary, and his signing the commission for that purpose; and the Commons' adjournment for three days to prevent it, imagining, His Lordship says, that they should by that time convert Richard from destroying himself. But, adds His Lordship, the poor creature was so hared by the council of officers, that he presently caused a proclamation to be issued out, by which he did declare the parliament to be dissolved; and that, from that minute, nobody resorted to him, nor was the name of the Protector afterwards heard of, but in derision; the council appointed guards to attend at Westminster, which kept out those members, who, in pursuance of their adjournment, would have entered into the House upon the day appointed: that thus, by extreme pusillanimity, the son suffered himself to be stripped in one moment, of all the greatness and power which the father had acquired in so many years, with wonderful courage, industry, and resolution.

His Lordship observes, that this parliament was, in derision, called the Rump Parliament, as being the fag-end of a carcase long since expired.

He describes their application to Richard Cromwell for his acquiescence in their new-formed government, who, His Lordship says, already humbled to that poverty of spirit they could wish,

gave the committee a paper containing the state of his debts, and how contracted; also his forementioned acquiescence.

This, says His Lordship, satisfied them as to Richard; but they were not without apprehension that they should find a more refractory spirit in his brother Harry, who was lieutenant of Ireland, and looked upon as a man of another air and temper: that he had, in his exercise of that government, by the frankness of his humour, and a general civility towards all, and very particularly obliging some, rendered himself gracious and popular to all sorts of people, and might have been able to have made some contests with the parliament: but that, as soon as he received an order from them to attend them in person, he thought not fit to be wiser than his elder brother, and came over to them even sooner than they expected, and laid his commission at their feet, which they accepted, and put the government of that kingdom into the hands of Ludlow and four other commissioners.

By way of last blow at the Cromwell family, His Lordship indulges himself in relating the following story of Richard Cromwell: he says, — It may not prove ingrateful to the reader in this place, to entertain him with a very pleasant story that related to this miserable Richard, though it happened long afterwards. His Lordship then relates, that shortly after the King's return, and the manifest joy that possessed the whole kingdom thereupon, this poor creature found it necessary to transport himself into France, more for fear of his debts than of the King, who thought it not necessary to enquire after a man so long forgotten. He then relates his living some years in Paris under an assumed name and in an obscure condition, not having above one servant to attend him, and, upon the expectation of a war between England and France, his quitting that kingdom and removing to Geneva, and in his way passing through Pezenas, a town belonging to the Prince of Conti, who resided there, being then governor of Languedoc, to whom he was introduced as an English gentleman, and who, after enquiring the state of England, expressed himself thus: — "Well, Oliver, though he was a traitor and a villain, was a brave fellow, had great parts, great courage, and was worthy to

command; but that Richard, — that coxcomb, coquin, poltron, was surely the basest fellow alive: what is become of that fool? how was it possible he could be such a sot?" He answered, he was betrayed by those whom he most trusted, and who had been most obliged by his father. He quickly took his leave, and quitted the town, and soon afterwards the prince heard who he was.

In the relation of this story, which is more likely to be false than true, it not appearing to be related by any other writer, and His Lordship giving it as a mere story, without any authority for its truth, he appears to take an unfeeling and unmanly pleasure. He would probably have expressed himself differently, could he have foreseen that he would soon be also an unpitied exile. Had His Lordship only, mentioned this departure of Richard for the continent, much credit would not perhaps have been due to it, as it is not recollected to have been mentioned by any of the family; but it is confirmed incidentally by Ludlow, who says, that he quitted England in the vessel that had carried over Mr. Richard Cromwell some weeks before. As Ludlow gives no dates, the precise time of his (Richard's) quitting England cannot now be ascertained; it was probably soon after the Restoration.

Ludlow gives a minute account of the proceeedings and machinations of the principal officers of the army, (of whom himself, Fleetwood, Lambert, and Disbrow, were some of the most active, to deprive Richard Cromwell of his protectorate, and which produced the partial restoration of the Long (Rump) Parliament. He says that Sir Charles Coot went post to Ireland to carry the news of this great alteration to Colonel Henry Cromwell; and that Colonel Ingoldsby hastened after him, to consult what might be done to continue their reign; and that all possible care was taken to maintain themselves; and that Colonel Cromwell called a council of officers, and proposed to them to declare themselves ready to stand by and defend Richard Cromwell, which they declined till they should see what course would be taken by the army in England: also Henry Cromwell's consequent return to England upon the requisition of the parliament, and his

(Ludlow's) departure for Ireland as commander-in-chief of the forces there.

It is wonderful to observe the effect of party-prejudice upon the temper and understanding of the wisest and best of its adherents; the same conduct in different individuals, will be praised or censured according to the medium through which it is viewed, of like or dislike, or as it may best suit the purpose of the moment. Oliver Cromwell is vilified and abused for his assumption of the supreme power: Richard Cromwell, his son, is contemned and despised for his relinquishment of it.

Lord Clarendon censures Richard (this child of fortune as he describes him) for calling a parliament, as conducing to his fall; and a few lines afterwards acknowledges the necessity of it. Whitelock says he did it by the advice of his council; that every member of the parliament took the oath of fidelity to him as Protector; notwithstanding which, the bill of recognition met with much opposition, and was attempted to be clogged with many obnoxious clauses.

His Lordship also condemns Richard's dissolution of the parliament, which he attributes to the advice of his relations Fleetwood and Desbrough, notwithstanding the advice of many of his friends to the contrary. Whitelock says, he was betrayed by his near relations, and that Lord Broghill, Thurloe, and himself, and most others of his council, were for it; only Whitelock doubted, and wished their sitting to be a little longer permitted. His Lordship attributes this dissolution to Richard's pusillanimity. Ludlow describes the three contending parties: the commonwealth party; the Wallingford-house, or army party, so called from Wallingford-house, being Fleetwood's residence; and Richard Cromwell's own party: he says they were of nearly equal strength. He has been, as hath been shown, very severe in his censures of Cromwell's dissolution of the Long Parliament; but he and his republican party are found to have no scruple in purging the House of its (to them) obnoxious members, when it suits their object of lessening the numbers, for the purpose of diminishing the strength

of their opponents, by, as in this present instance, impeaching and expelling, and frightening them from the House, as Ludlow himself acknowledges with evident self-gratulation.

It appears from the preceding extracts from Ludlow, that Richard Cromwell was deceived by the republican and army party into the convening a council of officers, under the pretext of preparing and presenting to the House a plan for the regulation of the army, which, after a few meetings, was suppressed, and he appointed by the House Captain-general of the army.

Lord Broghill seems to account for Fleetwood's hostile conduct towards Richard Cromwell by the following circumstance: — That Oliver Cromwell had made him his heir; but that one of his daughters knowing where his will was, took it and burnt it before Fleetwood could come at it: that when Cromwell was asked who should succeed him, he made no reply, but said, in such a drawer of a cabinet in his closet they should find his will; but that his daughter had disposed of it elsewhere, and so they never came to the sight of it. Neither Whitelock, or Ludlow, or Thurloe, notice this circumstance, nor does Lord Broghill give his authority for it: if Fleetwood believed it, his animosity towards Richard Cromwell would be intelligible.

His Lordship gives the following account of the above convention of the council of officers: — That while the parliament was sitting he (Richard) likewise gave a commission to Fleetwood and Disbrow, to hold a council of war at Wallingford-house, to which His Lordship received a summons, as being a general officer in the Irish army: that he went immediately to Richard to know whether he had consented to call this council, when Cromwell acknowledged he had: that His Lordship told him he feared he would repent it: Cromwell asked why? Because, answered His Lordship, they will certainly work some mischief against him (Richard) and his friends; but that as yet he knew not what it was: that Cromwell then desired His Lordship to do what he could to prevent it; — His Lordship replied he would go amongst them and see what might be done: that at this

meeting Colonel Disbrow, proposed to purge the army of the disaffected, by a test, that every one should swear their belief that the putting to death the late King, was lawful and just: that His Lordship, opposed all tests; but that if they must have a test, he would offer one more reasonable and lawful; — that every one should be turned out of the army who would not swear to defend the government as it was then established under the Protector and parliament: that this was reasonable and lawful, because it was to maintain the present government: that rather than have this test and not their own, they determined to have neither: His Lordship thereupon advised Richard forthwith to dissolve this council of war, which would certainly do mischief if it sat any longer; and His Lordship, by Richard's desire, drew up a short speech for him, which he should deliver to them the next morning, to this effect, — That he accepted their service with all thankfulness; that he had considered what did most aggrieve them; and that he thought the best and properest way to redress what was amiss amongst them, was to do it in the parliament then sitting, of which most of them were members; and therefore declared his commission of holding that council null and void, and desired them all to go to their several commands: that accordingly, Cromwell, by ten of the clock the next day, went to Wallingford-house, and sat in a chair of state amongst them, which pleased some, and troubled others; and delivered his speech, which, though it was very mild, yet gave great distaste to Fleetwood and his party: that they guessed who was the author of their dissolution, and therefore in a few days, came in a body into the parliament and complained, that they had been abused and affronted by a certain lord in that assembly (looking stedfastly upon His Lordship), and desiring satisfaction, by an address to be made to His Highness the Lord Protector, that he would declare who advised him to dissolve the council of war during the sitting of parliament, without the parliament's knowledge or consent: that His Lordship then rose and moved, that at the same time, another address might also be presented, to know

who advised the calling a council of war without the knowledge or consent of parliament: for that, if he was guilty, who advised the dissolution of the council without the parliament's consent, he must be much more guilty, who advised the calling that council without it: that at this motion they all cried "Well moved!" and Fleetwood and others went their way.

That His Lordship, finding the army resolved on Richard Cromwell's ruin, advised him to cast himself upon the city, and declare for the King and a free parliament, assuring him he would find the city favour him that way, and by it he would make his family for ever: but that Cromwell would not comply with this advice; so went on his own way till the army deposed him, and set up for themselves: and that then His Lordship went to Ireland to his command; and that had he not made good haste, he had been cut off by Fleetwood and Disbrow, who sent speedily after him to apprehend him, but he escaped, and being upon his command in Ireland, was out of their reach.

Mr. Noble, relates a dialogue between Richard Cromwell and Colonel Howard, afterwards Earl of Carlisle, in which the colonel is described as advising Richard to vigorous measures, even the depriving Fleetwood, Lambert, Disbrow, and Vane of their lives, which he with horror rejects.

Neal, in his History of the Puritans, seems to refer to the same story, and adds that the poor-spirited Protector was afraid of blood: and that thereupon Colonel Howard made his peace with the King.

Neither of these writers referring to any authorities for this story, and the colonel not being likely to offer such sanguinary advice, he certainly had not been taught by Cromwell to think lightly of assassination, it is not likely to be true. It is no discredit to Richard Cromwell, nor any proof of his want of spirit, that he should be afraid of, or view with horror, the shedding of blood for his own advancement.

His firmness and resolution is very conspicuous in his personally breaking up the council of officers, and in his long per-

severing resistance of their views of getting rid of the parliament, who upon the desertion of the army, through the intrigues of Fleetwood, Ludlow, and their party, was his only, or chief support. In the Life of Thurloe, prefixed to his State Papers, is the following passage, which appears to be taken from Dr. Calamy's Life of Mr. Howe: — "I (Calamy) was told by a friend, that when he signified in a way of discourse to Mr. Howe, that he had heard Richard reflected on as a weak man, he, with some warmth, made this return, — how could he be a weak man, when upon the remonstrance that was brought from the army by his brother Fleetwood, he stood it out all night against his whole council, and continued the debate till four o'clock in the morning, having none but Thurloe to abet him, maintaining that the dissolving that parliament would be both his ruin and theirs?"

His memory has been treated with the greatest ridicule and contempt, and even scurrility, for his supposed abjectedness of spirit in this his quiet resignation of the exalted situation in which his father's great talents had placed him: but had he possessed the spirit and abilities of his father, it does not seem possible that he could have kept it. Lord Broghill, it has been seen, allows, that he could not resist the army's determination to ruin him, and can give him no other advice than to endeavour the restoration of the King. This, at that time, was impossible; the nation was not prepared for this great change, nor would the army have supported him. Even Monck, with an army at his command durst not openly declare himself, and not till he must have had reason to apprehend that the restoration would be accomplished without him. If he really had, long before the avowal of his intention, determined upon this measure, he must have been guilty, according to Ludlow, of the grossest dissimulation and falsehood, in his solemn declarations to the last moment, to the contrary, — of his determination to live and die with Ludlow for a commonwealth; that he would join with him and his party against Charles Stuart and his party; that he would oppose to the utmost the setting up of Charles Stuart, a single

person, or a House of Peers; that those that brought the King to the block acted justly.

Bishop Burnet, speaking of Monck's supposed merit and service in the Restoration, says, that it was chiefly owing to the post he was in, and to the credit he had gained; for that, as to the Restoration itself, the tide run so strong, that he only went into it dexterously enough to get much fame and great rewards for that which will still have a great appearance in history.

Oliver Cromwell's death let loose Fleetwood, Ludlow, Disbrow, and many others, to follow their several ambitious views, who durst not, during his life, look him in the face; he knew them well; they appear to have been men of inferior talents incapable of great enterprise. Ludlow lived to have the opportunity of writing his own memoirs; he sickens his readers by the account of himself and his own little exploits, upon which he dwells with much self-complacent minuteness. He appears to have been a mortal foe to regal government, and never forgives, nor ceases to abuse Cromwell, for extinguishing his favourite republic.

Rapin, upon Richard's succession to the protectorate, observes, that, though the late Protector was both careful and capable to preserve himself amidst the parties then in England, and to keep them in awe, it was not in his power to extinguish them: that when he was taken out of the world, each party hoped to gain the advantage under the protectorate of Richard, who had not his father's qualities; and that to these hopes, perhaps, must be ascribed their ready concurrence in declaring him Protector: that the royalists justly flattered themselves that the different parties into which their enemies were divided, having no longer a common head capable to govern them all together, would disunite, and that disunion be serviceable to the King, and perhaps procure his restoration: that those who had approved of the government by a single person, in the deceased Protector, and had been trusted by him, hoped to preserve the same credit under the son which they had enjoyed under the father, and to direct the new

Protector according to their pleasure: that if the republicans had consented to acknowledge Richard, it was because they were unprepared to make any opposition: that the army, chiefly composed of this party, being dispersed in several counties, the officers had neither time nor opportunity to consult together: but that they despaired not of finding an occasion to displace the new Protector, and restore the commonwealth to the state it was in, till the year 1653, when Oliver dissolved the parliament which had formed it: that the anabaptists were all of the republican party, because they perceived the impossibility of establishing their fifth monarchy, under a Protector: that these were the most zealous republicans, and the hardest to be managed, on account of their singular notions, which caused them to refer every thing to their extravagant religion, and rendered them deaf to any reasons not drawn from their principles.

Thurloe gives this account of them: — He says that a new insurrection and rebellion had been lately discovered: that it was a design of a very strange nature, and built upon very extraordinary pretences: that the party engaged to begin this insurrection were those who falsely and prophanely styled themselves the Fifth Monarchy, and pretend to have no king but Jesus; calling that which is earthly, sensual, and devilish, the working of the Holy Spirit and the power of Christ's love in them: that the number and quality of the persons beginning this attempt was very inconsiderable, and, indeed, despicable: that Thomas Vinner, a wine-cooper, was their leader.

Rapin, in continuation, says, that there was another set of republicans, who, regardless of religion, were governed by political views: they were accused of having no religion, or of being properly deists.

That the presbyterians, who were very numerous in England and Ireland, besides the Scots, who were almost all of this sect, had not changed their principles since their expulsion from the parliament in 1648: that they would have gladly admitted the King with a limited power, and the firm establishment of pres-

byterian government in the church: that this principle had always caused them to remain by themselves, without being able to unite either with the royalists, who would hearken to no limitation upon the King's power, and were averse to this church-government; or with the republicans, who would have neither King nor Protector: besides, that these last granted an entire liberty to all sects that had joined the independent party; a liberty which was inconsistent with the principles of the presbyterians: for that, though the presbyterians had, under the reigns of Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I. taken it very ill to be denied the free exercise of their religion, they were by no means inclined to grant others the same liberty they had demanded for themselves. Nevertheless, as their number was considerable, and they might at last find a leader capable of conducting their affairs, the deceased Protector thought it proper to manage them, and preserve their government in the church, but without obliging any person to conform to it: that this moderation kept the presbyterians quiet under Oliver's government; and the more, as they could expect no assistance from the army as it was then modelled. But that, in remaining thus separate from all the other parties, they disabled themselves from making any great progress against the independent party, who took care to keep them low: that this gave the royalists room to hope that the presbyterians would at last be obliged to unite with them, to free themselves from the servitude in which they were held by the independents and republicans.

This short recapitulation of the interests of the several parties plainly, continues Rapin, demonstrates Cromwell's capacity, who could keep them all in awe without a positive declaration in favour of any one party: that Richard proposed to begin his protectorate with his father's maxims: that he formed the design of making himself master of the deliberations of his council, and of reducing the army to receive his orders with submission: that by these two things Oliver maintained his authority, and if he had lived he would not have left an officer in the army of suspected

fidelity: but that, to pursue these maxims and execute this project, Richard should have had his father's capacity for civil and military affairs, his bravery and resolution, and, in a word, by a series of victories, should have been able to strike terror into all who could oppose his designs: but, that Richard had none of those great talents to command fear and respect, or to inspire his friends with hopes of a powerful protection: so that, heading no party, and being incapable to govern all, he stood exposed to their ambition and violence, without being sure of an effectual assistance when he should want it. That mean while, knowing that the bare election of his person by the council, and the addresses presented to him, were insufficient to establish his authority, he believed it expedient to have his dignity confirmed by parliament, and accordingly summoned one to meet, as beforementioned.

The expediency of Richard Cromwell's abdication, to prevent another bloody contention, is shown by the result. Those men who had been the immediate means of accomplishing this abdication, with the advantage of the army, and of all the power in their hands, could not afterwards accomplish the objects of their ambition; and finally involved the nation in the confusion that produced and terminated in the restoration, without the necessary conditions on the King's part, and in their own utter dispersion and ruin. These conditions, the great and upright Chief Justice Hale proposed and strenuously pressed, unfortunately for the country, as it afterwards proved, unsuccessfully.

Had Richard mounted his horse, and placed himself at the head of those soldiers who might have been disposed to follow him, as he is said to have been advised, he could have done nothing effectual against the rest of the army, commanded as it would have been, by veteran experienced officers; the attempt would have involved the nation in another civil war, more sanguinary and more destructive than the former, as being carried on by a greater variety of contending parties; and must have made way for the final victory of the royal party over all of them, and have

produced the restoration of the King as a conqueror, upon his own terms. His quiet abdication, however contemptuously spoken of, merited his country's thanks.

He appears to have been of a mild and merciful disposition; and his disapprobation of violent measures for the maintenance of his situation, which must, under all the forestated circumstances, have been finally unsuccessful, has been construed a want of spirit and personal courage. Not having been bred a soldier, he had no opportunity of showing a military spirit or courage: he appears to have spent much of his time as a country gentleman, which he might do without imputation of his understanding, and certainly not of his courage, which is required in a certain degree in country sports. It may be a trifling circumstance to mention, only as it may be used to show that he had a degree of hardihood; that in the keen pursuit of his favourite amusement of hawking, Mr. Noble says, from Heath's Chronicle, through excess of eagerness in the sport, he outrode his retinue; and his horse, by leaping, threw him into a ditch, from which he was extricated by a countryman before his attendants could come up. This was not the act of a timid character; and his firmness and resolution are sufficiently evidenced in his conduct towards the council of officers, and other forementioned instances previously to his resignation.

Some difference appears between Lord Clarendon's and Mr. Noble's accounts of Richard's place of residence upon his arrival upon the Continent;—His Lordship describes him as first residing at Paris some years, and thence going to and residing at Geneva, and the supposed forementioned interview with the Prince of Conti, as happening in his way thither.—Mr. Noble describes him as first going to, and residing at Geneva; but as not long remaining there, for reasons, he supposes, and then residing at Paris, as Lord Clarendon relates; where he remained, (except says Mr. Noble, another short interval spent at Geneva, for the same reasons as occasioned his going there before,) until his return to England about the year 1680. Both these accounts cannot be

accurate; but the variations are immaterial, nor is it important to ascertain his disposal of himself in the interval of the time of his quitting the kingdom and his return. His (Richard's) letters remaining amongst the family papers, are numerous; they are principally written to his daughters; they are expressed in terms of the most parental affection, nevertheless at times seemingly disapproving their management of the family estates; but no appearance of their unfeeling behaviour towards him described by some writers. A family suit appears to have been depending in 1706; but the story of his personal appearance in court, seems quite improbable, it being unlikely to be necessary, and unless absolutely so, not likely, from his determined retirement, to happen.

The first of his letters to his daughters, remaining with the family papers, is dated in 1687. The following is a letter addressed by him to his daughter Ann Cromwell, at Hursley, who afterwards married Dr. Thomas Gibson, Physician-general of the army; it is dated 18th December, 1690: — "Deare; Thinck not I forgot you, though I confess I have been silent too long in returning & owning of that of yours to me; that w$^{ch}$ was one barr, I knew not upon Mrs. Abbott's removing, how to send soe as my letter might come safe to you; and though we write nothing of state affaires, they being above our providentiall spheer, yet I am not willing to be expos'd, nor can there be that freedome when we are thoughtfull of such restraint as a peeping ey. The hand by whom this comes gave me a hint, as if there were some foule play to letters directed to him. Deare, heart I thanck thee for thy kind and tender expressions to me, and I assure (if there had been cause) they would have melted me; there is a great deale of pittie, piety, and love, (what I had before was soe full, that I had not the least roome to turne a thought or surmise,) but what shall I say, my heart was full, but now it overflowes; you have put joy and gladness in it. How unworthy am I to have such a child, and I know I may venture to say, that the like parralell is not to be found: what I said was experienced matter for information; what you replyed was in behalfe

of those whoe profest themselves to be the Lord's people, and they that are truly such, are as tender as the apple of his ey. I rejoyce in that we both of us love them, yet we are not to deny our reasons as to the mischiefe some of them hath been instrumentall not only in particular to a family, but in generall to the churche of Christ, besides what woes are hanging over these nations, may we not goe further, and bring in all Christendom. I have been alone 30$^{ty}$ years, bannished, and under silence, and my strength and saf'ty is to be retyred, quiet, and silent, we are foolish in taking our cause out of the hand of God. Our Saviour will plead, and God will doe right he hath promised; let us joyne our prayers for faith and patience; if we have heaven, let whose will get the world: my hearty, hearty, hearty affections and love to your sister and self. Salute all friends. I rest comending yee to the blessings of the Almighty; againe fairwell,

"Your truly loving father,

"R. C."

"Present me to all friends; landlord and landlady present respects and service."

None of his letters are dated from any place. In the above postscript he speaks of landlord and landlady, which must mean the (afterwards) Chief Baron Pengelly and his wife; and in a letter dated 1st December, 1691, he refers to a box not arrived, suggesting the mistake to be in the messenger demanding it in the name of Clark, when it should have been Pengelly, which seems sufficiently to prove his residence with the Pengellys, and his adoption of the name of Clark. And the following letter dated the 25th August, 1705, written by Mrs. Pengelly to Mr. George Gibson, appearing to be Dr. Gibson's son, confirms the fact of this name and residence. The place whence it is dated is torn off. — "Mr. Gibson; Mr. Clarke received y$^{rs}$ with the inclosed from Hursley, w$^{ch}$, upon his reading of it, and consideration on his pillow, he called for me, and desired me to write two or three lines to you, he not being stirring, that he could

not so well answere yours by pen, as by discoursing w^th^ you about the affair, so desires you would meet him on Monday afternoone, about three o'clock, at the Blew Bell at Edmonton, that Blew Bell that is next us heare, wheare you maye have opportunity to discourse things fully; he desirs you wold get a hors, he will pay for it: the gentleman is pretty well, and I hope will be better; we endeavour to devert him, I should have wrote to mad^m^ at Hursley, but hope y^rs^ by Tuesday's post, will answere w^th^ our servis to the doctor, is all at present from,

" Yo^r^ loveing friend,

" Rachell Pengelly."

" Please to call of my son and ask him how he doth, and if he have any thing to me."

It may be thought unnecessary to dwell so long upon these circumstances, but the historians of those times having deemed them worthy of attention, it becomes desirable to rectify, from authentic documents, any doubts or mistakes into which they may have fallen. Richard's signatures to these letters are generally " C. R.," reversing the initials of his name; sometimes " Richardson," sometimes " Crandbourne," — " Cranbury," — " Cranmoore."

Mr. Noble speaks of Richard's known gallantry, and supposes Serjeant Pengelly, afterwards Sir Thomas, Chief Baron of the court of Exchequer, from his alleged uncommon zeal for him as his client in the probably forementioned suit, and for some other reasons, now he says unknown, to have been his natural son. He does not give his authorities for this supposed gallantry of Richard, nor is it known to have been believed in the family. His letters are of a devotional turn. Mr. Neal, in his History of the Puritans, says of him, that in his younger years he had not all that zeal for religion as was the fashion of the times, but that those who knew him well in the latter part of his life had assured him (Mr. Neal) that he was a perfect gentleman in his behaviour; well acquainted with public affairs; of great gravity, and real

Henry Cromwell.

Second son of Oliver Cromwell.

Drawn and Engraved by W. Bond, from a half length Portrait,
Painted by T. Christian, Dit Sart, in the Possession of Oliver Cromwell Esq.r

Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, London, Jan.y 1st 1820.

piety; but so very modest that he would not be distinguished or known by any name but the feigned one, of Mr. Clarke. He was born in 1626, and married in 1649, he was therefore only twenty-three years of age at the time of his marriage, and the treaty for the marriage appears to have commenced in 1647; not leaving him much time for gallantry: nor does his father in his letters complain of his conduct in any respect, but those of disinclination to public business, and a too expensive mode of living. The presumption therefore, seems to be, that he never was a dissolute character.

He died in the year 1712, in the 86th year of his age, in, as is said and as is probable, Serjeant Pengelly's house at Cheshunt, understood to be the house next the church, called the Rectory-house, and was buried in the chancel of the church of Hursley, in Hampshire.

Of the private character of the rest of Oliver Cromwell's children; Mr. Noble says, that the author of the History of England during the reigns of the Stuarts, assures us, that all the Protector's daughters were admired, beloved, and esteemed for their beauty, virtue and good sense; and he (Mr. Noble) adds, that they were all of them attached to the royal family except the eldest, (Mrs. Ireton, afterwards Fleetwood,) who was a severe republican.

Bishop Burnet says; That his sons were weak, but honest men; that Richard was not at all bred for business, nor indeed capable of it: that his brother Henry had been made by his father Lieutenant of Ireland, and had the most spirit of the two; but that he could not stand his ground when his brother quitted: that the Countess of Falconbridge was a wise and worthy woman, more likely to have maintained the post than either of her brothers: that the other daughter was married, first to the Earl of Warwick's heir, and afterwards to one (meaning Sir John) Russell, both very worthy persons.

Whitelock, in his Swedish embassy, gives a conversation upon this subject of Cromwell's family, with the Queen of Sweden.

The Queen asks whether his General (Cromwell) had a wife and children; he tells her "he hath a wife and five (should have been six) children." Queen — "What family were he and his wife of?" Whitelock — "He was of the family of a baron, and his wife the like from Bourchiers." Queen — "Of what parts are his children?" Whitelock — "His two sons and three (four) daughters, are all of good parts and liberal education." Queen — "Some unworthy mention and mistakes have been made to me of them." Whitelock — "Your Majesty knows that to be too frequent; but from me you have nothing but the truth."

Bishop Burnet is certainly incorrect in describing the one or the other of Cromwell's sons as weak men. Richard, so far as he is known, does not appear so. Henry certainly was not. Cromwell's early employment of him is sufficient proof of his abilities and personal courage: partiality for his son would not have placed him in those important situations in which he is found at very early ages; it was not his practice to employ incapable men, however connected or attached. Mr. Noble says, from Wood's Fasti, and Heath's Flagellum, that his father took him into the parliament army, raised to oppose King Charles in 1647, (when he was only twenty years of age, being born 20th January, 1627,) when he became captain of the General, Sir Thomas Fairfax's life-guard: that in August, 1649, he went with his father into Ireland as a colonel, to quell the Roman Catholic rebellion, and Whitelock relates that he (Henry), with Lord Broghill, fell into Lord Inchiquin's quarters, and killed 160 of the enemy, and took 120 foot prisoners with their officers, and 150 gallant horse: and Mr. Noble adds, from Heath's Chronicle, that in the year following he assisted at the siege of Limerick.

Mr. Noble adds, from various histories of England, that he was in the Little or Bare-bones parliament assembled in 1653, being one of the members for Ireland, and that in the same year he was sent again into that island to take a review of the state it was in, to discover the temper of the people, and to reconcile the minds of the disaffected to the government of his father: this, says

Mr. Noble, was an arduous task; but that he performed it to admiration: that he found that the ruling powers (the republicans) had taken the most ample care of themselves, and the least, of the people, and that they were so in love with their power and places, that it would be improper to permit them any longer to remain in any post of consequence in the kingdom.

Ludlow, referring apparently to this going to Ireland (using no dates) says that Cromwell having changed his interest and taken off his masque, sent his second son Colonel Henry Cromwell into Ireland, to feel the pulse of the officers there, touching his coming over to command in that nation, where he arrived attended only by one servant, and landing near his (Ludlow's) country-house, he sent his coach to receive him and to bring him thither, where he staid till Lieutenant-general Fleetwood, with several officers, came with coaches to conduct him to Dublin: that having made what observations he could of persons and things in Ireland, he resolved upon his return, of which having given him (Ludlow) advice, he desired him to take his house in his way; and to that end dined with him on the day of his departure at the Lieutenant-general's in the castle, and after dinner went to his house at Moncktown. Then follows the particulars of a conversation between Henry and Ludlow, upon the grounds of his (Ludlow's) dissatisfaction with the then state of affairs in England, not material to relate; after which Henry embarked for England, and, says Ludlow, upon his arrival at Chester was attended by many of the late King's party, and, amongst others, by Colonel Molson (Mosson), who enquiring of him how he left affairs in Ireland, he answered very well, only that some who were in love with their power must be removed. Mr. Noble observes, upon this respectful attention to Cromwell, that it showed the value the people in general had for him, royalists as well as others. He could at this time be only twenty-six years of age.

Mr. Noble observes, that Henry, by the wisdom and equity of his administration soon procured the love of the Irish, who regarded him as a blessing; that this was the sentiment of the

moderate and wise of all parties; that this it was that procured him a counter-address to that presented to the Protector for the restoration of their old chief governor Fleetwood, beseeching that he (Henry) might be continued their governor; and that the nation was ruled with such skill by him, that it was become, from the most deplorable kingdom in Europe, far the happiest of any part of the British dominions, and the most satisfied with the Cromwellian reign. And a paper from the church of Dublin, dated 3d June, 1656, to be found in Milton's State Papers, and given in substance from them by Mr. Noble, but here more at large states, " that some persons (under a pretence of love) had endeavoured to persuade the Lord Henry Cromwell that this church was much grieved and offended with his demeanour and carriage in his place of publike government; for the taking away of that false aspersion tending to the breach of love and peace, and for preventing further evills which might arise from thence, this church did then (by a competent number of their members sent unto His Lordship) assure and satisfi him, that the said information was nothing but a meere fiction (of purpose invented) to make division betwixt His Lordship and this church: and that the father of lyes finding himself disappointed here, in the foresaid mischievous device, hath of late, by the like instruments in England, laboured to asperse His Lordship and this church by insinuating unto some in authority there, that this church in particular and all other godly Christians in general in Ireland, were much grieved, discountenanced and discouraged by reason of the countenance that is said to bee given to vice and vitious persons in Ireland by His Lordship, or since his command of the forces there. They therefore, after serious examination and consideration had thereon, conceived it their duty to disowne and protest against the said lying report, with detestation of soe vile a slander, and for further vindication of themselves, and manifestation of the truth, they did in the sight of God (the searcher of all hearts) thereby declare, that they were soe farre from being any way discountenanced, or haveing any cause to bee offended, grieved, dis-

couraged, or dissatisfied, with His Lordship's demeanour and carriage in his place, that contrarywise they had great cause to rejoice and blesse the Lord for him; — for his equall justice to all, and mercy to the poore; for his prudent and loveing carriage to all that feare God (though of different judgements), endeavouring to preserve unity and love amongst them; for the countenance that himself and family gave to all God's publicke ordinances, by their constant and reverent attendance on them; for the respect, countenance, and encouragement that (in a speciall manner) he gave to all the godly ministers of the Gospel. And we doe also declare (and that upon good ground) that generally all the sober-minded Christians throughout this whole land are of the same mind with us herein. Dated at Dublin, this 3d of June, 1656." Signed by many ministers.

Henry's personal worth and ability, and fitness for the high and arduous situations that he filled in Ireland, will further appear from the following extracts from the many letters to be found in Thurloe's State Papers, written by, and to and concerning him; most of which were supplied by the Cromwell family.

In a letter to Thurloe, dated 8 Martii, 53, (only twenty-six years of age,) he says,— " After a long journey by lande, I arrived heere (Dublin) upon Satterday last, in the eveninge, since which time I have not bin wantinge in my endeavours to informe myselfe of the severall tempers of men heer; and doe find, uppon the strictest inquiry that possibly I could make, that the army generally, both heer about the head-quarters, as also thosse in the other partes of the nation, are abundantly satisfied and well pleased with the present government in Englande; unless it be some few inconsiderable persons of the anabaptiste judgement, whoe are allsoe quiett, though not very well contented; but, I beleive they will receive much satisfaction from a letter very lately come to their handes from Mr. Kiffin and Spilsbury, in which they have dealt very homely and plainly with those of that judgement heer: but I must say this, that if they had been inclineable to have made disturbance, they had sufficient en-

couragement frome those in cheife place heer, whoe have managed business of late with much peevishness and frowardness, endeavouringe to render the government as unacceptable as possibely they could, especially Ludlowe and Jones, who are very highly dissatisfied, though Jones more cuninge and close in it; but Ludlowe hath not spared any company, or opportunitie, to vent his venomous discontents, and that in reproachful and reflectinge language, very much to the amazement of all sober men, amongst whome he hathe rather loste then gained acceptance by it: he hath refused to act in his civill capacitie since the change, but will not leave his military, because proffittable, unless it be taken from him. You will, I suppose, consider what is fitt to be done with such persons; and I hope it may stirre you up speedily to settle a government that may signifie somethinge; for this does verry little, unless it be to make orders to give away the publique lands, of which they have given large proportions to each of themselves. The uttmost that is desired is, that all may be uppon ane equall account as to encouragement and countenance, which I doubt will scarce be, unless there be care taken for the future. I hope you received the character, which I sent at my comeing out of town to you. Make use only of the upper clavis to uncypher the inclosed. I am your freinde and servante,

" H. Cromwell."

" You will shew this to my father."

Then follows the part written in cypher, decyphered by Thurloe. — " I have taken the freedome to be very plain with my brother, (Fleetwood, commander-in-chief,) and have, as neare as I could, acquainted hym with what I had in trust, and doe finde his desire rather to returne, than to continue here; but is willing to be at my father's dispose: but, to deale faithfully, I doe thinke he is a little too deeply ingaged in a partial affection to the persons of the anabaptists, to answer your end; though I do believe it rather to proceed from tendernes than love to their principles. He is very well satisfyed that the government heere should be suteable to

yours, and well approves of the two persons pitcht upon for counsellors. To offer my poore thought, I would take advantage by Ludlowe's frowardness, to putt hym out of the army, and putt Gen. Desborow in his place; who, with the assistance of the persons above mentioned, will doe your business effectually, especially if you thinke fitt for some short tyme to command my brother over, and in his absence to constitute G. Desbrowe his deputie. I shall staye till the general councill be over, which will be within those 14 daies, and then I shall hast over with speed."

In a letter from a Mr. Lloyd to Thurloe, dated the 13th of the same month of March (1653), is given an account of Henry's honourable reception upon his arrival in Ireland.

By the original commission with the Cromwell family papers, signed by the Protector, dated 24th August (1654), it appears that Henry was appointed Major-general of the army and forces of horse and foot of Ireland, directing him to observe and follow the orders and directions of the Protector, or General Fleetwood, the commander-in-chief of said army.

In a letter of Henry's to Thurloe, dated 2d January (1655), referring to the ill-usage of Colonel Hewson and others of the anabaptists, he says,—"I bless the Lord I doe gett strength enough to bare their reproaches beyond what I ever expected, both in respect of my youthe and naturall temper: whatever their carriage is towarde me, I trust, through grace, I shall not be withdrawne from doeing my duty, both to God and the publique; in which, I hope, I shall soe behave myselfe, that, when it shall please the Lord otherwaies to dispose of me, they that watch for my haltinge, shall have noething justly to reproach me with, or charge uppon me."

In a letter dated 10th same January, he says,—"I hope it will appeare that I have carried myself like an honest mane to all, notwithstanding the harde measure I have received from some: a faire complyance shall be from me towardes all, soe farre as it may consist with publique safety: Colonell Sankey himselfe hath

confessed to me, that nothinge will satisfye some of his brethren but the saddle; but I shall keep them frome that, least they should make me their asse."

In a letter dated 18th same January, observing upon the ill-treatment of some officers of the army, anabaptists, and others, he says,—"After I had answered those perticuler things they objected, I told them plainly, that they might all of them of that judgement expect equally liberty both in their spirituall and civil concernments with any others, and though I could not close with their principles in my judgement, that I held myself obliged in duty (judgeing them to be persons fearinge God,) to protect them from being imposed uppon by any; as allsoe to keep them from doeing the like to others: liberty and countenance they might expect frome me, but to rule me, or to rule with me, I should not approve of; and soe wee parted verry farely, with a great deale of seemeing friendshipp; and truely I ame not without hopes, but that their may be some good come by this meeting. I am verry sensible of the necessitie their is of union; and if my principles did not enforce it as a duty uppon me, yet consideringe howe thinges are, and are like to be in relation to the common enimy, common prudence would make me bewarre of increasing the number of our enemyes. Lookeing uppon the godliness of these men, I should be loathe to loose them, if they be to bee kept; but indeed, consideringe their late practises, as well as former, I doe not thinke that God has given them a spirritt of government; neither is it safe they should have much power in their handes."

In a letter dated 6th February following, he (Henry) says,—"I cannot be without my feares in relation to His Highness, till I heare of his perfect recovery, It will not become me to say howe much the interest of these nations, and especially of the people of God therein, depends uppon and is wrapt up in His Highness. I have as much reason, as well upon that account as allsoe upon a more perticular, to be earnest with the Lord on his behalf as any. Those that may secretly desire, and contrive

harme against him, would hardly escape the general calamitie that woulde fall uppon these nations, and which they too much endeavour to pull uppon their owne heades and others, by their murmuringes, muttringes, and wicked designes."

In a letter dated 2d July following (1656), he writes,—" Sir; I have, by this post, seconded the request, which, in my laste letter, I desired you to make to His Highness for my retirement, by letter to His Highness himselfe, whoe I hope will have a due consideration thereof. I desire the Lord to direct His Highnesse to such a course herein, as may most conduce to the glory of God, and the peace and settlement of this poore country. Truely, Sir, accordinge to the apprehension I have of the present state of thinges, I cannot judge it good either for the publique or myselfe to be longer here. I knowe not howe things are managed; but sure I am, my enemyes (who have been hitherto designinge to supplante me, and to caste their reproaches upon me) insult, my friendes droope, myself thereby rendered contemptible, and altogether incapable of doeing further service. I will not venture to give my opinion of your keepinge Reynolds and Harrison, your sendeing for Morgan. Could there be any thinge more done to gratifie these, that have bin all this while contriveing against me? The Lord help me to bare these thinges with patience, and enable me to submitt to his good pleasure.

In a letter dated 17th December following, he says, that things in Ireland were brought to an indifferent good pass; that the anabaptists and others, whose ways and principles were inconsistent with settlement and our interest, found themselves disabled from doing much harm: that his (Henry's) inclination was, having brought them to good terms, not to crush them quite, lest through despair they should attempt things dangerous, and lest others should take occasion to become insolent and violent, and so put us to a new trouble. Besides, that it was against his conscience to bear hard upon any, merely upon account of a different judgment, or to do any thing that might make them think so. This being done, I desire, according to your seasonable hint, to

receive your further advice; and more particularly what thoughts His Highness and others have of my proceedings, and withal how affairs are like to go in England, so that I may the better know how to do my part here in the main work; to which purpose I have sent you a safe character, and, I hope, easy both to write and open, to the end that you may be more free and large thereupon.

In a book in the Cromwell family, entitled, "Entries of Letters since the 24th November, 1657," is a memorandum, that "on Tuesday, the 24th day of November, 1657, the Right Hono'ble the Lord Henry Cromwell was sworne Lord Deputy of Ireland." This book contains a series of his letters to the time of his resignation of his office. He could be only thirty years of age at the time of this appointment. These letters are to be found in Thurloe's State Papers, transcribed from this book.

Preparatory to the giving these letters, it will not be improper to introduce a passage from a letter from Lord Broghill to General Montague, very complimentary of Henry's talents for the employ: it is dated Youghall, 20th same November. "They (the Irish nation) are all highly obliged to you for setling my Lord Harry amongst us; he has long (in all our opinions) deserved this office before he possessed it, and I know is a great friend to you, and a great desirer of your friendship for him. That touche you give of the condition things are still in at London, makes Ireland seem a very happy place; though where my Lord Harry doth govern, that country needs no foil to set it off."

In a letter of Henry, dated the 25th same November, he acknowledges the receipt of the commission and instructions: he proceeds, — "I must indeed acknowledge how unfitt I am for this burden; and it is my mercy that the Lord doth in these times effect his greatest designs by weak instruments, to the reproach and laying low of all carnal policy and worldly wisdome. It is my hope that the Lord, who alone has brought me hither, will not leave me in the wilderness, but will guide me through this labyrinth of my imployment. The God of my father helpe and hold up my head in the evill day, when the powers of the world shall shrinke and shrivell. Indeed I account it the seal of your kindness to

caution me, as you did, in this the day of my temptation." Referring to the necessary ceremonies upon taking upon himself this office, he says, that the Lord Chancellor (Steele) had advised, that to confer knighthood was a necessary part; nevertheless, considering the posture of affairs, he was unwilling to put forth that power; but that, upon further advice, the thing being pressed as necessary, he had studied to find out a fit and proper person, and one against whom was least exception in reference of all parties: that at length he pitched upon Colonel Thomlison as being a member of the council, and one no ways famous for his formal affection to him. "I must confess, I had a farther reason, which was to declare to the world how really willing I was to obliterate the memory of that division conceived to have been among the members of the former council; and to give this as a public act of reconciliation, even with those that were most concerned in that breach. Some other petty considerations I had, which I leave your own fancy to guess at. Having thus pitched upon the person, I used means to feel his inclinations as to the acceptance; and I found no more reluctancy than what might be expected, but rather the contrary, handsomely dissembled: whereupon he was knighted; and to shew you that it was no vain itch which put me upon the action, I shall be sparinge hereafter in conferring those marks of honour. Those who we thought would have quarrelled with these ceremonys, seem at least to approve them though possibly but for the person's sake."

In a letter from Henry (then lord deputy of Ireland), to Thurloe, dated 2d December following, he says, — "I have, enclosed, sent you a large letter to His Highness about the arrears of the army. I desire you to deliver it at such a time, when it may be read and considered, and withall as soon as you can, for it is of near concernment to us. You have put me upon the stage, and therefore I desire you to continue your endeavours, that I may in some measure act answerable to expectation; for if money be wanting, all I can do will signify little."

In the letter above referred to, of the same date, addressed to the Protector, he says, — "Having by Your Highness's favour

been admitted to the government here, Your Highness might expect, by the returne of the messenger who brought me your commission, to receive from me nothing but thanks, or, as some may thinke, nothing but expressions of joy for so great an honor and preferment. Nevertheless, (though without the least derogation from what I owe Your Highness,) I am forced to mingle with those duties, some addresses of another nature alsoe. That which I am to trouble Your Highness with at this time, is want of monies to discharge soe great an arreare to your army as of late hath scarce been heard of within the three nations. I have received lately a letter from my brother Fleetwood, so full of discouragements as to this matter, that, did I not know our condition to be lamentable and dangerous, I should have little hope to speed in this attempt. I have several times hinted our wants to Your Highness, Mr. Secretary, and others, but being then subordinate, I thought it fitt to be urgent, chiefly with my immediate superior, trusting that he, being upon the place of releife, and having himselfe left me in this entangled condition, would use all fitt remedies ; but finding hitherto no effectuall answer to all former intimations, and having some reason to thinke that some make it too much their worke to frustrate my endeavours therein, the care of this business being now wholly mine, and that all miscarriages must be charged upon my single account, I must now humbly tell Your Highness, that had not this country been in an ill condition, by reason of the three months' vacancy of government, I should have even deferred opening my commission, untill by supply of monies, I might have seen it possible for me to discharge the trust thereby committed to me, and not have given ground for all men to thinke, that my greediness of honour and power is such as to make me admitt of any absurditie, to venture upon any impossibility, and to take upon me such things as must hereafter end in Your Highness's disservice and my own reproch." He then states these great arrears of the army, and the probable ill consequences of their remaining undischarged. "I humbly beg (continues he) Your Highness to weigh these truths, and not to keep me for ever engaged in con-

flicts and difficulties more and greater, than any other man in my way doth or hath suffered. Your Highness knows how hard it is to keepe things right without money, the ill consequences of these wants may be hereafter represented as my errors and miscarriages, and it will be better for me never to have been advanced to this place of trust, than to be left without meanes to manage it, without which it must prove but an empty and dangerous title only. I hope Your Highness will thinke well of some, perhaps not so fitt expressions, which I used in giving you my apprehensions of the army. I am not willing to suggest causeless feares, nor would I speake at this rate to any other; I judge it my duty to deale faithfully upon these occasions. The Lord bless Your Highness, and direct you in that great affaire of the other House, and in what else may make for the glory of his name and good of his people committed to your care, and enable me, in the faithful discharge of my trust, and that I may in all things approve myselfe your most obedient son."

In a letter to Lord Broghill, dated 28th January following, thanking him for his kind and friendly offices with the Protector and Secretary Thurloe, he adds, — "What you have acted with His Highness and Mr. Secretary in my behalfe, assuring them of my affections and endeavours to do things acceptable unto them respectively, I like well, but feare you have too much expressed your own affection towards mee in what you said to His Highness; but I know Your Lordship's merit in other things will give you credit for more unlikely matters: wherefore, if Your Lordship hath lent me any thing that was not mine, it follows that I must labour to pay it, and discharge Your Lordship's engagements for my good behavior."

In a letter to Lord Falconberg, dated 10th February following, he writes, — "As Ireland (like all other reviving plantations) receives many imported goods, but exports little; so I cannot repay Your Lordship's newes with newes, but must only give Your Lordship my humble thanks, for those your free and usefull communications, as the interest of Your Lordship's debt upon mee; besides, as Ireland sends forth nothing but hides, tallow,

pipe-staves, and other coarse commodities, in exchange of the delicacies of art and nature, so my Lord, Your Lordship must not expect any thing from mee, bearing other proportion to what I receive from Your Lordship; wherefore 'tis something that I see in your letters not in my own, which makes me confident to draw you on to this trouble of a correspondence with mee.

"Although the want of Mr. Secretary's intelligence leaves a great dimness upon my sight of affaires, yett I may tell Your Lordship, without flattery to yourselfe, or disparagement to him, that the addition of Your Lordship's observations will so brighten the objects I looke uppon, as to make his prospective the more usefull unto mee; besides, my Lord, as severall plants attract their severall and contrary substances from the same common earth, so certainly out of the same generall masse of humane affaires, men of severall minds and inclinations, will remark and be affected with severall and very different particulars, from whence, concluding that Your Lordship may shine upon mee as cleare from your own orbe, as Mr. Secretary from his; I againe beg the continuance of Your Lordship's last favours; I say, I beg, or at least would borrow them; for I told Your Lordship you must not expect payment from me at present.

"I was quite mistaken in my last, when I feared as if the new-begotten House would ly crosse in the wombe that conceived it; whereas now I see the unnatural mother uses meanes to procure the abortion of her owne issue; but it may be, 'tis only the wormes or vipers (you named) lying in the gutts of the commonwealth, which have caused the frittings and gnawings you mention; and this I rather believe, because of the 500 maggottes, which you say are now againe busily crawling out of the excrements of Mr. Feak's corrupted church. But, to be serious, my Lord, 'tis a sad thing when men of so many different waies (for such are or have been many of those you mention), should all conspire for unsettlement, seeking vaine occasions to quarrell, but it His Highness's happinesse that they find but words and names to snap and snarle at," &c.

In a letter dated 14th April following, to Commissary-general Whalley, he says,—" My Lord Lockhart's confirmation of my opinion concerning your son, doth likewise beget in me a good opinion of myself; for, till I heard myself seconded, I was afraid my affections towards you and him had misguided my reason in the character I formerly conceived of him. Truly, if I had not perceived so good fundamentals in him, I should neither have advised him to the superstructure of a foreign education, nor exposed the weakness of so near a relation to the derision of strangers; but I saw there was matter, and that it was fitt to be wrought and formed. I am of opinion that we want such men, for our foreign negotiations, as my coussin, your son, is like to be I give him my leave to stay for his further improvement, or other benefit, being the last return I can make for that affection I have always observed in you towards me, and our whole family."

In a letter dated 12th May following, to Thurloe, he says, — " Here is a messenger on purpose, from Col. Roger Mosson, of Mosson, in Denbighshire, by whome I am informed that Col. Mosson is secured, together with such other persons in those parts as have been officers in the late war against the parliament.— This gentleman is a person from whome I have received many civilities in my voyages for and from Ireland; and one who hath often declared to mee that he thought it was his duty to submit chearfully to the present government, and that he was resolved never to act against it, but to follow his private affaires and mind the improvement of his estate, and discharge himselfe as became a good subject to His Highnesse. I will not undertake to say he hath kept his word, or that any other obligation lyes on him to keepe it, more than that of a gentleman and honour. Yet neverthelesse, if you have no particular matter against his person, but that he is taken only within the compasse of a general rule, I would mediat so farre in his behalfe, as to desire you to take the best opportunity you can to gett him inlarged, he being willing to give what security shall be desired for his good deportment."

In the forementioned book, from which these extracts are taken, is a memorandum, copied also in Thurloe, — That His Excellency (Henry), intending at this time chiefly to make observations of the state of things under his immediate charge, went a progress to Cork, and from thence visited all the harbours upon the western coast as far as Bantre; and going from thence by Limerick, came to Portumna, where he met with the news of the death of his sister, the Lady Elizabeth (Claypoole); and having nothing of great emergency before him, gave the more way to melancholy thoughts and recess. This is the reason of the intermission of entry of letters, till the news that His Highness was dangerously sick gave fresh occasion.

In a letter dated 18th September following (1658), addressed to his brother, Richard Cromwell, then Protector, he declines the acceptance of the offer of his continuance in his office of Lord Deputy of Ireland; having, he says, ever since his appointment by the late Protector, met with nothing but toil and disquiet of body and mind, thereby so exceedingly impairing his health, that it was not possible for him to undergo the like any longer: that his life was made a burden, and that had he not owed a natural and filial obedience, as well as a full subjection to His late Highness, he could not willingly have undergone it. He adds, that he might not, unless His Highness should command him against his will, and condemn him to his grave, any longer undergo the charge: that he was not able always to live in the fire: that he did not this out of any froward humour, neither was he so vain as to design being courted: that he was willing, nay, desirous, to spend his small talents in His Highness's service, so that his task might be no more than he was able to perform; but that he could hardly submit to a combination of pragmatical men, who, as they would endeavour to impose on His Highness, as they did upon His late Highness, so he might justly fear they would think it the nearest way to their ends, to misrepresent him to His Highness: that it was hard to express his mind by writing, unless he should swell a letter to a volume; besides which, he had much to say which was not fit to be written. — He requests his

permission to attend him in person for a short time, where he doubts not, but by conference he should give His Highness abundant testimony of his dutiful obedience, and of his readiness and hearty desire to serve him, and of the ways and means which might capacitate him thereunto. For, to say truth, says he, it were a treasonable folly for me to undertake a service which I beforehand know I have not strength either of body or understanding to manage to Your Highness's advantage. Besides, that he desired to be instructed from His Highness's own mouth, by what principles he should steer, lest he should ignorantly do any thing that might justly displease. "And, indeed, I do not dissemble if I say change of air, and some recess is necessary for my health, which is the more dear to me because I seldom enjoy it twenty-four hours together. Thus I do faithfully spread my cause at Your Highness's feet: if Your Highness think not fitt to hearken unto my petition, I shall keep the army in due obedience, and deliver it to whomsoever Your Highness shall commit the charge thereof, and be truly thankful for that protection which you allow to the meanest of Your Highness's subjects; and publicly profess entire love and tender affection to you as my brother, allegiance and perfect subjection and obedience to Your Highness, as my rightful and undoubted supreme magistrate, and continually pray to God for your long life and prosperous and happy reign."

In a letter dated 20th October following, Henry thus writes to Richard: — "May it please Your Highness; If the account be true which I have received of the state of affairs in England, I cannot tell what to advise Your Highness upon this sad occasion, though I confess it is no more then I looked for, only I had some hopes it might have been prevented by keeping all officers at their respective charges. But, as things now stand, I doubt the flood is now so strong, you can neither stem it nor come to an anchor, but must be content to goe adrift and expect the ebb. I thought those whom my father had raised from nothing, would not so soon have forgot him, and endeavour to destroy his family before he is in his grave. Why do I say I thought, when I know ambition and affectation of empire never had any bounds?

I cannot think these men will ever rest till they are in the saddle; and we of late years have been so used to changes, that it will be but a nine-days' wonder. And yet I fear there is no remedy but what must be used gradually and pedetentim. Sometimes I thinke of a parliament, but am doubtful whether sober men will adventure to embark themselves, when things are in so high a distraction, or if they would, whether the army can be restrained from forcing elections. I know not what to advise at this distance, unless I could heare all the arguments pro and con upon a true state of the case: yet I am almost afraid to come to Your Highness, lest I should be kept there, and so Your Highness lose this army, which, for ought I know, is the only stay you have, though I cannot but earnestly desire it. I doe alsoe think it dangerous to write freely to Your Highness, or for you to doe it to me, unless by a messenger that will not be outwitted or corrupted; for I make no question but all the letters will be opened which come either to or from Your Highness, which can be suspected to contain business. I pray God help you, and bless your counsells. The inclosed is a copy of my letter this post to my brother Fleetwood, which I send that Your Highness may see whether I am mistaken in my apprehension of things."

"To my Lord Fleetwood, 20th October, 1658, a copy whereof was sent inclosed to His Highness, in the above letter. — Dear Brother; I received the account you give of the petition of the officers, for which I give you thanks, and especially for your caution, that I should not believe any thing concerning you, till I had heard you; truly it was seasonable advice, for I am told strange things, and pray give me leave to expostulate with you. How came those 2 or 300 officers together? If they came of their own heads, the being absent from their charge without licence, would have flown in their face, when they petitioned for a due observance of martiall discipline. If they were called together, were they not alsoe taught what to say and doe? If they were called, was it with His Highness's privity? If they mett without leave in so great a number, were they told their error? I shall not meddle with the matter of their petition, though some things in

it doe unhandsomely reflect, not only upon his present, but His late Highness. I wish with all my heart you were commander in chiefe of all the forces in the three nations; but I had rather have it done by His Highness's especiall grace and meer motion, than put upon you in a tumultuary unsoldierly way. But, dear brother, I must tell you (and I cannot do it without tears) I hear that dirt was thrown upon His late Highness at that great meeting. They were exhorted to stand up for that good old cause, which had long layn asleep; I thought my dear father had persued it to the last, he died like a servant of God, and prayed for those that desired to trample upon his dust, for they were alsoe God's people. O, dear brother, let us not render evill for good; let us not make his memory stink before he is under ground; let us remember his last legacy, and even for his sake, render his successor considerable, and not make him vile, a thing of nought, and a by-word. Whither do these things tend! Surely God hath a controversy with us. What a hurly-burly is there made! a 100 independant ministers called together! a councell, as you call it, of 2 or 300 officers of a judgment! Remember what hath alwaies befallen imposing spirits. Will not the loynes of an imposing independant, or anabaptist, be as heavy as the loynes of an imposing prelate or presbyter: and is it a dangerous error, that dominion is founded in grace, when it is held by the church of Rome; and a sound principle, when it is held by the Fifth Monarchy? Dear Brother, let us not fall into the sinns of other men, lest we partake of their plagues; let it be so carryed, that all the people of God, though under different formes, yea, even those whom you count without, may enjoy their birthright and civill liberty, and that not one party may tread upon the neck of another. It doth not become the magistrate to descend into parties; but can the things you doe tend to this end? Can those things be done, and the world not think His Highness a knave or a fool, or oppressed with mutinous spirits? O, dear brother, my spirit is sorely oppressed with the consideration of the miserable estate of the innocent people of these three poor nations! What have these sheep done, that their blood should

be the price of our lust and ambition? Let me begg of you to remember how His late Highness loved you, how he honoured you with the highest trust in the world, by leaving the sword in your hand, which must defend or destroy us; and his declaring His Highness his successor, shews that he left it there to preserve him and his reputation. O, brother, use it to curb extravagant spirits and busy bodys, but let not the nations be governed by it; let us take heed of arbitrary power; let us be governed by the known laws of the land, and let all things be kept in their proper channells; and let the army be so governed, that the world may never heare of them, unless there be occasion to fight. And truly, brother, you must pardon me if I say God and man may require this duty at your hand, and lay all miscarriages in the army, in point of discipline, at your door. You see I deal freely and plainly with you, as becomes your friend and a good subject; and the great God, in whose presence I speak this, he knows that I do it not to reproach you, but out of my tender affection and faithfulness to you; and you may rest assured that you shall always find me your true friend and loving brother,

"H. C."

"Postscript. Why were wee comprehended in the title of your address, and concluded by 2 officers? If it be not printed, pray do not cozen the world."

In a letter from Henry to the Lord Broghill, dated 2d November following, he says,—"My commission came on Saturday, and was this day opened. No instructions are yet come. May be the commission was sent before, as a bait to engage me to swallow them when they come. I must expect to be lustily thrashed, when Th. hath the making of the clog. In brief, I cannot expect much favour from the other side; for I am told on all hands, as well by letters as persons coming from thence, that I am a great eye-sore; and am told from a very good hand that they give out, that the apprehension they had of the consequences of my coming over was the cause of their late tumultuary meetings; and tis said that I am not the only subject of their envy, but that it reacheth

to Fa. Th. and Mo., who they say are particularly aimed at. Indeed, for ought I hear, His Highness hath carryed himself with prudence and resolution enough. I wish, with all my heart, Your Lordship were there; and I can assure you by the last express I had from His Highness, he earnestly desires it," &c.

In a letter from Henry to Richard, dated 3d November following, he says,—" On Saturday last I received Your Highness's commission for my being lieutenant and governor-general of Ireland, &c.; for which great honour, the reflection upon my own unworthiness will make me always hold myself bound in gratitude to serve Your Highness whilst I live, although I were not (as in duty and good conscience I am) obliged thereunto as Your Highness's subject. Nevertheless, I presume humbly to acquaint Your Highness, that I had great strivings within my breast before I could prevail with myself to accept and open the commission, (which I did yesterday,) but doe not thereby account myselfe any thing more at all obliged to continue it, than I was at first to accept it. I considered, that if I should refuse it, that could not be done without noise and reflection upon the state of Your Highness's affairs; and besides, I had no reason to think Your Highness sent it upon any other terms then what I was bold, positively to insist upon in mine to Your Highness, which was presented by Dr. Petty; and that, although no instructions came with it, I had as much reason to think that, either you intended to send none at all, or at least such as would not unreasonably limit me, (being assured of Your Highness's care and favour,) as to fear Your Highness might suffer the industry of T. and my enemies, to procure such instructions as might make my commission signifie nothing; though I must needs acquaint Your Highness that all observing men, who heard it publiquely read, took notice that the clause, which is of the very essence of a lieutenant's commission, and was always inserted in commissions to other lieutenants, was wholly left out of this, namely, the power of making a deputy, and going for England; so that I have reason to say, I hope Your Highness will not by this acceptance esteem me bound to continue this charge without your licence to attend Your Highness

in person for some short time, which I humbly conceive I have now much more cause to express than ever. I shall not at all look back into the causes and reasons which first induced me to make this humble request to Your Highness, any further than to say they remain still in their full force. But I do now only argue from such things as have since happened. I find that my enemys, upon this single issue, whether I should goe or not, have hitherto prevailed, and so in effect have sentenced me with an honourable banishment. I am not conscious of any crime, which might deserve it; but if they can denounce such judgment upon my innocence, they will easily be able to make me criminous, by stopping all supplys from this necessitous army, who have no more now then keeps them alive, and from destroying our young plantations by free quarter. This is the compendious and infallible way to doe it; but because they will be sure of a faire blow at me, before they give the fatal stroke, they first cut my sinues. They render me a persecutor of good men, and handle my reputation so rudely with their coblers' thumbs, that they have already begot a doubt amongst some good men (even my friends) whether all be right. And if I suffer this continuall dropping without effectuall contradiction, it may, for ought I know, prevail even upon Your Highness, though the most just and wise person in the world, or at least upon such honest men whose good opinions I so far value, that I will rather submitt to any sufferings with a good name, then be the greatest man on earth without it. And, alas, Sir, how can I check this gangreen without appearing there? My friends have not power to help me: besides, 'tis doubtfull who are my friends, and whether they do not sute their advice to Your Highness concerning me, more to their own ends then my safety; and if they were never soe powerfull and just to me, 'tis not possible they should maintain an argument touching matters or persons, wherewith they are not fully acquainted: and my condition is now such, that my very person is not known (I a little doubt) to my neerest relations, much less my disposition and manner of life. So that, upon the whole matter, I beg Your Highness's leave to conclude that (according to the tenor of the two last letters I

received from Your Highness) I shall receive your licence to present myselfe before Your Highness this humble request to that end; and in order thereunto, my wife being great with child, and so like to be less able every day to endure such a journey, I intend forthwith to send her over. I have also, enclosed, sent a copy of a letter (*mutatis mutandis*) from the late K. under his hand and privy signet, to the Earle of Stafford, which, so signed and sealed by Your Highness, will both authorize me to come, and also to appoint justices in my absence, which I the rather advise should be made then a deputy, as Your Highness's affairs here now stand. I should be too voluminous if I should discourse all the considerations which lead me to this opinion; and I forbear it the rather, because I am apt to think that Your Highness having thought fitt to entrust me with the charge of this place, will the more easily excuse me for presuming to offer how it may be secured till my returne. And for the army, I intend to divide it into 4 brigades, according as they now lye in the 4 provinces, and leave the charge thereof to 4 colonells, with instructions what to do in case a conjunction should be necessary, and to bring over Sir H. W. with me, and such others as cannot so safely be left here," &c.

In a letter without date (but immediately preceding Henry's resignation of his government,) addressed to Fleetwood, he says, — "I received yours of the seventh of June, and your advices therein, which being but generall, I have sent Dr. Pettie to know more particularly what you would have me to doe. Upon the first rumour I sett out a proclamation to keepe the peace, when I heard the parliament was sitting; and withall that their call was from some of the army, and that not many appeared; and that the committee of officers of severall interests kept up their meeting.

"We dispatcht from hence some, that might acquaint you with the desires of those here. I have, since His Highness's acquiescence, called together the officers, to make such addresses as they should think fitt. For my own part, I know no harm in a commonwealth way of government; and believe those now at helme to be very able and fitt for their work; yett you may think I

cannot but be troubled at what has so lately befallen my relations; and do acknowledge that others may very honestly do what I cannot so handsomely. I have resisted great temptations in respect to their authority. The late newes of my being sent for, has strange interpretations putt on it by some; and I am distracted with the variety of men's opinion upon it. I desire you to lett me know how you would have me carry it, when the order itselfe comes to my hands. The officers are at worke about their address; I lett them take their own course, that the parliament may have the true knowledge of them; they are all well disposed to settlement. Lett me hear speedily from you."

In another letter, also without date, from Henry to Fleetwood, he says,—"I received yours of the seventh instant, whereby, and by divers others letters, I take notice of the votes in parliament concerning my coming into England: that news has so many odd circumstances, and such animadversions are made upon it, as I think it much concerns mee to know the meaning with all the speed I can: to which purpose I have sent this bearer (Dr. Pettie, as appears by another letter) unto you, as one whom I can best trust, now my nearest concernments are at stake: wherefore, I desire you to shew your kindness to me in being free and plain with him, as to such advice as you think concerns my preservation, (for I am well contented to aim at nothing else,) and especially how I shall behave myself in reference to the summons for my coming over when I receive them. I have made so good use of my time, as I have not money to bring mee. Pray give the bearer accesse to you on my account; he does not use to be tedious or impertinent. It concerns me to have one that I can trust, to have such an accesse to you. I hope you will not look upon him as to me, under the character and representation that Sir H. S. and some others may give of him; but rather as one that hath been faithfull and affectionate unto me, and I may say, to yourself alsoe, and one whome I think, notwithstanding all that is said, is a very honest man. I shall not trouble you with much more: he can best acquaint you with what concerns myselfe, upon which single account I have gotten him to come for England. As for

the public differences, I never perceived him forward or busy in any. Dear brother, these are times of tryall, both as to our own hearts and our friends. I hope you will well consider of what you advise mee as to myself, and let me have a speedy return of your opinion. I desire the Lord to teach us his waies, and to fitt our hearts for that condition wherewith we have not been enough acquainted. I have sent the letter which I intended to have sent the House along with the army's address, before I received the news of my being sent for: you will see the reality of my heart therein: let it be read, or the substance thereof more privately communicated, as you shall think fitt upon the place."

The following is Henry's resignation of the government of Ireland to the parliament: it is dated 15th June following (1659):—

" Mr. Speaker; I am so unwilling to interrupt the peace of these nations, that I think it my duty to prevent even those feares and jealousies which may give any occasion thereof; and, in order thereunto, to give you an accoumpt of your affaires in Ireland, and more especially of myselfe in relation to them, and other the late transactions.

It hath been my unhappiness of late to receive intelligence only from common fame, and very private hands, and to be forced rather to guesse what I had to doe upon all emergencies, then to be entrusted with the cleere commands of my superiors: by reason whereof, when I heard the first general rumour of the last parliament's dissolution, and of a likelihood of discontinuing the government under which it was called, I having no light into the intrinsick causes of that action, and knowing in generall how busy the common enemy was in all the three nations, and in what variety of shapes they appeared to act their designes; and withall, having the care of securing a more dangerous, numerous, and exasperated people, the Irish natives and papists, I did forthwith, to answer all the severall ends of my trust, publish a declaration, requiring all officers, civill and military, to attend their respective comands, and not to hearken to any design of inovation, how speciously soever the same might bee presented to them. Soone after I received a letter from the committee of safety, recommend-

ing the peace and security of Ireland in a more speciall manner to my care, which I answered with a reall promise of complying with their advice. I did withall communicate that letter to very many officers of the army, promising likewise to transmitt the result of their consideration upon itt; and accordingly I did send over, by three worthy persons of this nation, a particular of such things, the granting thereof (as is conceived) would much settle the minds of people and the army heere, whose case and concernment are very different from those of England or Scotland. All this while I expected directions from His Highness, (by whose authority I was placed heere,) still having an eye to the common peace, by preventing all making of partyes and divisions, either among the people or army; but hearing nothing expressly from him, and yett having credible notice of his acquiescing in what Providence had brought forth as to the future government of these nations, I now thinke itt tyme (least a longer suspence should begett prejudiciall apprehensions in the minds of any) to give you this accompt, viz. that I acquiesse in the present way of government, although I cannot promise soe much affection to the late changes as others very honestly may. For my owne part, I can say, that I believe God was present in many of your administrations, before you were interrupted, and may be soe againe; to which end, I hope, that those worthy persons who have lately acknowledged such their interrupting you in the year 1653, to have beene their fault, will by that sence of their impatience, bee henceforth engaged to doe soe no more, but bee the instruments of your defence, whilst you quietly search out the ways of our peace; which stability and freedome, which, when the Lord shall restore unto you, will much subdue the hearts of all peaceably minded persons to your authority.

" The fower years experience I have had of your army heere, (even under those tryalls which have provoked others), gives me just ground to assure you of their concurrence with their brethren in England, in the way of obeying and defending, rather then of directing or awing you.

" I say, for my own part, I had an honourable opinion of the

government you are now returned unto before its discontinuance, and yett I must not deny, but that the free submission which many worthy, wise, and conscientious persons yielded to the late government under a single person, (by severall wayes, as well real as verball,) satisfied me alsoe in that forme. And whereas my father, (whom I hope you yett looke upon as noe inconsiderable instrument of these nations' freedom and happinesse), and since him, my brother, were constituted chiefe in those administrations, and that the returning to another forme hath beene looked upon as an indignity to those my neerest relations, I cannot but acknowledge my owne weaknesse as to the suddain digesting thereof, and my owne unfitness to serve you in the carrying on your further superstructures upon that basis. And as I cannot promote any thing which inferres the diminution of my late father's honour and meritt, soe I thanke the Lord for that hee hath kept me safe in the great temptations, wherewith I have beene assaulted to withdraw my affection from that cause, wherein he lived and dyed.

I have a tenderness to peace, which, (as I conceive, depending rather upon the worthiness of governors then formes of government,) renders me contented to wait upon Providence, in the expectation of that mercy, being ready to yield up my charge to any whom you shall send to receive itt; and beseeching the Lord to be your mighty councellor and prince of peace. I remaine, &c.

"H. Cromwell."

Here concludes the entries of the letters of Henry Cromwell in the forementioned book, during his continuance in his office of Lord-deputy of Ireland.

In a letter in Thurloe's same State Papers, is a letter dated 21st June 1659, from Mr. John Barwick to Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon; he says, — "What the letters told you of H. Cromwell's defyance and submission was not true in either particular. He hath hitherto stood *in æquilibrio*, taking no notice at all of the parliament as the supreme authority (as they call it), but proceeding on in his former course as if his brother were still

Protector. He is neither so active as he might be to play his own game, nor so plyable as they would have him here to comply with theires. And his dullness is the more inexcuseable, because he has all the encouragement he can desire, to shake it off. The common soldiers and inferior officers of his army are very great zealots against the anabaptists. The people of Ireland generally, are against his submitting to the parliament: the nobility and gentrie are willing to make up his army to 20,000; and the city of Dublin alone, proffer to pay 2000 of them. All this, I am told by a very sober and discreet person, who heard it from 470, 103, 2, 187, (Lord Meath) who was there the 9th instant; and yet, notwithstanding all this, he was then very pendulous which way to take. It is true, indeed, he had not then heard of the rejecting of his message, nor of his being voted out of the government, nor of his being sent for hither. And how those may work upon him, this relater knowes not; but otherwise he suspected the worst as to his own inclination. But for all that, he is of opinion a good game may thereby be played, if things be well managed, though he should doe as his brother did, &c. If I should swallow the flying reports, I could tell you better newes thence, and it is certain, that Henry Cromwell's last letter does not please them at Westminster; and the same may be sayd for the last letter from Monk: and that which adds to the discontent is (as I am told), that both of them harp upon one string, (which makes them suspected of some understanding each of other,) they are both for having all the members received into the House that sat in it in 48."

Mr. Noble says, The Protector being displaced, Henry was desirous of keeping Ireland for His Majesty, knowing that he was less obnoxious to the King than to many of the commonwealth's men.

This may be true, but it does not appear to be given from any authority. Of Henry's spirit and abilities there can remain no doubt; and, supported by the affections of the Irish nation, he might have made a considerable stand against the then ruling powers; but the contest must have been, if finally successful on

the part of Henry, most sanguinary. Could he have foreseen the King's restoration so soon afterwards, he might, with this assistance, have kept his ground, and have greatly forwarded it, by retaining Ireland for him: but the then state of things did not seem to afford the least probability of that event; it was at the last, the act of almost the moment. Perhaps it is, even now, uncertain whether Monck meant the restoration or his own elevation. Henry could, therefore, have no object in his resistance but the continuance of his own power, which he was not likely long to retain against the force he must have encountered. Accordingly, as he expresses himself in his forementioned letter to the Speaker, being unwilling to interrupt the peace of these nations, and to prevent those fears and jealousies that might give occasion for it, and for other the reasons given in this his letter, he acquiesces in the then newly adopted government, and surrenders his charge. This was agreeable to the rectitude and uprightness of his mind, appearing in all his letters and actions, during his public life. He was not eager of power, nor would he retain it at the expense of the nation's peace.

Rapin says, he peaceably submitted; though in all probability, if he had been inclined to resist, the new governors would have found it difficult to remove him: that he was extremely beloved in Ireland, both by the army and the English inhabitants, having never injured any person, but on the contrary obliged every one, as far as lay in his power: but that, doubtless, not thinking himself secure of success, and receiving no orders from his brother, he was unwilling to undertake so important an affair: that all the historians are unanimous in their praises of him, and generally believe, that if he had been Protector instead of his elder brother, the officers would have met with their match, or not attempted what they undertook against Richard.

Mr. Noble says, it is almost needless, after what has been already given, to speak of the rectitude of his character, and the goodness of his understanding; but that as nothing that can be produced in so good a cause should be omitted, he gives some short sketches of both, from various persons, whose judgments

might be relied on. He then quotes Doctor Leland, whose History of Ireland, he says, is strictly impartial, as saying that Henry was penetrating, just, and generous. Also the passage from Neal's History of the Puritans, where he says, that Henry was a wise and discreet governor, and by his prudent behaviour kept the Irish in awe, and brought the nation into a flourishing condition: and that while he was in Ireland, he behaved with such a generous impartiality as gained him the esteem, even of the royalists themselves: also another passage from Leland's History, wherein the Protector Oliver is described as bearing this honourable testimony of his merit,—that "he was a governor from whom he himself might learn." In a letter from Lord Fauconberg to Henry Cromwell, dated 8th June, 1658, giving him an account of his (Lord Fauconberg's) honourable reception at the court of France, by the cardinal, (here given also by Mr. Noble,) he says, "the cardinal admires Your Lordship very much, as all the world must needs doe, but none ever to that degree, as Your Lordship's," &c. And in a letter dated 10th September 1657, from Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, (afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury,) to Henry (in Thurloe, and here also given by Mr. Noble,) apologising for not answering a letter of Henry's, he says,—"for there is noe person in the world more desires to retain Your Lordship's affection and good opinion. You have many love His Highness's sonne; but I love Henry Cromwell, were he naked, without all those glorious additions and titles, which, however, I pray may continue and be encreased on you. My request for myselfe is, that you love me," &c.

Dr. Bates, become, as before observed, a bitter enemy of the Cromwell name and family after the Restoration, relating the appointment of Henry to the command of the army in Ireland, says, that Cromwell having for two years made a trial of his juvenile prudence, raised him to a higher degree: that he made it his chief business, in the first place, to restore the worship of God, though not to its ancient beauty, yet to some better order, by degrees giving back the churches and pulpits, which were wholly possessed by the anabaptists, to the ministers: and that

he caused his own child to be publicly baptized in the cathedral church; a rare thing at that time: that he protected the preachers from all affronts and the troublesome interruptions of the sectaries in time of divine service. Now, continues Bates, does the college of Dublin, which had been long neglected, raise its head out of obscurity, Henry himself being chosen the chancellor or patron thereof: and that he bought at his own charges the library of Archbishop Usher, and made a present of it to the college. This probably is a mistake, Cromwell being said to have purchased it. Nor, says he, was he less careful of the civil than of ecclesiastical affairs; for justice in the courts began now to show itself as much as it could under a tyrannical and violent government; stately houses were built in the cities, and the country abounded in pasture and corn, and trade began also to flourish: that he (Henry) moreover, allowed a free access to all, and liberty of petitioning; nay, and illustrated his bounty with some kind beams towards the royalists, by easing those who had been forfeited and sequestrated, remitting one-half of the money that had been imposed upon them; giving gracious words, liberty of playing with him, and many times admitting them to his table. In another place, referring to the forfeiture of the Irish papists' estates and the imposition for the discovery of them, of a strict oath of abjuration upon suspected persons, he says, in the execution thereof Henry showed himself merciful, and very seldom put any to that trial.

The Restoration must have placed the Cromwell family in a state of the most painful suspense, particularly Richard and Henry. The King's declaration from Breda promises a free and general pardon to all, who should within forty days after its publication lay hold thereon, and should, by any public act, declare their so doing and their return to the loyalty and obedience of good subjects, excepting such persons as should thereafter be excepted by parliament. This exception left them, Richard and Henry, at the mercy of the parliament, the majority of which appear to have been presbyterians, consequently inveterate enemies of Cromwell and his family. The King and his advisers

must have been well aware of their advantage in this exception, which might be extended to every person obnoxious to the King or to his ministers, leaving the odium of its exercise upon the parliament; who appear to have used it freely. Neither Richard nor Henry were among those that were excepted in the act of pardon and oblivion, afterwards passed; — they had no concern in the King's death. Richard probably owed his safety to his not having been concerned in any of the public transactions of the preceding times, except his assumption of the Protectorate. Henry may be considered as obtaining the benefit of the act, through the intercession of his numerous and powerful friends of the royal party, many of whom were under various obligations to him in the exercise of his public capacity. This will, in some degree, be seen by the following papers remaining with his family.

In Henry Cromwell's petition to the King, a draught whereof is amongst these papers, he declares his hearty acquiescence in the providence of God in restoring His Majesty to his government: that all his actings had been without malice to His Majesty's person or interest: that he did, all the time of his power in Ireland, study to preserve the peace, plenty, and splendour of that kingdom; encouraging a learned and orthodox ministry; giving, not only protection, but maintenance, to several bishops there; placed worthy persons in the seats of judicature, and magistracy; and was (to his own great prejudice) upon all occasions favourable to His Majesty's professed friends. He therefore prays His Majesty's clemency; offering to his consideration, his loss of 2000*l. per annum*, which he held in England, and in consideration whereof, his wife's portion was paid to his late father, and therefore praying His Majesty's grant for such lands in Ireland (then already in his possession upon a common accompt with many others) as should by law be adjudged forfeited, and in His Majesty's disposal. And that, forasmuch as he had laid out near 6000*l.* upon the premises, His Majesty would recommend him to the parliament in Ireland to deal favourably with him concerning the same, and answerable to his deportment

in that nation. Upon the back of this draught is one of a declaration of His Majesty's loyal and faithful subjects residing in Ireland, who had been eye-witnesses of Colonel Henry Cromwell's behaviour in Ireland during the time of his power there: that he never, to their knowledge, expressed any malice against His Majesty's person or interest: that he suffered much from the fanatic and sectarian party: that he did countenance the known laws of the land, and discipline of the church; place men of sobriety and good repute in the several offices of the nation; did not only protect, but also allow maintenance, to the several bishops remaining in Ireland, and was the only refuge and support of His Majesty's professed friends. In consideration of all which, and to express their gratitude to him for the kindness they had received from him, they recommend him to His Majesty's grace and favour.

The following are two original letters to Henry Cromwell from General Monck. The first is addressed "To the right ho^ble the Lord Henry Cromwell, these, — At S^r Francis Russell's house, in Chipnam in Cambridgeshire, near Newmarkett." It is dated Cockpitt, 3 June, 1660.

"My Lord; — I received Your Lp's leter of the 30th of May. — And for those lands w^ch Yo^r Lp's father settled on yo^u uppon your marriage, being lands given in satisfaction of arreares, there will bee little doubt but yo^u will possess and enjoye them. But what was conferr'd by guift may be in some hazard. I shall be ready to doe Yo^r Lp what service I can, and remaine Yo^r Lp's most humble servant, "GEORGE MONCK."

The other of these letters is dated Cockpitt, 9^o June, 1660, and addressed "For the ho^ble Col. Henry Cromwell, these, — att Sir Francis Russell's, att Chippenham, Cambridgeshire. — S^r I rec^d yo^rs, and as to yo^r coming uppe, I thinke itt will not bee yett convenient, butt when itt is seasonable I shall acquaint you with itt, w^ch is all att p^rsent from yo^r very loving friend and serv^t. "G. MONCK."

These letters appear to be signed, but not to be written, by General Monck.

The following is a copy of a letter, appearing by the indorsement to have been written by Henry to the Duke of Ormond. It is without date. — " May it please Your Grace; Although I have beene long in towne without any wayes expressing my sense of Your Grace's favours towards mee, and acknowledging that I owe my whole unto that generous protection and patronage you have vouchsafed mee; yett, now my time of stay here drawing to an end, I doe humbly presume to assure Your Grace, that there are few howers in the day wherein I doe not remember those your kindnesses, and thanke God that it ever fell in my way to doe that which was acceptable to Your Grace. It is in vayne for mee to make many promises of what I will doe for Your Grace in acknowledgement hereof, God having disposed my heart to retirement and acquiescence in that state of life which both best becomes mee and incapacitates mee for other performances. Wherefore I most humbly beg Your Grace to accept of such thanks as a few words can expresse, and of my hearty wishes that Your Grace may receive from other hands those more reall services that are due from mine, since by the Providence of God I myselfe am become insolvent. It troubles mee that I should give Your Grace any new trouble, but pardon mee this once, if I beg Your Grace at some fitt time to assure His Majesty of my loyalty to his service, and that I lament my unworthiness and incapacity to expresse it. Although by His Majesty's great mercy and indulgence set forth, as well by his speciall letters as his publick declaration, I might keep Portumna until my —— yet, I am so conscious of My Lord Clanrickard's better service to His Majesty than of my own, that I am contented to part with it before; but what prejudice such a president might doe to the English interest in Ireland I know not, wherefore I leave the present disposall of the house and parke of Portumna, so farre as I have to doe with itt, wholly to Your Grace, having given order to my agents that it may be disposed of forthwith, according to your pleasure; for it is but just that I, who have received all from His

C. Turner sculp.

Majesty's mercy and Your Grace's favour, should dedicate a part to your justice, which I heartily do."

The following is a letter from Sir Thomas Chichely, addressed to Colonel Mark Trevor, on behalf of Henry. It is dated 15 October, no year, but probably 1660, the year of the Restoration: "Sir; I understand by My Lord Harry that he intends to desire you to doe him the favor as to recomend his affaires to My Lord Chan$^{llr}$ (must be Lord Clarendon): I would also beg a favor of you, which is to present my humble service to him, and let him know (if you will honor me so much as to ioyne me in the suite) that I am an humble sutor to him on his behaulfe, and that I know not any onewho hath obliged the King's party more when it was in his power, and I am confident will give as good a testimony of his loyalty when he shall have an opertunity to shew it; and this I really believe, who am, &c.

"Tho. Chicheley."

A Mr. Edward Worth, in a letter to Henry, dated 6° Junii, 1660, (place not mentioned from whence written), says, — "May it please Yo$^{r}$ Lo$^{p}$, God hath even wonderfully mooved the tongues of all men to speake off Yo$^{r}$ Lo$^{p}$ with that affection that the highest of the opposites stand amazed, and profess they cannot heare on their strictest enquiries, any thing suggested by any person against you. I doe not, therefore, in the least kind doubt but Yo$^{r}$ Lo$^{p}$ will see a very cleare settlement of yo$^{r}$ interesse in Ireland (unless what concernes the Lady Dowager), nor doe I despaire of yo$^{r}$ estate from My L$^{d}$ of Worcester. Certainly the already experience of God's goodnes in moving y$^{e}$ hearts of all sorts to affect you, is a good earnest of yet further mercies designed for you and (I am sure) a great ingagement quietly to depend on such a God.

"The Lord Broghill, S$^{r}$ Paul Davis, S$^{r}$ Maurice Eustace, Col. Hill, &c. are safely landed at Westchester, and expected here to-morrow or next day. If there should be any further scruple moved concerning Yo$^{r}$ Lo$^{p}$, they will be good additional succo$^{rs}$ to

your servts here. But noething is likely to attaine a settlement that relates to Ireland till a parliamt be called there to settle it.

The Ld of Ormond expresseth a great aptnes to serve you; but it is thought better that his Lady should breake the ice to the King, than that he or any other man should doe it.

I humbly prsent my service and duty to my Lady, begging the Lord to be nigh her in the needfull time of trouble. When I receive yor Lops summons, I shall performe ye duty and ingagemt of, &c. . . . . "Edw. Worth."

"I forbeare to instance particular persons, because they are many with whom I speake, and all agree to serve you."

A letter to Henry, dated 3° Novemb. 60, without signature, saying that the writer had seen his (Henry's) pardon fully completed:—"That that day, Sir George Lane and himself (the writer) had wayted upon Mr. Secretary Nicholas, with directions from the King and Ld Ormond, about his (Henry's) letter, and that he was appointed to wayte late agayne that evening." He adds, that Lord Broghill, Sir Charles Coote, and Sir Maurice Eustace, were to be justices of Ireland; that all the old council were to be continued, and a supply made as in ancient times.

A paper, signed by the King (Charles II.), "Charles R." and dated 13th April (1661), addressed to Sir Maurice Eustace, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, Roger Earle Orrery (late Lord Broghill), and Charles Earle of Mountrath (late Sir Charles Coote), Justices of Ireland, commissioners appointed to execute the King's declaration for the settlement of that kingdom. It states, that whereas the King, by his letters patent of the 6th of November then last, had declared, that no distinction should be made between Henry Cromwell and any other adventurer, for what hee held in Ireland as such. And that by other letters patent of the last of February following, the lands, &c. lying in the baronyes of Dunboyne and Ratoth, in or neere the towne of Portuna, sett out in satisfaction of 7039*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* of soldiers' arreares, and in the county of Tipperary, possessed by him on the 7th of May (1659), should be

confirmed unto him, his heirs, and assigns, under the Great Seale of Ireland, " Although wee then knew that a considerable part of the said lands, and of his interest as an adventurer were derived from persons attainted by the late act of parliament, entituled, An Act of Attainder," &c. And stating that the King had given and granted to several the estates of the persons attainted by that act. Therefore declares, that out of these grants, and out of any future grants of these estates, be excepted the lands possessed by the said Henry Cromwell on said 7th of May, in satisfaction of soldiers' arreares, and such other lands as should or might be sett out in satisfaction of 850*l.* of adventure come to him by assignment or other conveyance or assurance: — " In all which it is our pleasure that hee be settled and confirmed as any other adventurers or souldiers are or may bee; and in case any of the lands hee holdeth bee not confirmed by our declaration of the 30th of November, wee doe hereby graunt him liberty to purchase the same for and with any of the considerations by our said declaration allowed.

" Signed by His Ma^ties^ command,

" William Morice."

" Entred at the Signett Office, 20th April, 1661.

" John Nicholas."

A certificate, signed E. Manchester, by G. Carterett, Anglesea, Denzill Holles, dated Whitehall, 25th of March (1662), addressed to His Royall Highnesse, (presume the Duke of York): — That they had examined the pretensions of Henry Cromwell to certain lands by him possest in Ireland, and were satisfied that part thereof was in satisfaction of his owne personall arreares, and part in satisfaction of his late father's arreares: and that, in case his said father's were a chattell and personall estate, that then the said debentures were not forfeited as not possest by Oliver Cromwell at the tyme of his death: on the other side, that if the said debentures were reall estate, and of the nature of lands, then wee think itt necessary that the said Henry Cromwell, to maintaine his

right, should prove that the said debentures were made over unto him for a valuable consideration : it having onely bin alledged that 4000*l.* was paid for Oliver's pretences to the said lands amongst other things, by Sir Francis Russell, upon the marriage of his daughter to the said Henry Cromwell.

On another side of the same paper is a declaration, dated Munday, the 7th day of April (1662), by His Royall Highnesse and the commissioners for managing of his revenue.

That upon consideration of the petition of Sir William Russell and others, purchasers of certain lands in Ireland theretofore, by the pretended powers sett out to Henry Cromwell, in satisfaction of his and Oliver Cromwell's arrears : and upon perusall of His Majesty's gracious declaration for the settling of the kingdom of Ireland, His Royal Highness was satisfied that the said lands were comprehended within the intention of the said declaration to be enjoyed by the present possessors thereof, notwithstanding the act of attainder ; and therefore was content that a provisoe should be brought in (to the bill for settling the affaires of Ireland) for the saving and reserving of the said lands unto the present possessors. (Signed by Charles Porter, Clerke of His Royall Highness's Councill.)

And on another side is a copy of a clause in an act of parliament, (presume the Irish parliament, the title or year of the reign not given,) enacting that all the lands, &c. in the baronyes of Dunboyne and Ratooth, and county of Meath, whereof Henry Cromwell was, by himselfe, his tenants or assignes possessed, the 7th of May (1659), bee settled and confirmed unto Sir William Russell, of Langhorne, Baronett, and Doctor Jonathan Goddard, their heirs and assignes forever ; and that the lands, &c. lying in the province of Connaught, whereof the said Henry Cromwell was in like manner possesst on the said 7th of May, be settled upon and confirmed unto John Russell, of Chippenham, Esq. his heirs and assigns forever, to be held upon terms of His Majesty's declaration of the 30th of November (1660) ; and that 850*l.* be satisfied unto the said John Russell as an adventure, in such

manner as by the same act was appointed in the case of any other adventurers.

The above Sir William Russell and John Russell were trustees for Henry Cromwell; but the family appear, by a statement amongst the family papers, to have been afterwards illegally dispossessed of these estates by some of the then Clanrickard family, whose ancestor, Ulick Burke, is stated to have been proprietor thereof in the year 1641, and as being general of the rebels in the Irish rebellion, and by act of parliament attainted, and his estates forfeited. This statement describes the heir of the above Ulick Burke as having been illegally restored to these estates, and that the then Earl of Clanrickard was in actual rebellion against the then King William and Queen Mary: and the object of the statement is an application to Their Majesties on behalf of Henry Cromwell's son for the restoration to him of these estates. No further proceedings therein appear; but the Cromwell family, according to this statement, seem to have been unfairly deprived of this property.

A licence was granted in February (1664-5), signed by the Earls of Manchester and Anglesea, and Lord Ashley, to Henry Cromwell, to visit London for 21 days: and another by the Earl of Suffolk, as Lord-lieutenant for the counties of Suffolk and Cambridge, dated 12th October (1665), permitting him to visit his relations at Newmarket and Chippenham.

Henry appears, in a statement amongst the family papers, to have purchased, in 1661, in the names of two trustees, Sir Thomas Chicheley and Sir John Trevor, an estate called Spinney-abbey, in the parish of Wicken, near Soham, in Cambridgeshire, of between five and six hundred pounds per annum, where he resided the remainder of his life, and died 23d March (1673), in the 47th year of his age. Mr. Noble, from the Nonconformist Memorial, says, that he conformed to the church of England, and in that communion died.

The Restoration produced a striking revolution in the national manners; departing from the strictest religious and moral habits,

the people became generally immoral and vicious, religious profession became quite unfashionable, and exposed the professor to scorn and ridicule, and even to the suspicion of disloyalty. The most active in the late transactions were generally the foremost in their endeavours to obtain the forgiveness of the then ruling powers; and to satisfy them of the sincerity of their contrition for the parts they had taken under the late several governments, they were the forwardest to vilify and ridicule those with whom they had acted. Bishop Burnet says, — "Those who had been concerned in the former transactions, thought they could not redeem themselves from the censures and jealousies that those brought on them, by any method that was more sure and more easy, than by going into the stream and laughing at all religion; telling and making stories to expose both themselves and their party as impious and ridiculous." Hence all those bitter sarcasms and ordinary and improbable stories, and all the ribaldry in poems and political ballads and other publications that have been handed down, and found currency in all subsequent times. Many of the most distinguished writers of those times basely sacrificed their talents, and their veracity and consistency, to the idol of the day; to please whom, they hardily and most barefacedly unsaid all they had before said; eulogizing Cromwell to the skies, during his life, and upon the occasion of his death; and, not more than two years afterwards, boldly and unblushingly coming forward, and in effect declaring themselves to have uttered deliberate falsehoods, by then setting him forth as the worst of characters. Nothing can excuse this baseness and meanness of mind. The King himself, the object of their adulation, must inwardly despise and detest these men, and must feel their fulsome panegyrics, instead of serving his cause, to be, on the contrary, prejudicial to it in the highest degree, in reviving and perpetuating the civil and religious distinctions of past times, and those party feuds and animosities, which he appears in his forementioned Breda declaration so anxious to bury in oblivion; therein expressly declaring, that no crime committed against him or his late father, the late King, before the publication thereof, (excepting as to such per-

sons as should be excepted by parliament,) should ever rise in judgment, or be brought into question against any of them to the least endangerment of them, either in their lives, liberties, or estates, or (as far as should lie in his power) so much as to the prejudice of their reputations, by any reproach or terms of distinction from the rest of his best subjects; he (the King) desiring and ordaining, that thenceforward, all notes of discord, separation, and difference of parties, should be utterly abolished amongst all his subjects, whom he invites and conjures to a perfect union among themselves, under his protection. And that because the passion and uncharitableness of the times had produced several opinions in religion, by which men were engaged in parties and animosities against each other, which, when they should thereafter unite in a freedom of conversation, would be composed or better understood, he declares a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man should be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which should not disturb the peace of the kingdom.

These numberless, abusive, and scandalous publications show how ill the wishes, or rather perhaps the promises, of the King, were complied with. The heats and animosities, and prejudices thereby excited, have hardly yet subsided.

Cromwell's most inveterate and most powerful enemies were the presbyterians and commonwealth's men; both these parties aimed at his destruction, as the great obstacle to their own schemes of aggrandisement and dominion: and, in preservation of himself, he overpowered them, and assumed the supreme authority; the necessity whereof, Rapin observes, was clearly shown by the confusion which prevailed in England soon after his death.

Cromwell, in his answer to the arguments of the committee of the House of Commons upon their humble petition and advice, desiring him to assume the title of king, says; that he assumed the authority with which he stood invested, at a time when immediate ruin was falling down upon the nation. which no other

man durst attempt to prevent, when opposite factions were rushing into war, because no man durst interpose and command peace. What were the dangers that threatened, and upon what principles the factious and disobedient attempted to interrupt the public tranquillity, it might not, he says, be at that time improper to explain.

Accordingly he proceeds: that the parliament which had so vigorously withstood the encroachments of the regal power, became themselves too desirous of absolute authority, and not only engrossed the legislative, but usurped the executive power: that all causes, civil and criminal, all questions of property and right, were determined by committees, who being themselves the legislature, were accountable to no law; and for that reason their decrees were arbitrary, and their proceedings violent: oppression was without redress, and unjust sentence without appeal: that all the business of all the courts of Westminster was transacted in this manner, and the hardships were still more lamented, because there was no prospect of either end or intermission: for that the parliament was so far from intending to resign this unlimited authority, that they had formed a resolution of perpetuating their tyranny; and apprehending no possibility of a dissolution by any other power, determined never to dissolve themselves: that such and so oppressive was the government planned to us and for our posterity; and under these calamities must we still have languished, had not the same army which repressed the insolence of monarchy, relieved us with the same spirit, from the tyranny of a perpetual parliament, a tyranny which was equally illegal and oppressive: that, when, after their dangers and labours, their battles and their wounds, they had leisure to observe the government which they had established at so much expense, they soon perceived that unless they made one regulation more, and crushed this many-headed tyranny, they had thitherto ventured their lives to little purpose, and had, instead of asserting their own and the people's liberty, only changed one kind of slavery for another: that they therefore dis-

solved the parliament, which would never have dissolved itself: and that the nation might not fall into its former state of confusion, they intreated him (Cromwell) to assume the supreme authority under the title of Protector; a title not implying any legal power of governing in his own right, but a trust consigned to him for the advantage of another: that this trust he had faithfully discharged; and that whenever the means of settling the public should be found, he was ready to give an account of it, and resign it: that the necessity which compelled him to accept it, was, indeed, not wholly produced by the illegal resolutions of the parliament, but was much heightened by the ungovernable fury of wild fanatics and tumultuous factions, who, to establish their new schemes, would have spread slaughter and desolation through the kingdom, and spared nothing, however cruel or unjust, that might have propagated their own opinions. He then shortly describes the views of the different parties. And adds, that it was unnecessary to say what must have been the state of a nation, in which either of these parties had exalted themselves to power, and how usefully that man was employed, who, stepping on a sudden into the state of dominion, had spirit to controul, and power to suppress them: that the reproaches thrown upon his conduct by the ignorant or ill-affected, he sometimes heard but with the neglect and scorn which they deserved: that he was acquitted by his own conscience, and, he hoped, by the best and wisest men: that he was convinced he was called by Providence to the power which he possessed, and knew that he desired it no longer than was necessary for the preservation of peace, and the security of liberty; that liberty which he had never violated, and that peace, which amidst murmurs and discontents, threats and complaints, he had never suffered to be broken. — That he aspired to unlimited authority, and therefore assumed a title unknown to the nation (Protector), was a reproach easily cast, and as easily contemned: that his power had been the offspring of necessity, and that its extent had been bounded only by the occasions of exerting it: that if a settlement should

be then proposed, and previously to it a legal establishment of his authority, it might be limited by them, the parliament: that, under whatever title it should be conferred upon him, that title would then be valid, and those limitations could not be transgressed. In another place, he says, that he had never interrupted the course of justice, and that all the judges could attest, and, he believed, affirm with equal confidence, that it had not been more obstructed by any other impediment than in former times.

The same account of the ambition and tyranny of the Long Parliament is given by Cromwell in his foregiven interview with Whitelock, who admitted the truth of it, and, in more than one place in his memorials, observes upon and censures them for it.

This (Cromwell's) assumption of the supreme power, in the absence of monarchy, certainly kept things together, and left the country not only unimpaired, but raised it to the highest elevation of prosperity and reputation; and in this state it came into the hands of the King, Charles the Second. But all these advantages were thrown away and lost in his and his brother, James the Second's, inauspicious reigns, who might have been expected to have profited by the examples of those arbitrary measures that led to the troubles of the two preceding ones of their father and grandfather, Charles, and James the First.

The Restoration certainly did not produce the good effects to be hoped and expected from it; but it brought back the ancient mixed monarchical form of government by King, Lords, and Commons, to which the nation had been accustomed, and to which they might be supposed to be attached, and to which all our laws apply. Cromwell's comprehensive mind appears, at the first meeting after the King's death, for the purpose of considering of the form of government to be adopted in consequence of that event, to have seen the necessity of the preference of this form to the others then proposed; it may be said, this preference might owe itself to his view to the possession of the supreme power: this, however, must be uncertain; the short continuance, nevertheless, of the republican form, and the improper and vio-

lent exercise of its power, proved the correctness of his preference. Indeed, it does not seem calculated for duration or national happiness, in this, or perhaps any other country; it must be revolutionary, subject to commotion and change, as having no fixed head or power to prevent a perpetual struggle for the ascendancy of mere physical strength, and conceived mental ability. On the contrary, the quiet and uninterrupted descent of the crown, as in this country, under the various restrictions and regulations of known and fixed laws, effectually checks and prevents those convulsions to which popular governments, whether of a republican, or of an elective monarchical form, must necessarily be subject. The crown, certainly, in this case of hereditary succession, may descend, as has been objected, upon a weak or unworthy head: infirmity and imperfection are inseparable from all human institutions and contrivances; but our excellent laws will be always found a sufficient protection against these possible inconveniences; our constitution, as it now stands, is the gradual result of long experience, and is, and has been found to be the best calculated for duration, and for the true and permanent happiness of its people.

Mr. Gibbon, in his Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, observes, — "Of the various forms of government which have prevailed in the world, that of an hereditary monarchy seems to present the fairest scope for ridicule. Is it, says he, possible to relate, without an indignant smile, that on the father's decease, the property of a nation, like that of a drove of oxen, descends to his infant son, as yet unknown to mankind and to himself; and that the bravest warriors and the wisest statesmen, relinquishing their natural right to empire, approach the royal cradle with bended knees and protestations of inviolable fidelity? Satire and declamation may paint these obvious topics in the most dazzling colours; but our more serious thoughts will respect a useful prejudice, that establishes a rule of succession independent of the passions of mankind; and we shall cheerfully acquiesce in any expedient which deprives the multitude of the dangerous, and

indeed the ideal, power of giving themselves a master. In the cool shades of retirement, we may easily devise imaginary forms of government, in which the sceptre shall be constantly bestowed on the most worthy, by the free and incorrupt suffrage of the whole community. Experience overturns these airy fabrics, and teaches us, that in a large society, the election of a monarch can never devolve to the wisest, or to the most numerous part of the people; that the superior prerogative of birth, when it has obtained the sanction of time and popular opinion, is the plainest and least invidious of all distinctions among mankind; that the acknowledged right extinguishes the hopes of faction, and the conscious security disarms the cruelty of the monarch; that to the firm establishment of this idea, we owe the peaceful succession, and mild administration of European monarchies; to the defect of it, we must attribute the frequent civil wars through which an Asiatic despot is obliged to cut his way to the throne of his fathers."

Judge Blackstone, in his Commentaries on the Laws of England, at the conclusion of his chapter Of the King and his Title, observes, — "That the extremes, between which the true constitutional notion of the right of succession (which he had immediately before stated), steers, are each of them equally destructive of those ends for which societies were formed, and are kept on foot. That where the magistrate, upon every succession, is elected by the people, and may, by the express provision of the laws, be deposed (if not punished) by his subjects,— this may sound like the perfection of liberty, and look well enough when delineated on paper, but, in practice, will be ever productive of tumult, contention, and anarchy. And that, on the other hand, divine, indefeasible, hereditary right, when coupled with the doctrine of unlimited passive obedience, is surely, of all constitutions, the most thoroughly slavish and dreadful. But that, when such an hereditary right, as our laws have created and vested in the royal stock, is closely interwoven with those liberties which we have seen in a former chapter are equally the inheritance of the

subject, this union will form a constitution, in theory the most beautiful of any, in practice the most approved; and, I trust, in duration the most permanent. It was," adds the Judge, "the duty of an expounder of our laws, to lay this constitution before the student in its true and genuine light: it is the duty of every good Englishman to understand, to revere, to defend it."

THE END.

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Garrett, in Jacob, 515